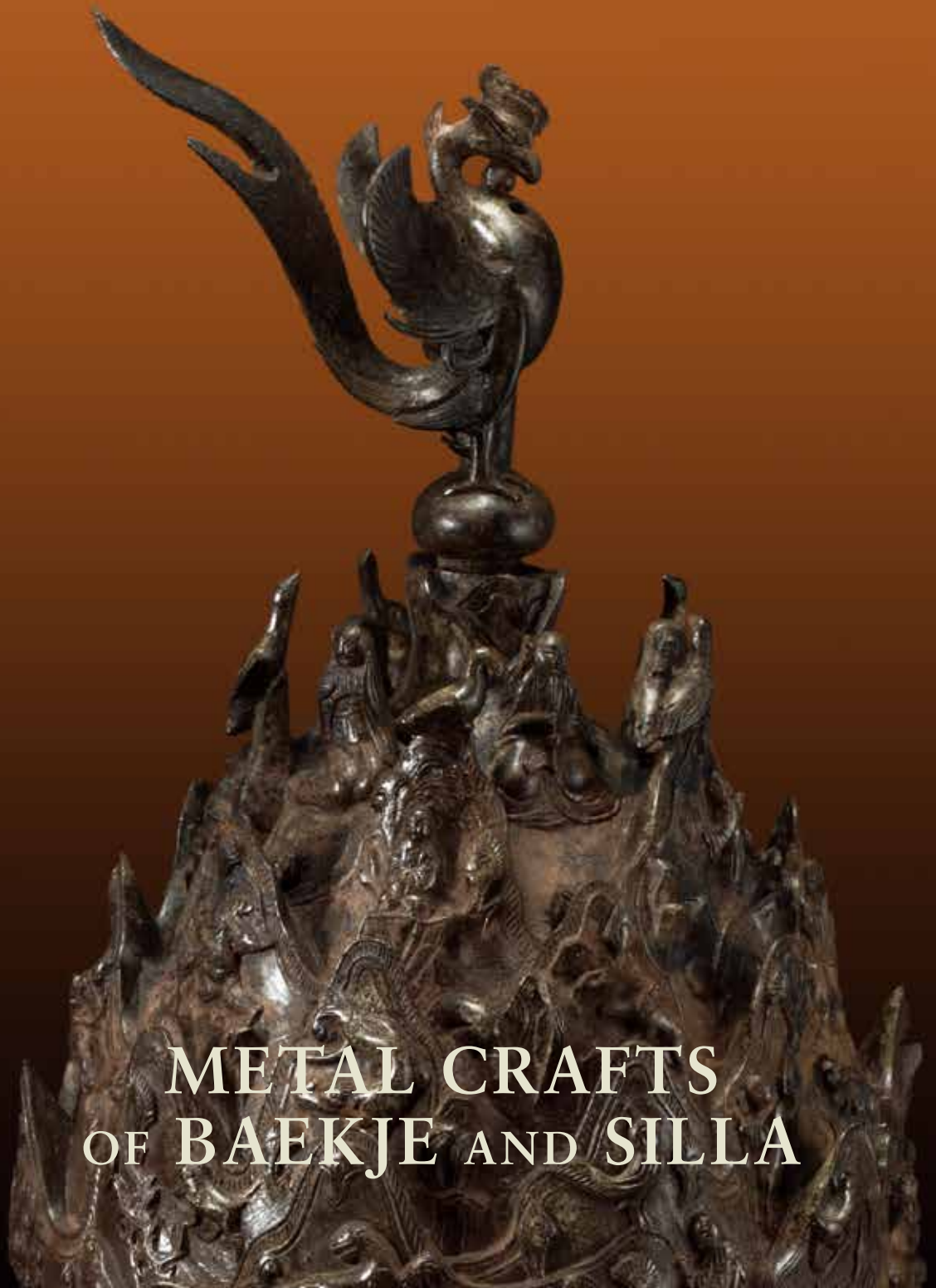


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METAL CRAFTS
OF BAEKJE AND SILLA

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Notes to the Readers

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The journal follows the author-date system
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name of East Asian scholars is referenced
within in-text citations. Hopefully, this will
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names and texts: Revised Romanization
System (2000) for Korean, Hanyu Pinyin
System for Chinese, and the Hepburn Sys-
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Editorial Note

Robert D. Mowry
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Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology
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Written by archaeologists and art historians alike, the articles in this issue of the *Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology* employ a variety of methodologies and treat a range of media, from tombs construction to crowns and articles of personal adornment in precious metals, from a celebrated incense burner and a newly restored lacquerware incense box to paintings and ceramics. The eight articles generally focus on Korea's Three Kingdoms Period (traditionally, 57 BCE-668 CE) but touch on the Unified Silla Period (668-935) and also explore aspects of the Goryeo (918-1392) and Joseon (1391-1910) dynasties. The special theme of JKAA volume 8 is metal crafts of Baekje and Silla: two of the four thematic articles discuss Silla gold, bronze, and gilt-bronze crowns and crown ornaments; a third article introduces Baekje metalwork, focusing on precious-metal objects recovered from the Tomb of King Muryeong; and the fourth presents a detailed examination of the famous Baekje gilt-bronze incense burner, found near Buyeo in 1993. The featured archaeology article addresses the evolution of Silla tombs, their construction methods, typology, and typological evolution. The sixth article looks at the influence of China's Liao Dynasty (916-1125) on Goryeo celadons, while the seventh explains the interesting trend of Dosando paintings from the Joseon Dynasty. Finally, the last article, focusing on an item from the museum's collection, takes a close look at the fragments of a rare Goryeo lacquerware incense box with decoration inlaid in mother of pearl, turtle-shell, and bronze wire, with further embellishment painted in gold.

Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights have been much debated in Korean archaeological circles. In "Development of Silla Headband Crowns with tree-shaped Uprights," Ham Soon Seop, Director of the Daegu National Museum, presents the results of his examination of fifty-five such crowns dating to the sixth and seventh centuries, the crowns including examples in gold, gilt-bronze, and bronze. Silla crowns can be regarded as a public form of ornamentation that symbolized the wearer's social status through the shape, decoration, and metal type. The use of such crowns was highly regulated according to institutionalized rules. Hence, each crown type is assumed to have embodied a certain symbolic system and to have reached its quintessential form during the period when that symbolic system dominated. Accordingly, the decline of each Silla crown type can be associated with the emergence of a new symbolic system. The evolution of each crown type thus can be divided into the three developmental stages: prototype, standard, and regression. Additionally, Silla crowns can be regarded as a material expression of the symbolic system to which the wearer adhered in life. Such an interpretation assumes that all Silla crowns were prestige items worn by the living and then placed in the tomb when the wearer died and was interred, a contentious point that remains the subject of lively debate. This, in turn, allows the wearer's year of death to be established as the *terminus ante quem* of the crown's manufacture.

This study takes the above functions and characteristics into account in providing a diachronic analysis of the development of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights. Further, it analyzes in detail the typological categories and developmental stages of such Silla crowns and discusses the historical context of their development from a fresh perspective. In addition, it offers promising avenues in which future studies may fruitfully build on the results of this research.

Most extant Korean crowns and associated regalia date to the Three Kingdoms Period. Silla seems to have produced the most; in fact, more than eighty have been discovered. Most such crowns have been recovered in and around Gyeongju, the Silla capital, but many have also been found in outlying areas. Some of the latter predate the period when the central government began to send its own officials to preside over those regions. The presence of such crowns in outlying areas suggests that the people who wore them were the rulers of those areas, rather than officials posted by the Silla government. In "Silla Crowns and Crown Ornaments of the Yeongdong Region," Gu Moon-young, Associate Curator at the National Museum of Korea, examines Silla crowns and crown ornaments recovered from tombs in the Yeongdong region of Gangwon Province—which represents the furthest reaches of the Silla Kingdom during the Three Kingdoms Period—and compares them to related objects found in other regions in order to identify their characteristics and assess regional differences, finding that virtually all such artifacts from that region are akin to those recovered elsewhere. One important exception is the headband of a gilt-bronze crown uniquely cut with a serrated edge. To date, only three Silla bronze crowns have been excavated, including one from the Yeongdong region. All three bronze crowns have been found in sites associated with rituals; in fact, archaeological and technical discoveries as well as historical records suggest that bronze crowns, unlike ones of gold or gilt bronze, probably were linked with the performance of rituals rather than with political status or government office. Silla crown ornaments found in the Yeongdong region are believed to have served an important symbolic function for leaders in those outlying regions, their significance and symbolic function possibly equal to that of the crowns.

The Baekje Kingdom (18 BCE-660 CE) faced collapse after Goguryeo attacked its first capital, Hanseong, in 475 CE. King Munju retreated southward, establishing a new capital in Ungjin (in present-day Gongju), which would remain the capital until 538. This paper, "Metal Objects from Ungjin-Period Baekje Tombs in the Gongju Region" by Lee Hansang, Professor at Daejeon University, examines precious-metal artifacts recovered from Baekje tombs around Gongju. The most exceptional of the excavated Ungjin-period tombs is that of King Muryeong (r. 501-523), which was discovered in 1971 and identified by epitaph plaques inside the tomb. The precious-metal artifacts recovered from within are of exceptionally high quality and include

crown ornaments, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, belt ornaments, and gilt-bronze shoes, all of which were produced prior to 529, when the queen was interred. The king's sword and the personal ornaments worn by the king and queen, along with the everyday metal objects, share similarities with related objects from neighboring states, offering insights about the era's network of foreign interactions, with the Baekje Kingdom at its center. The Tomb of King Muryeong is one of the period's few tombs that escaped looting, which accounts in part for its abundance of precious-metal artifacts. Even taking grave robbery into account, however, precious-metal artifacts recovered from other Ungjin period tombs are limited in number, suggesting that Baekje suffered a significant setback following the transfer of the capital to Ungjin; if so perhaps the limited number resulted from the political instability that followed the transfer of the capital; on the other hand, perhaps the reduced number was due simply to a general decrease in the use of grave goods at that time. Alternatively, as King Muryeong focused on strengthening royal power throughout his reign, and as King Seong (r. 523–554), his son and successor, worked to prevent erosion of kingly authority, they might have prohibited the aristocracy and regional elites from using objects in precious metal.

In "Taoist Iconography of the Baekje Gilt-bronze Incense Burner," Park Kyungeun, Associate Curator at National Museum of Korea, introduces a large and magnificent gilt-bronze incense burner excavated in 1993 and explains its background, symbolism, and Daoist iconography. In the collection of the Buyeo National Museum and registered as National Treasure Number 287, the censer was created in the Baekje Kingdom (18 BCE–660 CE), probably in the sixth century. Because they imitate the form of Mount Bo (Chinese, Boshan; Korean, Baksan), a mythical but sacred Daoist mountain, such censers are known in Chinese as *boshan xianglu*, or simply *boshanlu*, and in Korean as *baksan hyangno*, the term meaning simply "Mt. Bo Censer." They comprise three components: lid, bowl, and base. The lid of the Baekje censer depicts a series of mountain peaks, topped by a large phoenix with outspread wings. Lotus petals rise in relief around the bowl, while the base assumes the form of a coiled dragon. Animals and human figures inhabit the lid's peaks, just as they also appear among the lotus petals that encircle the bowl. Despite its similarities to Chinese *boshanlu* censers, the Baekje censer is larger and grander than its Chinese counterparts, and it includes new types of figures not seen in Chinese censers, including hermits in meditation and immortals wearing long hats. The ancient Buddhist temple at the site where the censer was recovered was constructed in 567, a period when Baekje kings were striving to reassert royal authority in the face of the crushing military defeat inflicted by Silla (57 BCE–668 CE) in the 554 battle of Gwansanseong Castle. The temple likely was intended as a memorial for King Seong (r. 523–554), who died in that battle. The Baekje censer thus can be interpreted as a symbol of royal authority and as a product of the mid-sixth century socio-political mi-

lieu, when Baekje was developing its cultural and religious capacity through the import of advanced culture from the continent.

Burial practices during the various stages of the Silla Kingdom (57 BCE–935 CE) reflect the sociopolitical context of the times. In "Silla Stone-chamber Tombs with Corridor Entrances in the Gyeongju Area: Social Status and Change in Tomb Structure," Choi Byung Hyun, Professor Emeritus at Soongsil University, examines tumuli groups, tomb structure, and tomb construction techniques of the late Silla period in the area around present-day Gyeongju, the Silla capital, in order to gain insight into the social hierarchy and overall nature of the Silla Kingdom. From around the fifth century, a distinctive new type of tomb, the "wooden-chamber tomb with stone mound," came into being. Then, from the sixth century onward, such wooden-chamber tombs were replaced by a new type of tomb, the "stone-chamber tomb with corridor entrance," which was covered with an earthen mound and which could accommodate subsequent interments. The shift from the first to the second of these tomb types marks the transition from the early Silla to the late Silla burial tradition. The appearance of the stone-chamber tombs coincides with several major political and social changes in the Silla Kingdom: a centralized system of government had been established, Buddhism had been adopted as the state religion, and various state laws had been instituted. Stone-chamber tombs were used until the end of the Unified Silla period (668–935) and were adopted by the elite of various regions outside of Gyeongju. Although cremation became more popular in the late Silla period, in conjunction with the official recognition of Buddhism, the definitive element of late Silla burials is the stone-chamber tomb. Reflecting a hierarchy, such tombs had burial chambers that were divided into ranks reflecting the social status of the deceased. Different structural features and construction methods characterized the different ranks. The hierarchy of tombs and tumuli groups sheds light on contemporaneous Silla society and its structure according to the "bone rank" system.

Inspired and influenced by Chinese celadon-glazed stonewares created at the Yue kilns in Zhejiang Province, Korean potters began to produce celadon wares in the ninth and tenth centuries, during the Goryeo Dynasty. By the twelfth century, the Goryeo celadon tradition had evolved its own aesthetic characteristics, typified by jade-green glaze and inlaid decoration. The influence of China's Northern Song period (960–1127) on the arts of Goryeo is well recognized; less well known, however, is that China's Liao Dynasty (916–1125) also played an important role in the development of Goryeo celadons. In "Elements of Goryeo Celadon that Reflect Influence of Liao Crafts," Im Jin A, Associate Curator at the National Museum of Korea, examines the influence on Goryeo celadons of cultural and aesthetic elements unique to Liao, noting similarities and differences among the ceramics of Goryeo, Liao, and Northern Song. Despite close diplomatic rela-

tions between Goryeo and Liao since the tenth century, Koreans came to recognize Liao's advanced Buddhist culture only with the introduction of the Liao *Khitan Tripitaka* to Korea in 1063, which paved the way for the influence of Liao arts to penetrate more deeply. Liao influence is most clearly apparent in the shapes of Goryeo celadons and in their decorative patterns. As the aesthetic and technical qualities of Liao high-fired ceramics did not match those of Goryeo, Liao influence on Goryeo celadons was conveyed mainly through its metalware, principally silver vessels, and through its *sancai*, or three-color, earthenwares (which derive from but are distinct from Tang *sancai* ware). The choice on the part of Goryeo potters and their patrons to incorporate elements from Liao attests to both the excellence and the uniqueness of Liao metalware and *sancai* wares. Although influence from Northern Song on Goryeo celadons was always paramount, Liao nevertheless played an important but hitherto largely unexplored role.

Joseon literati, who deeply revered the Chinese Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (1130-1200), often took inspiration from his works. Sixteenth-century Joseon intellectuals admired Zhu Xi's *Records on Mt. Wuyi* and wrote poems appropriating the rhymes of his *Wuyi Boating Songs*. "The Nine-Bend Stream at Mt. Wuyi," one of Zhu Xi's famous poems, was often portrayed in paintings called *Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*. Veneration for Zhu Xi and this poem was so great that an independent subculture based on the "nine bends" arose in Korea as Joseon literati began to associate "nine bends" with utopia. Korean scholars published essays on the topic and even sought to recreate the nine bends in their own home areas. In "The Tradition of Dosando Paintings and the Nine Bends at Dosan", Yun Chinyong, Senior Researcher at The Academy of Korean Studies, examines the "nine bends" culture of Korea, with special emphasis on Dosan, a hill north of Andong, where Yi Hwang (1501-1570), one of Joseon's most prominent Confucian scholars, erected his retirement home. In particular, this paper considers the significance of visualizing Dosan through Dosando, or "paintings of Dosan," a subgenre of Joseon paintings that depict Yi Hwang's retreat. It further explores the relationship between Dosando paintings and the Joseon practice of designating specific sites as the nine bends of a particular area, following Zhu Xi and his *Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*. Although well-aware of a possible association between Dosan and Mt. Wuyi, Yi Hwang never identified any specific places as nine-bend sites in the Dosan area, and thus his seventeenth-century followers did not portray the nine bends of Dosan in their Dosando paintings. His eighteenth-century followers, however, designated nine places with close ties to Yi Hwang as the "nine bends of Dosan," which they depicted in their paintings. In essence, such efforts reinforced the lineage of Neo-Confucian scholarship, beginning with Zhu Xi and continuing to Yi Hwang.

In "Scientific Analysis of a Goryeo Lacquer Incense Box with Inlaid Mother-of-pearl and Gold-Painted Designs," Yi Yonghee, Curator at

the National Museum of Korea, presents the results of a detailed technical study of the remnants of a Goryeo lacquer incense box set in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. A 2006 examination by museum personnel assessed damage to the set and scientifically investigated its constituent materials. In 2007 and 2008, specialists from Korea and Japan jointly conducted further research to determine the best methods for the set's conservation treatment and long-term preservation. The set originally comprised three components: a box, a cover, and a tray that fit inside the box. Nothing is known about the set's provenance before its 1910 purchase by the Yi Royal Household Museum (predecessor of the National Museum of Korea). The set was already damaged at that time, but its three main components seem to have been intact. During the Korean War (1950-1953), the set suffered further damage such that it now exists only in fragments. In fact, the original appearance could only be surmised from illustrations in a book published during the Japanese colonial era (1910-1945). Both box and cover were decorated with designs created through the *pyeongtal* (Chinese, *pingtuo*) technique, in which small design elements cut from suitable materials are affixed to a lacquered surface, after which they are covered with additional coats of lacquer, which is polished to highlight the designs, once it has dried and stabilized. The technical research identified such key features as the box's original shape, composition, and lacquer-varnishing technique, as well as the materials of its inlaid designs—mother of pearl, likely from abalone; tortoiseshell embellished with cinnabar and orpiment; and metal wire—and its gold paint (powdered gold in a binder, perhaps fish glue). The set was produced using the finest materials and the most advanced techniques of the day.

The eight articles in this issue of the *Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology* shed new light on Korean history and culture, giving special emphasis to the Three Kingdoms period. The five articles on early Korea present detailed analyses of Silla tomb construction, crowns, and crown ornaments and also give an in-depth look at the generally less-well-known metalwork from the Baekje Kingdom, including the gilt bronze incense burner discovered in Buyeo in 1993. The two articles on arts of the Goryeo Dynasty treat lacquerware with decoration inlaid in mother of pearl and also the influence on Goryeo celadons of the arts of China's Liao Dynasty. The one article on the Joseon Dynasty focuses on Dosando paintings, or "paintings of Dosan", a subgenre of Joseon paintings that depicts the retirement retreat that Yi Hwang, one of Joseon Korea's most prominent Confucian scholars, erected near Andong, and on the Joseon practice of designating specific sites as the nine bends of a particular area, following Zhu Xi and his poem *Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*. These articles significantly expand our understanding of Korean art and archaeology. Enjoy these articles and accord them the respect due important works that advance scholarship.



Special

Metal Crafts of Baekje and Silla

**Development of Silla Headband Crowns
with Tree-shaped Uprights**
by Ham Soon Seop

**Silla Crowns and Crown Ornaments of
the Yeongdong Region**
by Gu Moon-gyoung

**Metalwork Objects from Ungjin-period
Baekje Tombs
in the Gongju Region**
by Lee Hansang

**Taoist Iconography of the Baekje Gilt-
bronze Incense Burner**
by Park Kyungeun



Fig. 5a. Gold crowns of Silla, Gyo-dong (Gyeongju) Tomb.

Development of Silla Headband Crowns with Tree-shaped Uprights

Ham Soon Seop
Director, Daegu National Museum

I. Introduction

Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights (*sujihyeong daegwan*, 樹枝形帶冠, Fig. 1) have been the subject of much debate in Korean archaeology. This paper examines fifty-five such crowns, including gold, gilt-bronze, and bronze examples dating from the Maripgan period (356-514 CE) and *junggogi* period (中古期, 514-654 CE). Not all of the crowns were examined firsthand, but all could be typologically studied based on information obtained through various media. Silla crowns can be regarded as a form of public ornamentation that served as an emblem of the wearer's social status through their shape, metal type, and decoration, all of which were highly regulated according to institutionalized rules. Hence, each crown type (including the headband crown with tree-shaped uprights) is assumed to have embodied a certain symbolic system, and moreover, to have reached its quintessential form during the period when that symbolic system existed. Accordingly, the decline of each Silla crown type can be associated with the emergence of a new symbolic system. Therefore, the development of each crown type can be divided into the three stages of "prototype," "standard," and "regression." Additionally, Silla crowns can be regarded as a material expression of the symbolic system to which the wearer adhered and reproduced prior to death. Such an interpretation assumes that all Silla crowns were pres-

tige items worn by the living, a contentious point that remains the subject of lively debate. This, in turn, allows the wearer's year of death to be established as the *terminus ante quem* of the crown's manufacture. This study takes the above functions and characteristics into account in charting the development of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights.

II. Chronology of Typological Groups of Silla Headband Crowns with tree-shaped Uprights

The dates in the chronological scheme of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights come from Silla tombs, particularly Geumgwanchong Tomb (Gold Crown Tomb), Cheonmachong Tomb (Heavenly Horse Tomb), and the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb. The dating of the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb is a central issue in Silla archaeology, as there has been disagreement regarding the identity of the occupant of this "royal tomb." Different studies have argued that the tomb may be occupied by one of three possible Silla kings: Naemul Maripgan (d. 402) (Lee Heejoon 2010, 192-206); Silseong Maripgan (d. 417) (Ham Soonseop 2010, 226-45); or Nulji Maripgan (d. 458) (Kim Yongseong 2010, 207-25). I have argued that the south mound of the tomb is occupied by Silseong

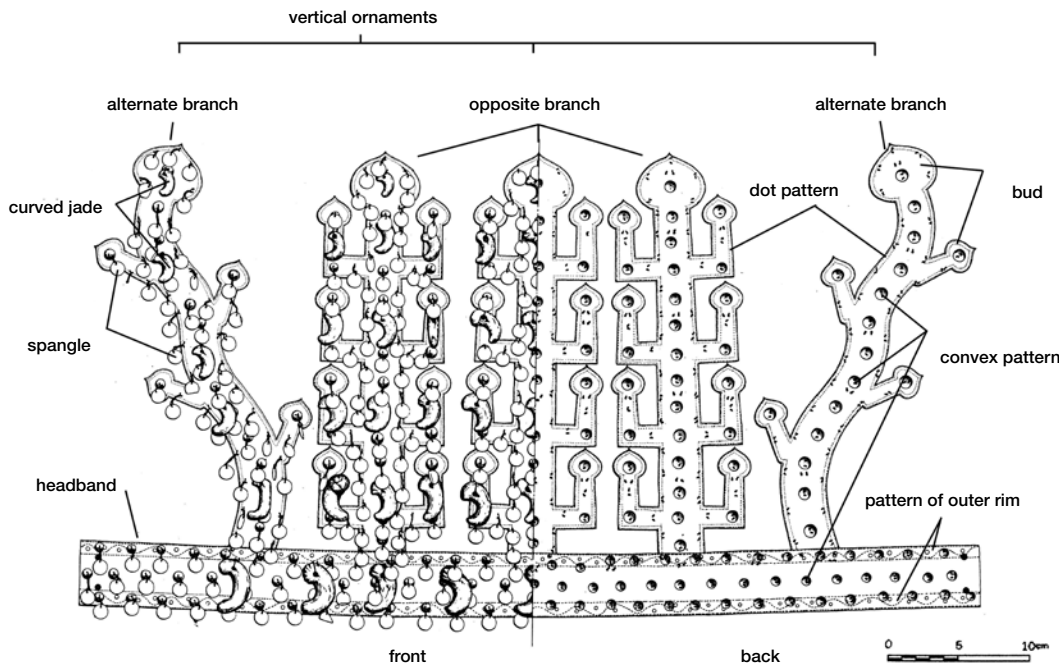


Fig. 1. Parts of the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights.
Uprights / Vertical uprights with symmetrical branches / Angled uprights with alternating branches.

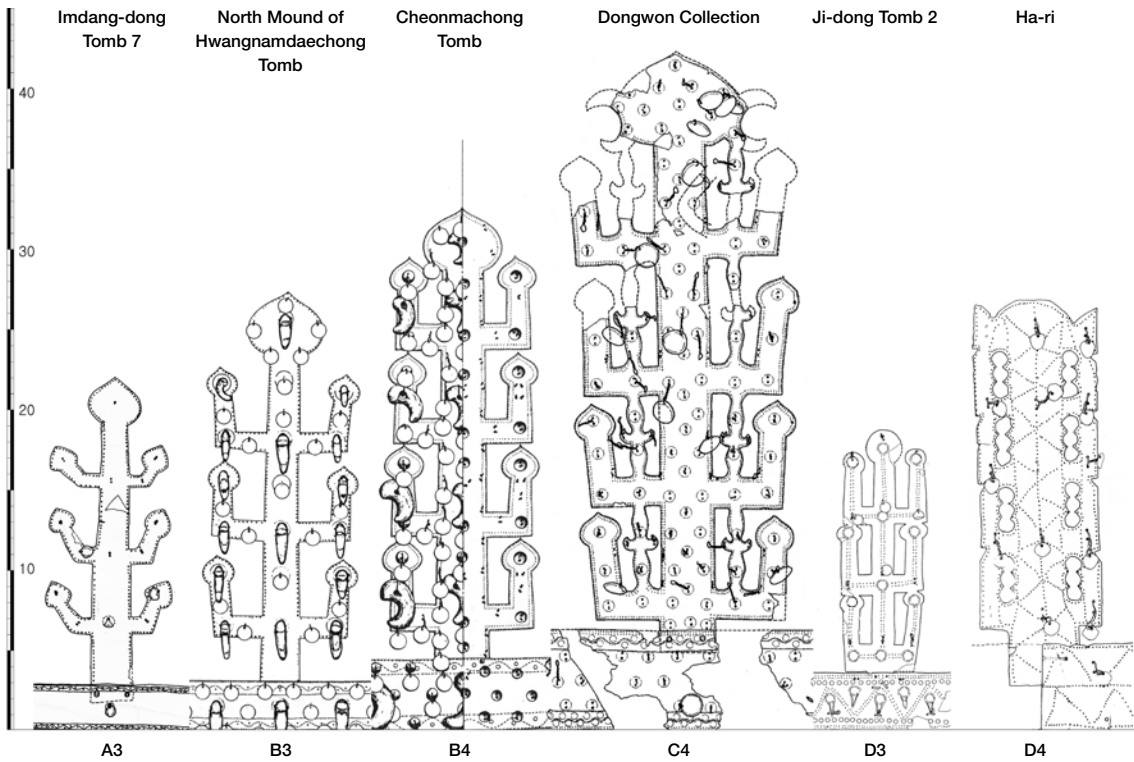


Fig. 2. Comparison of the number of vertical uprights with symmetrical branches.

Maripgan, based on the relative abundance of Goguryeo objects found within, which would seem to date the tomb to the first quarter of the fifth century CE.¹ Other studies have asserted that Namul Maripgan actually lies in Gyo-dong Tomb 119 in Gyeongju, as described in the “Chronology of the Kings” (*wangryuk*, 王曆) chapter of *Samguk Yusa* (Ham Soonseop 1996, 371-2; Kim Yongseong 1996, 119-21).

Objects demonstrating interactions between Silla and Baekje have also been useful in dating the tombs. For example, a Silla-style, three-leaf open-work belt ornament found at Songsan-ri Tomb 4 in Gongju was identical to one found in Geumgwanchong Tomb. This exchange of objects between the two kingdoms was originally believed to have taken place after the Baekje capital was moved from Hanseong to Ungjin in 475 CE (Lee Hansang 1998, 29-30). However, given that Silla and Baekje established a second alliance in 433 CE, they may conceivably have begun to conduct exchanges around that time. Objects reflecting such exchange have also been used to date Cheonmachong Tomb. Specifically, metal objects from Cheonmachong Tomb have been found to match those discovered in the Baekje Tomb of King Muryeong (d. 525), thus allowing Cheonmachong Tomb to be dated to the early sixth century (*ibid.*, 30). Finally, the conclusion of the chronology of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights is provided by crowns from the “regression” stage that have been excavated around Yeosu and Paju in Gyeonggi Province. These crowns date to no earlier than 553 CE, when Silla began to expand into the Han River region (Ham Soonseop 2000, 81).

To use typological analysis to chart the development of headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, both the “type” and “technical pattern” of the crowns must be considered. Type attributes were based on the outer appearance of the crowns, particularly the number of branches on the vertical uprights with symmetrical branches and the composition of the uprights (i.e., vertical with symmetrical branches[opposite branches] vs. angled with alter-

1 Goguryeo’s influence on Silla began around 377 CE, when Goguryeo helped Silla send a diplomatic envoy to China. This influence reached its peak during the first quarter of the fifth century, when Goguryeo forces were stationed in Silla, before decreasing during the second quarter of the fifth century. By 464, Goguryeo forces had been expelled from Silla territory.

Typological group	Type	Technical pattern	Place of provenance (or collection)	Quantity
I	A1 (3/0)	a	Gyo-dong Tomb (Gyeongju)	9
	A1 (3/0)	b	Hwango-dong Tomb beonji 1001 (Gyeongju)	
	A3 (3/0)	a	Bokcheon-dong Tomb 11 (Busan)	
	A3 (3/0)	b	Hwango-dong Tomb 16 (second cist)	
			Joyeong-dong Tomb CII-1 (Gyeongsan)	
			Joyeong-dong Tomb EIII-8	
			Imdang-dong Tomb 7A (Gyeongsan)	
			Bokcheon-dong Tomb 1 ①	
	A3 (3/0)	c	Bokcheon-dong Tomb 1 ②	
II	A3 (3/0)	d	Dalseong Tumuli Group	11
			Tomb 37-1 ② (Daegu)	
			Hwangnamdaechong Tomb south mound ③, ④, ⑤	
			(grave goods, Gyeongju)	
	A3 (3/0)	e	Moonsan-ri Tomb 3-4 (Dalseong)	
			Hwangnamdaechong Tomb south mound ② (grave good)	
	B3 (3/0)	c	Moonsan-ri Tomb 3-1	
	B3 (3/0)	d	Hwangseong-dong Gangbyun-ro Tomb 34 (Gyeongju)	
	B3 (3/0)	e	Hwangnamdaechong Tomb south mound ① (worn)	
			Cheonmahong Tomb (grave good, Gyeongju)	
III	B3 (3/0)	f	Gyo-dong Tomb 7 (Changnyeong)	7
	B3 (3/2)	e	Hwangnamdaechong Tomb north mound	
			Geumgwanchong Tomb (grave good Gyeongju)	
			Geumgwanchong Tomb (worn)	
	B3 (3/2)	f	Imdang-dong Tomb 2 north main chamber ①	
			Imdang-dong Tomb 5B1	
			Dalseong Tumuli Group Tomb 37-1①	
	B3 (3/2)	g	Seobongchong Tomb	
			Imdang-dong Tomb 2 north main chamber ②	
IV	B3 (3/2)	g	Hwango-dong Tomb 34 (third cist)	13 (+1)
			Husband-and-Wife Tomb (Yangsan)	
	B3 (3/2)	h	Imdang-dong Tomb 6A	
			Geumjo-chong Tomb (Yangsan)	
	B3 (3/2)	i	Chodang-dong Tomb B-16 (Gangneung)	
	B4 (3/2)	g	Cheonmahong Tomb (worn)	
			Collection of Kim Hyeongik (Japan)	
	B4 (3/2)	h	Geumryeongchong Tomb	
			Attributed to North Gyeongsang Province (Gyeongju National Museum)	
	B3 (3/0)	i	Joil-ri Tomb 49-2 ①, ② (Ulsan)	
V	C4 (3/2)	h	Dongwon Collection	3 (+3)
			(National Museum of Korea)	
	C4 (5/0)	h	Byun Jongha Collection	
			(National Museum of Korea)	
VI	B3 (3/0)	i	Gacheon-dong Tomb 168 (Daegu)	4 (+4)
	D4 (5/0)	i	Sanno Futakoyama Kofun Tomb (Japan)	
	D3 (4/0)	i	Ji-dong Tomb 2 (Andong)	
	D4 (4/0)	i	Chuam-ri B District Ga-21 (Donghae)	
			Ha-ri (Danyang)	

Table 1. Typological groups of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights.

inating branches[alternate branches]). As such, the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights can be divided into four types, presented in Fig. 2 and Table 1: vertical uprights with symmetrical angled branches (Type A); vertical uprights with 90-degree branches (Type B); vertical uprights with slightly angled branches and additional forms and embellishments (Type C); and vertical uprights with connected branches (Type D). Over time, the number of tiers of branches on the uprights generally increased, from one to three to four, with some coexistence between three- and four-tiered uprights. As such, the number of branches on the vertical uprights generally increased over time (Fig. 3). The composition of the upright ornaments developed in the following manner: first, three vertical uprights with symmetrical branches (sub-type “3/0”); followed by three vertical uprights with symmetrical branches and two angled uprights (“3/2”); and then vertical uprights with symmetrical branches only (“5/0,” “4/0,” “3/0”).

In order to examine the development of the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights more closely, some of the broader chronological phases were further subdivided based on technical patterns derived from production techniques. Diachronic changes in the technical patterns of the crowns can be most clearly observed in the surface patterns of the uprights. Uprights with the fewest branches have plain surfaces, but as the number of branches increases, so does the degree of decorative patterning of the surface. This may have been a deliberate technological development, as more patterning led to a corresponding increase in the curvature of the surface, which in turn helped the central upright sustain the increased weight of more branches. A total of nine different technical patterns were identified (“a” through “i”). The types and technical patterns of the Silla head-

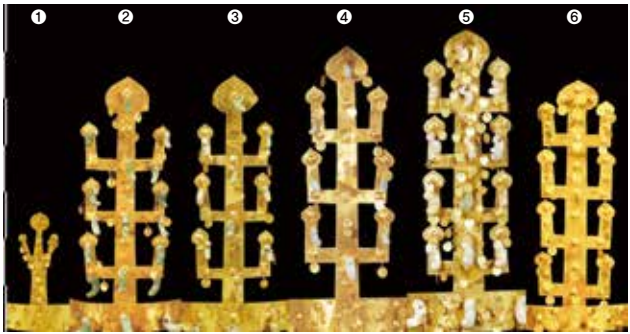


Fig. 3. Comparison of vertical uprights with symmetrical branches of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, (from the left) ① Gyo-dong (Gyeongju) Tomb ② North Mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb ③ Geumgwanchong Tomb ④ Seobongchong Tomb ⑤ Cheonmachong Tomb ⑥ Geumryeongchong Tomb.

band crowns with tree-shaped uprights were thus combined to form a total of six “typological groups” that were ordered chronologically. “Aberrant” examples of these typological groups were also identified. The results of this analysis are presented in Tables 1 and 2 and Figs. 4 and 5.

“Typological group I” consists of “A1 (3/0)” and “A3 (3/0)” type crowns with “a,” “b,” and “c” technical patterns; its date can be established through comparisons with the crown from the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb. Crowns of the “a” technical pattern (from Gyo-dong Tomb in Gyeongju and Bokcheon-dong Tomb 11 in Busan) have distinctively varied styles, but a more prevalent common style soon emerged with “A3 (3/0)” type crowns that are associated with all three technical patterns (a, b, c). Since subsequent crowns were based on this common style, the crowns of this typological group can be regarded as the “prototypes” of the Silla headband crown with tree-shaped uprights. The appearance of “Typological group I” can be dated to around the end of the fourth century, since artifacts found in association with the gold crown at Gyo-dong Tomb are contemporaneous with or slightly later than Wolseong-ro Tomb Ga-13 (Lee Hansang 2000, 102-5). The concluding date of “Typological group I” can be estimated by cross-dating between Imdang-dong Tomb 7 and the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb. The protective stones of the Imdang-dong tombs show that Tomb 7A was constructed first, followed by Tomb 7B, and then Tomb 7C. Also, mounted cups found inside Tomb 7B generally appear to be earlier than those from the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb (along with a few contemporaneous examples). Thus, the Imdang-dong crown is estimated to have been produced no later than the early first quarter of the fifth century, the period just prior to

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i
A1(3/0)									
A3(3/0)	I					Standard		Aberant	
B3(3/0)			II						
B3(3/2)					III				
B4(3/2)							IV		
C(3/2)								V	
D(5/0)									VI
D(3/0)									
D(4/0)									

Table 2. Formation of typological groups through the combination of “types” and “technical patterns”.

the construction of the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb. However, the time period of “Typological group I” crowns may extend a little beyond this point, to around the time of the construction of the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb. For example, pottery contemporaneous with the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb has been found in Hwango-dong 100 Beonji Tomb 1 and other tombs containing crowns of this typological group. “Typological group I” crowns are found clustered

around Gyeongju, as well as in Dongrae in Busan to the south and Gyeongsan to the west.

“Typological group II” is represented by five gilt-bronze headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights from the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb. A time gap, albeit insignificant, can be observed in the production period of these crowns, with the crown worn by the deceased [“B3 (3/0)” type] having been manufactured after the “A3 (3/0)” type crowns that were placed as grave goods. The conclu-

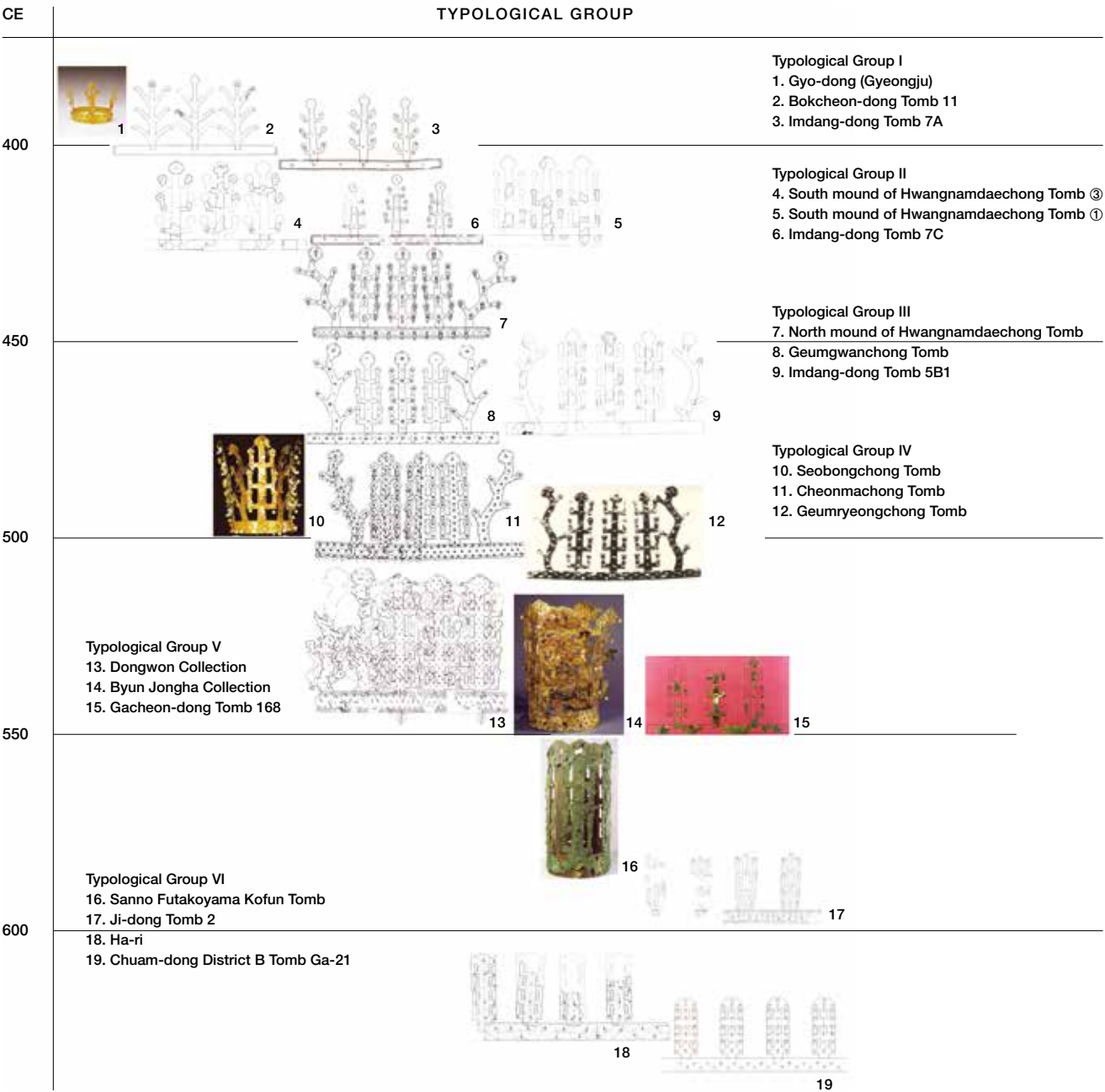


Fig. 4. Chronology of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights.

sion of the time period for “Typological group II” crowns can be estimated based on the identity of the deceased entombed within the south mound. These crowns appear to have been made around the same time or slightly later than the “A₃ (3/o)” type crowns of “Typological group I.” The time period for these crowns ends slightly after the construction of the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb, based on pottery from the second and third cists of Hwangodong Tomb 16. “Typological group II” crowns are found clustered in Gyeongju and also in Gyeongsan. They have also been found along the middle reaches of the Nakdong River, in Daegu and Dalseong, which was the western frontier of Silla territory at the time.

Although they were manufactured at slightly different times, the crowns of both “Typological group I” and “Typological group II” appear to have been used as grave goods around the same time. The crowns of these two typological groups can thus be considered

together as representing the “prototype” stage of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, which spans from the end of the fourth century to the first quarter of the fifth century. A key feature of this stage is the rapid establishment of a single common style.

“Typological group III” is represented by the gold headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights from Geumgwanchong Tomb and the north mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb. Typologically, the crown from the north mound of Hwangnamdaechong predates the Geumgwanchong crown, even though the Hwangnamdaechong crown has a “later” technical pattern than the Geumgwanchong crown. Notably, the Hwangnamdaechong crown may have required more patterning to help sustain its wider uprights with symmetrical branches (Fig. 6). In addition, the north mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb was found to contain Goguryeo ornaments, whereas only



Fig. 5b. Gold crowns of Silla, North Mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb.



Fig. 5c. Gold crowns of Silla, Geumgwanchong Tomb.



Fig. 5d. Gold crowns of Silla, Seobongchong Tomb.



Fig. 5e. Gold crowns of Silla, Cheonmachong Tomb.

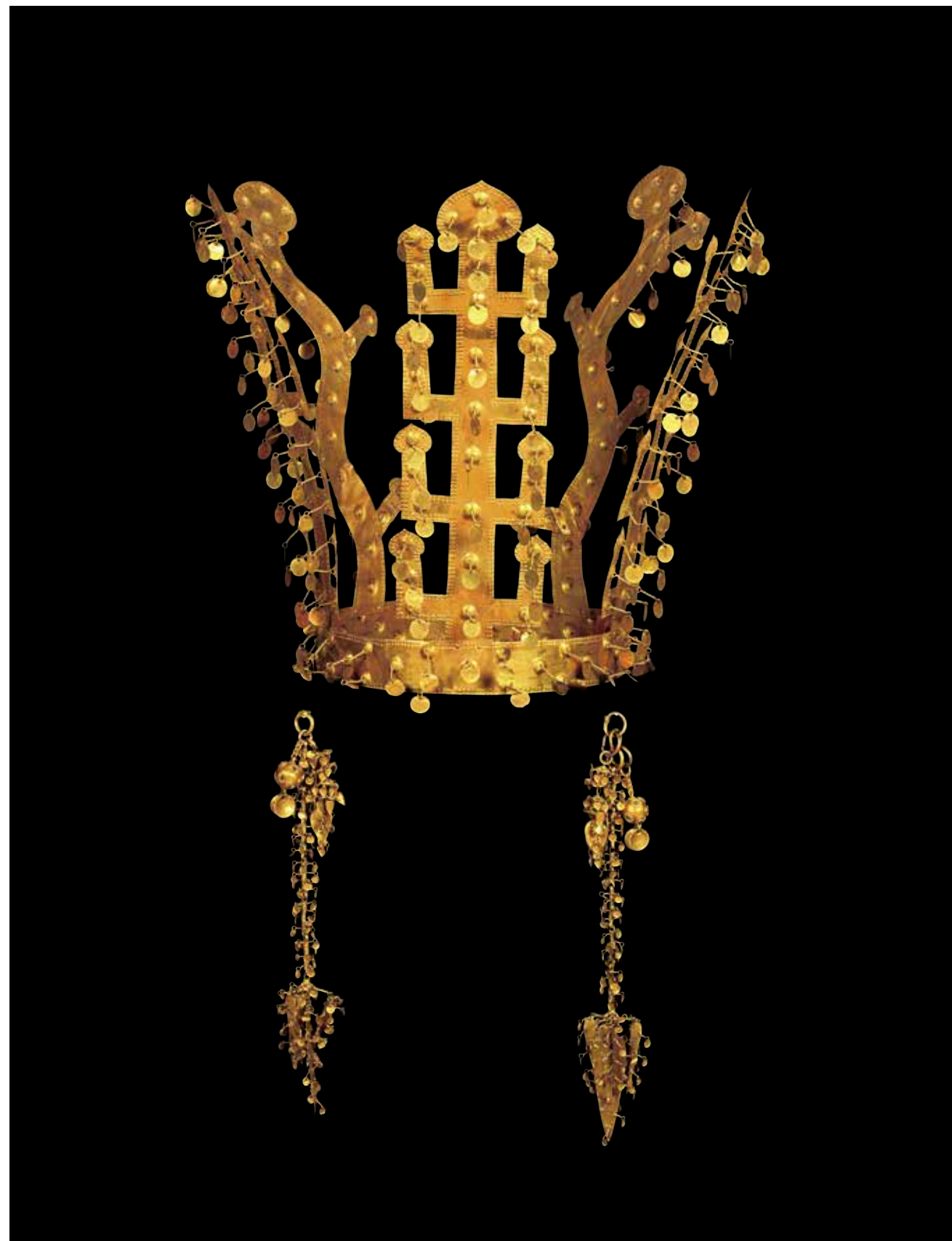


Fig. 5f. Gold crowns of Silla, Geumryeongchong Tomb.

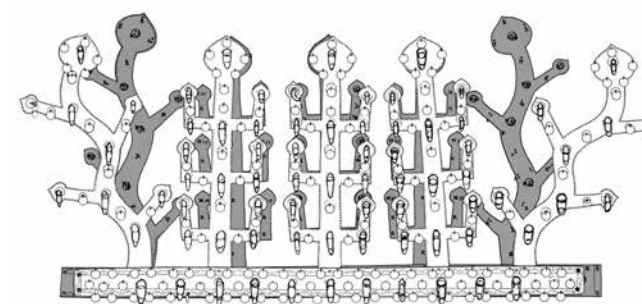


Fig. 6. Comparison of gold headband crowns from Cheonmachong Tomb and Geumgwanchong Tomb (Cheonmachong crown in the foreground)

Silla ornaments were found in Geumgwanchong Tomb. “Typological group III” crowns are found throughout the distribution area of “Typological group II” crowns, with the addition of Changnyeong, along the Nakdong River. The beginning of the time period for this typological group can be estimated based on a three-leaf openwork belt buckle found inside Songsan-ri Tomb 4 in Gongju, which resembles one from Geumgwanchong Tomb. This tomb was constructed sometime after 475 CE, when the Baekje capital was moved to Ungjin (present-day Gongju), and this date has been used previously to cross-date the Geumgwanchong Tomb. However, the three-leaf openwork belt buckle could have reached Baekje when the second alliance between Silla and Baekje was established in 433 CE, which would push back the earliest date for these crowns. Therefore, the crown from the north mound of Hwangnamdaechong can be dated to the second quarter of the fifth century and the Geumgwanchong crown to the third quarter of the fifth century. “Typological group III” can be seen to represent the establishment of the “standard” phase of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights.

“Typological group IV” is represented by the gold headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights from Seobongchong Tomb, Cheonmachong Tomb, and Geumryeongchong Tomb. The Seobongchong gold crown is of the “B₃ (3/2)” type, but is similar to the Cheonmachong crown in terms of technical pattern and the style of the associated pottery. In terms of chronology, the Seobongchong crown is the earliest of the three, followed by the Cheonmachong crown, and then the Geumryeongchong crown. This group also includes the gilt-bronze crown from Tomb 55 of the Dalseong Tumuli Group in Daegu and other examples from Yangsan. This typological group can be dated from the fourth quarter of the fifth century

to the early first quarter of the sixth century, based on the cross-dating of similar ornaments from Cheonmachong and the Baekje tomb of King Muryeong (Lee Hansang 1998, 30). “Typological group IV” represents the stage in which the “standard” Silla headband crown with tree-shaped uprights developed, although some crowns from this group show divergent elements. In addition, this group also includes some regional imitations of the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, such as the crown from Chodangdong Tomb B-16 in Gangneung and two crowns from Joil-ri Tomb 49-2 in Ulsan, which are characterized by technical pattern “i.” These three regional crowns deviate from the standard developmental trend of increased size and increased elaboration through the use of more spangles. Both Ulsan and Gangneung were occupied by Silla at an early date, so the appearance of imitations of Silla headband crowns in these regions would seem to indicate that both areas were quick to adopt and imitate Silla culture.

“Typological group V” is represented by two crowns from the Dongwon Collection and Byun Jongha Collection (respectively) of the National Museum of Korea. Both crowns were donated to the museum by private collectors, and the precise details of their origin and excavation are currently unknown. The chronology of this typological group can be ascertained from Eunryeongchong Tomb, Houchong Tomb, and Bubuchong Tomb (“Husband-and-Wife Tomb”) in Bomun-dong, all of which have yielded crown fragments that are similar to the crown from the Dongwon Collection.² Thus far, it has not been possible to determine a relative chronology for this group, as only two of the crowns are completely intact. Notably, both of the intact crowns have side horns added to the peak of the central tree-shaped upright. However, the crown from the Byun Jongha Collection has five tree-shaped uprights and no angled uprights, which is similar to the “Typological group VI” crown from the Sanno Futakoyama Kofun Tomb in Maebasi, Gunma Prefecture, Japan. To date, only gilt-bronze crowns have been identified with this typological

² For example, the crown from the Dongwon Collection has side branches decorated with the three-leaf motif, like the Houchong crown, and angled uprights with alternating branches, like the Eunryeongchong crown. Fragments of the Bomun-dong crown also share certain similarities with the Dongwon Collection crown.

group, which includes the largest and most opulent of Silla crowns. These crowns have wide headbands, measuring 5-6 cm, that were affixed using rivets, possibly for ease of wear. The uprights overlap, giving the crowns a long cylindrical form, and in some cases, thin metal wires were used to connect the neighboring uprights. The large size and opulent nature of the “Typological group V” crowns cannot necessarily be regarded as a development, as it involved the erosion of the standard form of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights. This erosion eventually resulted in the production of overly simplified crowns that maintained only the basic structure of the ceremonial headwear. As such, this typological group represents the beginning of the “regression” stage of the Silla headband crown with tree-shaped uprights. Typological analysis of pottery discovered within the tombs indicates that Eunryeongchong Tomb is the earliest of the three, followed by Houchong Tomb, and finally Bubuchong Tomb (Lee Juheon, Lee Yonghyun, Yoo Hyeseon 2006, 73-4; Gyeongju National Museum 2011, 65-82; Yoon Sangdeok 2011, 132-9). Based on the formal modifications, the “Typological group V” crowns likely postdate the crown from Geumryeongchong Tomb. However, the associated grave goods suggest that this typological group actually may be contemporaneous with Geumryeongchong Tomb. For example, the three-leaf openwork belt buckle that was discovered with the Dongwon crown is similar to one found in Geumryeongchong Tomb, and the pottery from Eunryeongchong Tomb may also belong to a similar phase as that from Geumryeongchong Tomb. The conclusion of the time period of this typological group can be established by the appearance of “Typological group VI” crowns in the middle and lower reaches of the Han River region. Therefore, “Typological group V” is estimated to have lasted from the late first quarter of the sixth century to the second quarter of the sixth century. This group also includes the crown from Gacheon-dong Tomb 168 in Daegu, a regional imitation and an aberrant example, which is of the “B3 (3/0)” type. This regional crown resembles one of the crowns (㉔) from Joil-ri Tomb 49-2 in Ulsan, except that it has inscribed angular patterns along the spine of the uprights with symmetrical branches. Although Gacheon-dong now belongs to the administrative district of Daegu, it was originally part of the Gyeongsan region, which was occupied by Silla at an early date.

“Typological group VI” demonstrates the deterioration of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, as only the basic structure of the crown is expressed. Only the vertical uprights with symmetrical branches remain, as the branches have been vertically merged together. In addition, the technical patterns of the crowns show a wide variance, with the only shared traits of technical pattern “i” being the presence of convex saw-tooth patterns and the use of metal rivets and staples for the headband. Therefore, this typological group represents the diminishment of typological developments of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights.

Among this group, only the crown from Sanno Futakoyama Kofun Tomb in Maebasi, Gunma Prefecture, Japan, which is of the “D4 (5/0)” type, shows a continuation with the preceding typological group. However, since this crown was not found in former Silla territory, its production site and circumstances have yet to be determined. The crown may have accompanied Silla immigrants to Japan or may have been sent there after having been produced in the Silla capital or an outlying region. It may even have been produced in Japan, although that seems unlikely, given that it shows a continuation of the typological trajectory of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights. For example, like its predecessors, the crown has five vertical uprights with symmetrical branches and a headband decorated with convex saw-tooth patterns. Given these details, and the overall maintenance of standard shape and form, the crown was probably produced in the Silla center and then sent to Japan. Notably, even as the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights lost their symbolic power in the Silla center, they would certainly have retained great significance for Silla people residing in the Japanese Archipelago.

This typological group also includes “D3 (4/0)” type crowns, which show regression in all aspects. Like the Sanno Futakoyama crown, the crown from Ji-dong Tomb 2 has peaks on the branch-ends of the uprights. Evidence indicates that the crown from Maeryong-ri Tomb 5 in Yeosu also resembles the Ji-dong crown, although only the headband of the former remains. The bronze crowns from Ha-ri in Danyang and Chuam-dong District B Tomb Ga-21, both of which are “D4 (4/0)” type, have uprights with triangular spaces cut along the sides to express the branches, much like the crown from the stone-chamber

tomb of Seongdong-ri, Paju. In the case of the Ha-ri crown, the peaks have disappeared from the branch-ends of the uprights, indicating that it is relatively earlier than the other crowns of this type, but this initial assumption is contradicted by the presence of simple protrusions to express the branches. Based on this example, the regressive features of these crowns cannot be used to establish an accurate chronology, but should be considered case by case. A crown found in Ullungdo Island features uprights similar to those of the Ha-ri crown (Choi Monglyong, et al, 1998, 126-30). As the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights do not adhere to any standardized form, this typological group represents the culmination of the “regression” stage. Apart from the Sanno Futakoyama crown, the gilt-bronze crowns of this typological group have all been found in frontier territories that were newly annexed by Silla during the reign of King Jinheung (r. 540-576). On the other hand, bronze crowns from this group have been found in regions that were already part of Silla territory. The gilt-bronze “D3 (4/0)” type crowns can be dated to the third to fourth quarter of the sixth century, while the bronze “D4 (4/0)” type crowns have been found in association with pottery dating to the early seventh century (Yoon Sangdeok 2010, 137; 2011, 137).

III. Development and Historical Context of Silla Headband Crowns with tree-shaped Uprights

Based on the estimated production dates, Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights seem to have been used for a period of approximately 250 years. They can be divided into three stages (“prototype,” “standard,” “regression”), which can be further divided into the following five sub-stages: “prototype”; “establishing the standard”; “developing the standard”; “onset of regression”; and “culmination of regression.” The transition between these stages may have occurred in association with changes in the contemporaneous symbolic structure, which will now be examined.

The institutionalized use of specific objects to signify and maintain social stratification can be traced back to the Samhan Confederacy (early first century BCE-late fourth century CE). Records show that, around the second quarter of the third century, the rulers of Samhan received seals attached with sashes

(印綬) from China through exchange, and that these seals were used as symbols of authority. Even members of agricultural villages (下戸) are said to have come up with their own seals with attached sashes and official hats and robes (印綬衣幘). In Samhan, the rulers of *guk* polities were divided into the “*eup* leader” (*eupgun*, 邑君) and the “*eup* head” (*eupjang*, 邑長), with the “peasants” (*haho*, 下戸) below them; these different ranks were associated with different types and styles of clothing. In both Buyeo and Goguryeo, clothing and personal ornaments made from precious metals were also used to denote rank. Thus, the regulations adopted in the Maripgan period regarding clothing and rank would seem to have been rooted in earlier practices. The use of Silla crowns, which were emblematic of a distinctive symbolic system, would have also been regulated.

According to historical records and archaeological data, both Goguryeo and Baekje used exclusively conical cap-shaped crowns (*mogwan*, 帽冠) from the fourth century onward. From that time, headband crowns were used only in Silla, Gaya, the southern territories of Baekje, and Japanese Wa (Fig. 7). The use of different types of crowns among these states can be explained by the varying processes for achieving statehood, the differences in the respective class and administrative rank systems, and the different stages by which each state adopted the new ideology of Buddhism. In the case of the Silla Kingdom, the establishment of a centralized government system and the adoption of Buddhism occurred almost simultaneously, followed immediately by changes in social rules and regulations. Accordingly, these transformations were accompanied by the decline of headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights (Ham Soonseop 2000, 81).

Some scholars have attempted to associate the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights with women (Kim Byungmo 1998, 55; Kim Yongseong 2010, 121-3). However, although the crowns do seem to have been used to signify notions of social stratification, current evidence does not indicate that their use was restricted by gender or age. In the large tombs of Gyeongju, the former capital of Silla, deceased members of the royal family were buried wearing their crowns. The funerary rites, including the method of laying out the deceased, were in keeping with the distinctive religious practices of the time. However, the headband crowns with tree-

shaped uprights are found less frequently in the tombs of outlying regions, perhaps indicating some conflict between the indigenous funerary practices and those newly introduced from the Silla center.

In addition to their role as emblems of social rank, headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights also may have carried a more general symbolic meaning related to the religious rituals of the Silla capital. In particular, the crowns may have been regarded as “sacred objects” (神物) within the Silla religious system, which had to be maintained and disseminated as the Silla state expanded. The prototype of these sacred objects would have been the “sacred tree” (神木) that stood in the hallowed sites of the Samhan period, called “*sodo*” (蘇塗). The leaders of the Silla Kingdom were the head priests who had presided over indigenous shamanistic rituals; male priests were given the title “Chachaung,” while females had names that contained the sound “ar” (Na Heela 1999, 95-7). A sacred place that housed the “shrine of the clan founder” (始祖廟) was also maintained within the Silla capital. Notably, the earliest known inception of the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights was merely an image of the sacred tree attached to a headband. These crowns were but one of many components of ritual dress that were formalized in the Maripgan period, and their development through the three stages—“prototype,” “standard,” and “regression”—matches the trajectory of the symbolic system that they represented. The headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights may be regarded as material manifestations of the Silla sys-

tem of religious rituals, making it possible to chart the overall development of Silla religious rituals, tracing back to rites carried out at the shrine of the Silla founder, through this single type of artifact.

The crowns of the “prototype” stage, which first appeared around the end of the fourth century, likely emerged through interaction with Goguryeo, where crowns with metal decorations were already in use. Foreign exchange was controlled by the central elite of Silla, who likely oversaw the creation of headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, as suggested by the gold crown from Gyo-dong in Gyeongju. This crown has no decorative patterns along the edges of the uprights and its headband was not made from a single gold sheet, indicating that metalworking techniques had not yet been fully developed. Such techniques had become more advanced by the beginning of the fifth century, however, as evinced by the crowns from Bokcheon-dong Tomb 11 and Hwango-dong 100 Beonji Tomb 1, which were produced with delicate metalworking techniques that permitted their headbands to be made from a single sheet of gold. The headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights from this stage, made with a variety of individual styles, were produced during the reign of Namul Maripgan (r. 356-402). The fact that a prevalent style had not yet been established indicates that the Silla religious ritual system, embodied by the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, had yet to become dominant with the outlying regions of the kingdom.

The crowns of the “A3 (3/0)” and “B3 (3/0)” types with technical patterns “b,” “c,” “d,” and “e” are representative of the reign of Silseung Maripgan (r. 402-417). In these crowns, a prevalent style emerged, characterized by vertical uprights with symmetrical branches. In addition to the Gyeongju area, crowns of these types have also been found in such key regional centers as Dongrae in Busan and Imdang in Gyeongsan. This distribution pattern reflects the spread of Silla’s religious ritual system into these key regional centers, along with the establishment of a symbolic system that utilized headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights as an important medium. This development can be attributed to the reign of Silseung Maripgan, a leader who was “wise with much sense and [who] had the vision to anticipate the future,” according to the *Samguk Sagi*. The crowns of this stage are also related to the existence of headband crowns with feather-shaped (羽毛形) uprights, which are believed

to reflect the direct influence of the Goguryeo crown decorated with feathers (*jowugwan*, 鳥羽冠). Two such headband crowns with feather-shaped uprights were found in the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tomb, perhaps attesting to the deceased’s close connections with Goguryeo. Notably, Silseung Maripgan spent ten years as a hostage in Goguryeo, where he may have gained firsthand knowledge of regulations, including those concerning dress, which were later implemented in the Silla Kingdom.

The crowns of the “standard” stage represent the period from the reign of Nulji Maripgan (r. 417-458) to King Jijeung (r. 500-514). The “B3 (3/2)” and “B4 (3/2)” types represent the quintessential Silla headband crown with tree-shaped uprights; the majority of Silla gold crowns that are refined and well-proportioned belong to these types. The material culture of Goguryeo continued to have a heavy influence during the earlier part of the “establishing the standard” sub-stage, but this influence gradually decreased, until Silla designs were firmly established by the end of the sub-stage. This development of Silla designs occurred around the same time that Nulji Maripgan repaired the royal tombs of the previous rulers and that Soji Maripgan (r. 479-500) founded the Naeul Divine Palace (奈乙神宮), which occurred in 478. Significantly, these events took place after the second alliance between Silla and Baekje in 433, when Silla began to break away from Goguryeo influence. The repair of the royal tombs was not merely an act of refurbishing ancestral graves; it represented Nulji Maripgan’s attempt to re-organize the preceding royal lineage (Na Heela 1999, 104-5). The Naeul Divine Palace was intended for the worship of the “God of the Heavens,” the supreme deity who originally sent the founder of Silla down to earth. As such, this sacred shrine seems to have been an extension of the shrine of the clan founder, but its establishment does not appear to have led to the abandonment of the latter. Following the founding of the Naeul Divine Palace, the two shrines came to serve different functions, with the shrine of the clan founder being used only for ancestral rites for direct ancestors according to the royal genealogy (*ibid.*, 126-7).

Thus, the Naeul Divine Palace was used for ancestral rites of the state, whereas the shrine of the clan founder was used for rituals of the clan. This differentiation is highly significant, as it seems to have been linked to the appearance of imitations of

headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, which occurred around the fourth quarter of the fifth century, according to the pottery chronology. That is, the imitation crowns may have been created when the clans of the regions annexed by Silla at an early date were given permission to hold their own ancestral rites. Notably, the deceased who were buried with headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights in small regional tombs were also entombed with iron bells and swords with ring-shaped pommels and three-leaf designs. Although this circumstance does not necessarily prove that the deceased were the heads of regional centers, it certainly demonstrates that the ruling elite of these regions actively adopted and reproduced these changes. The newly permitted rites would have followed Silla-style religious rituals.

Crowns of the “regression” stage belong to the Middle Ancient period (Ham Soonseop 2000, 81). The conditions that brought about the transition to this regression stage were set in place at the end of the preceding stage. During the reign of King Jijeung (r. 500-514), the authority of the Silla ruler expanded beyond that of the Maripgan rulers, as evidenced by the new use of Chinese-style king names (503), the establishment of formal guidelines on mourning clothes (504), and the dispatching of provincial governors (505). In the old system of the Silla Kingdom, the Maripgan rulers were akin to a “Khan” whose power and authority was relatively greater than that of his people. This power and authority was supported by Silla-style religious rituals (evidenced by the Naeul Divine Palace and the clan founder’s shrine), which were presided over by the Maripgan, while indirect rule was practiced according to the *bu*-system. However, the changes implemented by King Jijeung marked the dawn of a new system. The transition to the new system was completed with the establishment of a new centralized government during the reign of King Beopheung (r. 514-540), who also oversaw the promulgation of state laws and decrees and the implementation of rules concerning official dress (520), and the acknowledgement of Buddhism as the state religion (527). As the result of all these changes, an absolute kingship was created (Jo Bodon 19889, 124-5). Therefore, the erosion of the standard form of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights can be associated with the establishment of the new system during the reign of King Beopheung and the accompanying changes to Silla-style religious rituals.

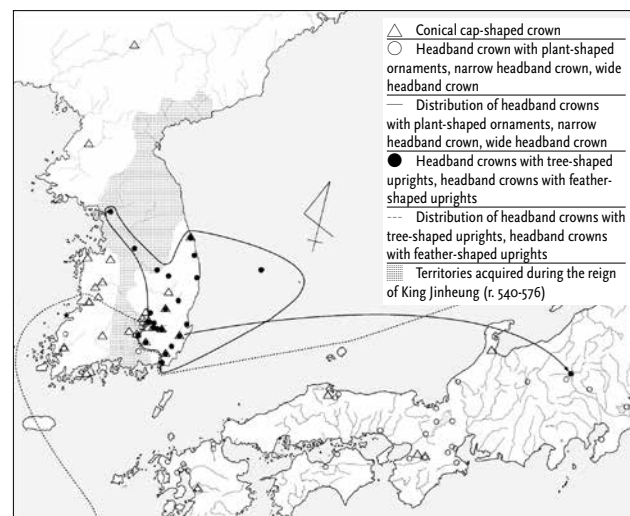


Fig. 7. Distribution of crown types (Re-drawn from Ham 1997: 96).

The royal family continued to preside over national ancestral rites at the Naeul Royal Shrine, but also actively delegated its religious duties to Buddhism. The increasing emphasis on the heavenly nature of the Naeul Royal Shrine and those lineages that were descended from the heavens led to greater authority for certain groups (in both the capital and provinces) that had not been fully incorporated into the state system, which became an obstacle to the royal family's attempt to centralize the government system. Therefore, the royal family turned to Buddhism to obtain the transcendental authority it required to accelerate the centralization process (Na Heela 1999, 133-4). Religious rituals were carried out at three different locations: the Buddhist temple, the Naeul Royal Shrine, and the clan founder's shrine. The imitation crowns that continued to be used in the provinces were still accompanied by iron bells, but not by swords with ring-shaped pommels and three-leaf designs. This change may not be attributed to the decline of the regional heads, but may instead reflect the wide dissemination of Silla-style religious rituals, which had taken root in these regions. As discussed, these imitation crowns have been found in the regions that were incorporated into the Silla state at an early date.

During the "culmination of regression" sub-stage, only the basic structure of the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights was expressed. "D3 (4/0)" type crowns have been found around the peripheries of the regional centers in the Yeongnam area, as well as in the Han River region, which became part of Silla territory in 553, during the reign of King Jinheung (r. 540-576). The discovery of headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights representing Silla-style religious rituals in this area is especially interesting because that area had already been exposed to Buddhism as a former part of Goguryeo and Baekje territory. Moreover, by 553, Buddhism had already been introduced to Silla, so these crowns may reflect the process of "Silla-fication" undertaken by the communities of newly annexed regions. The "D3 (4/0)" type crowns were probably produced locally, as they are highly simplified and crudely made, unlike the "D4 (5/)" type crown from the Sanno Futakoyama Kofun Tomb in Japan. Like the Sanno Futakoyama crown, these crowns may possibly have been imitations of contemporaneous examples from the Silla capital, given the fact that the Naeul Royal Shrine was still in use. But this seems very unlikely, given that the royal family

had adopted Buddhism as the state religion, which left little reason for the capital to continue producing headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights.

From this stage and beyond, the number of gold personal ornaments found in archaeological contexts decreased dramatically. This diminishment is not due to a decreased demand for such objects; rather, it is due to the regulation of their use according to rank. In addition, with the implementation of the official rank system, covering everyone from the village head to the peasantry, there was no longer a need to indicate rank through personal accessories (Kim Jaehong 2001, 165-177). These changes reflect the will of the Silla king, who also restricted the use of gold to the royal family and Buddhist temples (Ham Soonseop 2010, 190), an expected result of state centralization. The last of the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights were the bronze "D4 (4/0)" type crowns manufactured in the seventh century. The use of certain precious metals was restricted by rank, so such metals could no longer be used for the crowns, even as gilt. The bronze crown from Ha-ri in Danyang did not come from a tomb but was found in a stone grotto, along with several ceramic vessels. Therefore, it is assumed that the Ha-ri crown would have been worn by a shaman who served the local community (Choi Monglyong, et al 1998, 129; Ham Soonseop 2000, 81). Some Silla-style religious rituals and ceremonies continued to take place in the Silla capital, including the coronation ceremony. By this time, however, in the local regions, the headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights had taken on a new meaning as a piece of religious paraphernalia worn by shamans serving the local community.

IV. Conclusion

This paper provides a diachronic analysis of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights. In previous papers published in Korea, I have examined the research history and iconography of Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights, established typological categories and stages, and considered the overall development of the crowns within the historical context. This paper, intended for the English-language audience, analyzes the typological categories and developmental stages of the Silla headband crowns with tree-shaped uprights in more detail, and

also discusses the historical context of their development from a fresh perspective.

In the future, the results of this study may be built upon by exploring the following the avenues of research. First, the development of the conical cap-shaped crown (*mogwan*), another type of Silla crown, should also be examined in detail. Such research would enhance our understanding of how crowns were worn in the Silla Kingdom from the Maripgan to Middle Ancient periods. Second, this research can help form the basis of future attempts to reconstruct Silla's entire system of formal dress through archaeological material. Third, comparative studies with archaeological material from northern China, other regions of the Korean Peninsula, and the Japanese Archipelago will allow a more comprehensive understanding of the ancient systems of formal dress in East Asia. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY KO ILHONG

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Fig. 9. Gold crown from Seobongchong Tomb in Gyeongju and the bird ornament connecting the intersecting bands. (National Museum of Korea).

Silla Crowns and Crown Ornaments of the Yeongdong Region

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I. Introduction

Most extant Korean crowns and associated regalia date from the Three Kingdoms Period (三國時代, 57 BCE-668 CE). Of the three kingdoms, Silla (新羅, 57 BCE-935 CE) seems to have produced the most crowns. Thus far, more than eighty Silla crowns, made from various materials, have been discovered, all of which are estimated to have been produced in the fifth and sixth centuries of Silla, within a period of 100 to 200 years. Most of the Silla crowns have been found in and around present-day Gyeongju, the former capital of Silla, but many have also been found in outlying areas. Significantly, some of the crowns discovered in the outlying areas predate the estimated time in which the central government sent its own officials to preside over those regions. The presence of such crowns in those outlying areas suggests that the people who wore the crowns were the rulers of those areas, rather than members of the royal court or central government. However, it is not known whether the crowns were given to regional leaders by the Silla government or produced locally by the regional rulers themselves (Jeon Deokjae 1990, 39-44).

The Yeongdong region in eastern Gangwon Province (Fig. 1) represents the furthest reaches of the Silla Kingdom during the Three Kingdoms Period. This coastal area was once the site of fierce conflicts among local clans and confederacies, and then between Goguryeo (高句麗) and Silla, all vying to

increase their maritime power. Eventually, however, Silla was able to expand through the territory and seize control, stabilizing the region and causing the conflicts to dissipate. The crucial significance that this region held for Silla is illustrated by the Silla tumuli that have been excavated and researched in



Fig. 1. Map of Silla sites.

areas such as Gangneung (Chodang-dong, Byeongsan-dong, Hasi-dong and Yeongjin-ri) and Donghae (Chuam-dong). These excavations have yielded numerous Silla artifacts from the fifth and sixth centuries, among which the crowns and crown ornaments stand out. In addition to symbolizing the power of a ruler, crowns and crown ornaments also reflect the contemporaneous culture of the region.

In 2008, Chuncheon National Museum held a special exhibition entitled *Crowns, the Symbol of Power: From Gyeongju to Gangwon Province*. This exhibition featured crowns and crown ornaments excavated from the Yeongdong region, as well as some replicas of artifacts that had been badly damaged or destroyed. During the process of making the replicas, new information was discovered that greatly illuminated the relationship between the artifacts from the Yeongdong region and those of other regions. Based on that new information, this paper compares the crowns and crown ornaments excavated from the Yeongdong region with those found in other regions in order to identify and assess the regional differences in their characteristics.

II. Crowns of the Yeongdong Region

Prior to the Three Kingdoms Period, various local societies regularly battled for control of the Yeongdong region, a key strategic area that includes the coast on the East Sea.¹ Silla eventually gained tentative control of the region, but still had to fend off incursions from Goguryeo and the Mohe people (靺鞨) of ancient Manchuria. Records of these conflicts can be found in volume 3, chapter 3 of *Samguk Sagi* (三國史記, *History of the Three Kingdoms*), entitled *Annals of Silla*. According to the records, the Mohe people attacked the region in 395, but they were eventually repelled. Then in 468, the combined forces of Goguryeo and Mohe attacked and conquered Silla's Siljikseong Fortress (悉直城), located in present-day Samcheok. Silla eventually regained control of the territory, although details about how and when this happened are as

¹ There are no written records of conflicts and wars before the Three Kingdoms Period, but other evidence exists. For example, most of the Iron-Age dwellings that have been discovered in the Yeongdong region were destroyed by fire, indicating that there were frequent conflicts.

yet unknown. Geographically, the Yeongdong region was of the utmost importance to Silla, because it was the gateway to the path down the east coast to Silla's capital in present-day Gyeongju. Thus, in an effort to block its enemies from the north, Silla must have exerted efforts to incorporate the local powers of the Yeongdong region into its kingdom. As part of such efforts, Silla may have given crowns and crown ornaments to the local powers.

Two Silla crowns have been found in the Yeongdong region: one gilt-bronze crown from Gangneung, and one bronze crown from Donghae. Two crowns is a small quantity when compared to the number of crowns found in other regions that Silla conquered between the fourth and sixth centuries. This small number may reflect the difficulty of forming large municipalities within such a narrow strip of land along the coast. Nonetheless, the presence of any Silla crowns demonstrates that some local powers in Gangneung and Donghae were deemed to be sufficiently large and important to receive crowns from the central government.

A. The Gilt-bronze Crown

The gilt-bronze crown was excavated from Chodang-dong Tomb B-16 in Gangneung. Figure 2 (left) shows the crown's condition at the time it was excavated. To prevent further damage, the crown was originally preserved within the soil where it had been found. Recently, however, the dirt and other accretions were removed so that the crown could be properly conserved and restored (Fig. 2, right). During the conservation process, detailed photos were taken of the exposed parts of the crown, and X-rays photos were taken of the elements that remained concealed under the dirt. Utilizing the results of this research, this paper examines each part of this crown and compares them to related crowns found in other regions.

Headband: Almost every Silla crown includes a headband made by bending a long rectangular strip of metal into a circle and then connecting the two ends with small rivets. Two small rivets were used to join the ends of this crown's headband (Fig. 2a). Unlike other parts of this crown, the headband remained virtually intact. The most significant detail about the headband is that its upper edge is serrated (Fig. 2b), a circumstance that was confirmed by X-ray photography (Fig. 2c). In fact, this is the only Silla crown



Fig. 2. Gilt-bronze crown from Chodang-dong Tomb B-16, Gangneung, before (left) and after (right) conservation. (Chuncheon National Museum).



known to have a headband with a serrated edge.

In addition to connecting the two ends of the headband, rivets were also used to attach the crown's uprights to the headband. In this case, two rivets were used to attach a single, stand-alone upright (Fig. 2b), while three rivets were used in those areas

where both an upright and one of the intersecting bands that fit across the head were attached (Fig. 2d). The uprights were likely attached to the headband with two rivets while the headband was still flat (i.e., before it was bent into a circle). However, the intersecting bands could only be attached after the head-

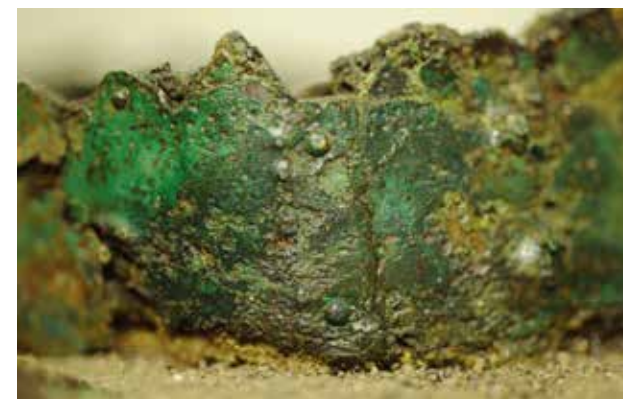


Fig. 2a. Detail of the two ends of the headband connected with nails.

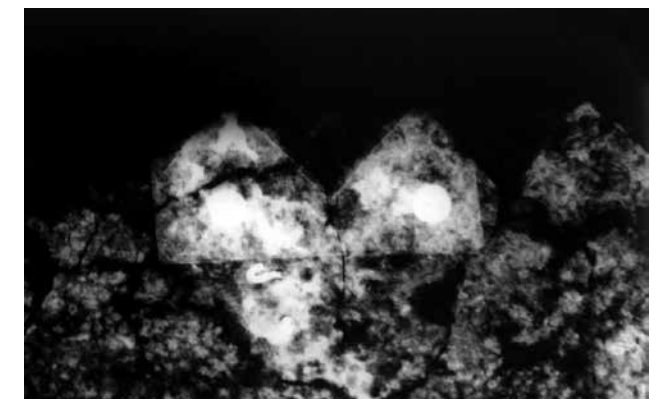


Fig. 2c. X-ray photograph of the connection between the headband and an upright.

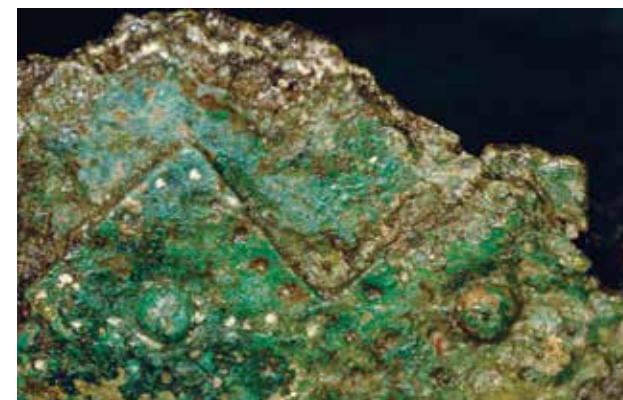


Fig. 2b. Detail of an upright connected to the headband with nails.

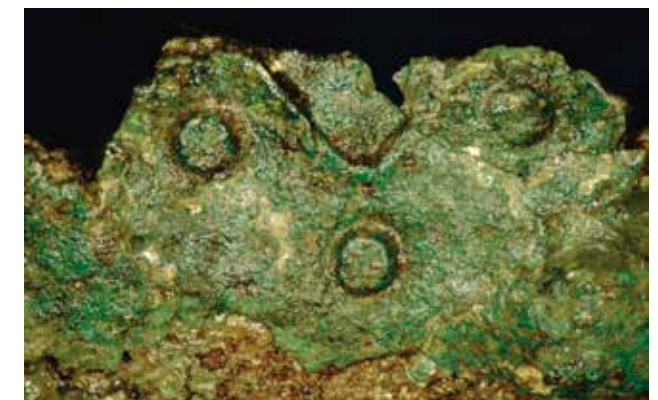


Fig. 2d. Detail of an upright connected to the intersecting bands with nails.

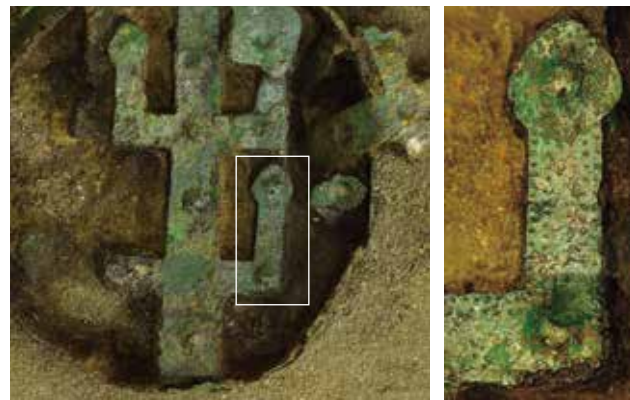


Fig. 2e. An upright (left) and its detail (right).



Fig. 2f. Traces of a diamond-shaped design of dots in the middle of the upright.

band had been formed into a circle, so an extra rivet was needed to attach them.

Uprights: Like other Silla crowns, this crown has several uprights attached to the headband. In this case, the crown has three tree-shaped uprights and two antler-shaped uprights. The tree-shaped uprights have three tiers of branches, each with two parallel rows of relief dots along the edges (Fig. 2e). Notably, in the middle of the upright, there seems to be a pattern of dots in the shape of a diamond, although it is not clear (Fig. 2f). This detail has rarely been seen on other excavated gilt-bronze crowns, although a similar dotted diamond design in the middle of an upright can be seen on a bronze crown found in Ha-ri, Danyang-gun, North Chungcheong Province (Fig. 3). In addition, a gilt-bronze crown from Ji-dong Tomb 2 in Andong (Fig. 4) features two rows of dots in the middle of the upright, along with larger circles that were stamped from the back.

Examination of the antler-shaped uprights re-

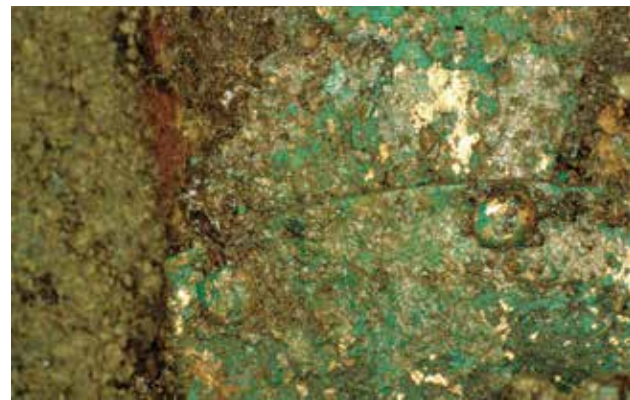


Fig. 2g. Detail of an antler-shaped upright.

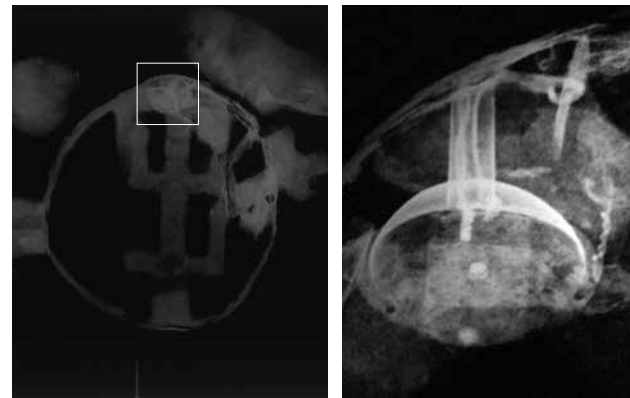


Fig. 2h. X-ray photography of the intersecting bands and the small dome-shaped ornament connecting the bands.

vealed that the central branch and sub-branches were made separately and then joined together with two rivets (Fig. 2g). A similar manner of assembly can also be seen on a gold crown from Geumnyeongchong Tomb in Gyeongju (Fig. 5), as well as a gilt-bronze crown that is said to have been found in North Gyeongsang Province (Fig. 6), the province that includes Gyeongju. In the latter case, however, metal wires were used to attach the sub-branches to the central branch, rather than small rivets. It is difficult to determine the relation between the gilt-bronze crown from the Yeongdang region (Fig. 2) and those produced in the area of the capital (Figs. 5 and 6) based solely on the similarity between the antler-shaped ornaments. However, the style of the antler-shaped uprights of the Yeongdang crown would seem to indicate that the crown was produced via the same methods that were used in the capital, which would in turn suggest that the crowns excavated from the provinces may have been produced in the capital.



Fig. 3. Bronze crown and upright from Ha-ri, Danyang-gun, North Chungcheong Province. (Cheongju National Museum).



Fig. 3a. Small disc.

Intersecting Bands and Small Dome-shaped Ornament

In addition to the headband and uprights, the crown also includes two connecting bands that curve across the top of the wearer's head, intersecting in the middle. Similar bands have been found on other Silla crowns, but their exact purpose or function remains unknown. Prior to conservation, these intersecting bands could not be seen with the naked eye. However, they were detected with X-ray photography, which also revealed a small dome-shaped ornament that capped the point where the bands intersect (Fig. 2h). Based on the X-rays, conservation was undertaken and the dome-shaped ornament was uncovered. The ornament is believed to have been both functional and aesthetic; it held the two bands in place at



Fig. 4. Upright of the gilt-bronze crown from Ji-dong Tomb 2 in Andong. (Gyeongju National Museum).



Fig. 5. Detail of an antler-shaped upright of the gold crown from Geumnyeongchong Tomb in Gyeongju. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 6. Detail of an antler-shaped upright of the gilt-bronze crown said to have been discovered in North Gyeongsang Province. (Gyeongju National Museum).



Fig. 7. Gilt-bronze crown from Bisan-dong Tomb 37 in Daegu and detail of cross-shaped ornament connecting the intersecting bands. (National Museum of Korea).

their point of intersection, and it was more decorative than rivets.

To date, intersecting bands with a dome-shaped ornament have also been found on a gilt-bronze crown from Bisan-dong Tomb 37 in Daegu (Fig. 7); a gilt-bronze crown said to be from Ulsan (Fig. 8), which is now in the Ogura Collection of the Tokyo National Museum; and a gilt-bronze crown now at the Musée Guimet in Paris. Furthermore, the gold crown from



Fig. 8. Gilt-bronze crown said to have been discovered in Ulsan (now in the Ogura Collection of Tokyo National Museum) and detail of dome-shaped ornament connecting the intersecting bands. *Korean Cultural Heritage from the Ogura Collection of Tokyo National Museum* (오구라 컬렉션 한국문화재). (Daejeon: National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage, 2005, plate 126).



Fig. 9. Gold crown from Seobongchong Tomb in Gyeongju and the bird ornament connecting the intersecting bands. (National Museum of Korea).

Seobongchong Tomb in Gyeongju also has the intersecting bands, but it has decoration of three birds rather than a dome-shaped ornament (Fig. 9).

B. The Bronze Crown

To date, only three Silla crowns made solely from bronze have been found, and they were found in the following three sites: Ulleung-gun, North Gyeongsang Province; Ha-ri, Danyang-gun, North Chun-



Fig. 10. Bronze crown from Ulleung-gun, North Gyeongsang Province. (History of Museum of Ulleung-gun).

gcheong Province; and Chuam-dong, Donghae, Gangwon Province. Only fragments of a bronze crown were found at Ulleung-gun, North Gyeongsang Province (Fig. 10), making it difficult to determine the crown's overall shape and appearance. Apart from their material, the two other bronze crowns are especially interesting, because each has four uprights with shapes that vary from conventional tree-shaped uprights; in contrast, Silla gold and gilt-bronze crowns typically have three tree-shaped uprights and two antler-shaped uprights.

The bronze crown of the Yeongdong region was found in Chuam-dong Tomb Ga-21 in Donghae (Fig. 11), and it is still preserved in the condition in which it was excavated. Some fragments of the skull are still attached to the crown, proving that crown was placed on the head of the tomb occupant. According to the excavation report, the bone fragments were from the skull of an adult female (Catholic Kwandong University Museum 1994). Microscopic and X-ray analyses of this bronze crown provided the evidence for pro-

ducing the replica. In fact, the X-rays were unable to reveal many parts of the crown, other than the small discs attached for decoration, so the reconstruction process relied heavily on microscopic analysis.

Headband: The excavation report records the initial measurements of the bronze crown and includes a description of its condition and conservation treatment. Notably, however, according to the initial measurements, the full length of the headband was only 43.4 cm, which would seem to be too small to fit over the head of an average adult. Based on these measurements, a paper replica of the crown was made, and it indeed proved to be too small for an adult. Thus, additional measurements were taken after the conservation treatment, and the length of the headband was determined to be 56 cm. Accordingly, the space between the uprights increased to almost twice the original estimate (from 3.4 cm to 7.2 cm).

Uprights: As mentioned, the uprights of the few Silla bronze crowns that have been discovered vary considerably from those of other Silla crowns. For example, no antler-shaped uprights have been found on the bronze crowns, and the main uprights do not have clearly delineated branches. These discrepancies in the uprights suggest that the bronze crowns were not produced at the same time as other Silla crowns, such as the gilt-bronze crown from Ji-dong Tomb 2 in Andong (Fig. 4).

The four uprights of the bronze crown (Fig. 3) from Ha-ri, Danyang-gun, North Chungcheong



Fig. 11. Bronze crown from Chuam-dong Tomb Ga-21 in Donghae upon conservation (left) and in X-ray photograph (right). (Chuncheon National Museum).



Fig. 11a. Replica.

Province are perforated with four tiers of holes; each of the holes comprises three overlapping circles, and each is encircled by an elongated ring of punched dots. Notably, the overlapping circles that form the holes are the same size as the small discs that were attached for decoration. Also, as seen in Figure 3a, some of the small discs are not perfectly circular, as some of the edges are very slightly flattened, matching the circumstances of the three overlapping circular perforations. Based on these details, the small circles were likely cut out to make the holes and then attached as the dangling decorative discs.

The uprights of the bronze crown (Fig. 11a) from Chuam-dong, Donghae consist of a single sheet with three tiers of perforated rectangular holes. Two rows of dots were stamped along the outline of the uprights, as well as around the entire circumference of all three holes, rather than each individual hole. Between both the first and second holes and the second and third holes, there are slight indentations on each side, which may be minimal indicators of the branches of the uprights.

Characteristics of the Bronze Crown: As mentioned, only three Silla bronze crowns have thus far been excavated. Based on the relative hierarchy of metals used to make crowns, one might expect that bronze crowns would have been produced in larger quantities than crowns made from gilt-bronze, silver, or gold. This clearly is not the case with Silla, however, as the vast majority of crowns so far discovered have been crafted of gilt-bronze. Thus, it is estimated that bronze crowns did not represent any official political status, unlike crowns of gold, gilt-bronze, and silver, which are believed to have been reserved solely for members of the royal family or other aristocratic rulers, either in the capital or in outlying areas. It seems highly likely that, rather than serving a political function, the bronze crowns were associated with people of some other special status, perhaps related to rituals, in various outlying areas.

The “Miscellaneous” (雜誌) section of volume 32 of *History of the Three Kingdoms* includes a part that is dedicated to “Silla Rituals” (新羅 祭祀). According to the text, Silla state rituals can be divided into three categories based on their importance; the highest level was Daesa (大祀), followed by Jungsa (中祀), and then Sosa (小祀). The text records that, in Jungsa rituals for the “Four Seas,” the northern site of the ritu-

als was Mt. Birye (非禮山) in Siljikgun (悉直郡). There are no other known references to a Mt. Birye, so it is not known which mountain is being referred to. Siljikgun, however, is the area of present-day Donghae and Samcheok, where the bronze crown was found (Kim Changkyum 2007, 167). This historical reference indicates that Silla rituals must once have been held around Donghae, which would seem to support the hypothesis that the bronze crowns were worn by those who led rituals, rather than by those with political power. In addition, as mentioned, the bronze crown from Donghae was worn by a deceased female, and women were known to have served as chief priests or shamans. One of the other Silla bronze crowns was found in Ulleung-gun, an island in the East Sea, more commonly known as Ulleungdo Island. Hence, it seems likely that that crown was related to rituals associated with the sea.

In 505 (sixth year of Silla’s King Jijeung), the Silla central government appointed Yisabu (異斯夫), a famous general, as the local governor of Siljikgun (悉直軍主). Then, in 512 (thirteenth year of King Jijeung), Yisabu conquered Ulleung-gun and claimed it for Silla. Since the island had been conquered, there would have been no reason for the Silla government to confer a crown upon the local rulers. However, the residents of the island, who relied on the sea for their livelihood, almost certainly conducted rituals related to the sea. It is estimated that, after Yisabu’s conquest, as a measure of unity and conciliation, the central government likely allowed the people of Ulleung-gun to perform rituals or related events, almost at the level of state rituals. If so, then it is very likely that the government would have designated a person to be in charge of performing the rituals and then conferred a bronze crown upon that person.

According to the “Silla Rituals” section, the Sosa (i.e., third-level) rituals were associated with different places. One of the places listed for those rituals is Jukji Geupbeolsangun (竹旨 及伐山郡), which refers to the area of present-day Yeongju in North Gyeongsang Province. Notably, this area is adjacent to Ha-ri, Danyang-gun, North Chungcheong Province, where the third bronze crown was found. It is certainly possible that, at the time the record was compiled, the area of Jukji Geupbeolsangun encompassed the area of present-day Ha-ri, Danyang-gun, which again supports the hypothesis that these bronze crowns were associated with rituals. In particular, Jukji (竹旨) is an ancient

name of present-day Jungnyeongno (竹嶺路), an area that has long been an important hub for land transportation. Hence, it would seem that Silla likely held state rituals in sites near the capital, sites representing the four cardinal directions, and sites with heavy movement of people and goods (Koo Hyosun 2008).

III. Crown Ornaments of the Yeongdong Region

In addition to the previously discussed components, some Silla crowns also featured wing-shaped ornaments that were fitted into the crown or attached to the headband. Some of these ornaments resemble the slim wings of a bird, while others are more akin to the wider wings of a butterfly. Importantly, no such wing-shaped crown ornaments have ever been found in Goguryeo or Baekje sites. However, some Goguryeo tomb murals show people wearing helmets, or crowns, with a feather-shaped ornament. The Silla wing-shaped ornaments bear some resemblance to the feather-shaped ornaments in the Goguryeo murals, leading some scholars to speculate that the Silla artifacts reflect the influence of Goguryeo (Park Sunhee 2001; Jin Hongseop 1973). Goguryeo metal crown ornaments were made as grave goods, but unfortunately, there is almost no archeological evidence of such ornaments, making it difficult to determine their exact appearance. By contrast, numerous Silla metal crown ornaments have survived, almost matching the total number of extant Silla crowns.

To date, a total of three Silla crown ornaments have been found in the Yeongdong region, including one gilt-bronze crown ornament and two silver crown ornaments. Initially, the two silver crown ornaments seem to be incomplete sets with some missing pieces. But given their unique characteristics, it is possible that they simply differ from other Silla crown ornaments and are not missing any parts.

In terms of the overall form and style, the crown ornaments from the Yeongdong region do not match the superior quality of the crown ornaments found in the tombs of royalty and other rulers in the Silla capital. Nonetheless, they are believed to have had some symbolic significance and may have even served the function of a crown in outlying regions where no actual crown was present. In particular, the butterfly-shaped gilt-bronze crown ornament from Gangneung has an unconventional shape that has

only been seen in a few artifacts, and thus may hold some special significance for the Yeongnam region.

A. Butterfly-shaped Gilt-bronze Crown Ornament

A gilt-bronze crown ornament with butterfly-shaped wings was excavated from Chodang-dong 84-2 Beonji Tomb A-1 in Gangneung (Fig. 12). Other similarly shaped crown ornaments have been recovered from the following sites: Tap-ri Chamber Tomb 3 in Uiseong-gun (Fig. 13); Myeongnyun-dong Tomb in Andong; Gyo-dong Tomb 11 in Changnyeong (Fig. 14); and Bisan-dong Tomb 59 in Daegu. Each of the three main segments of these ornaments (i.e., the central shaft and the two wings) was made from a single folded sheet of gilt-bronze.

The upper portion of the vertical shaft of the crown ornament from the Yeongdong region is severely corroded. However, the dots along its outer edges suggest that the shaft originally was shaped like five mountain peaks, akin to the ornaments in Figures 13 and 14. In the middle of the vertical shaft, there are two rows of dots forming a V-shape (Fig. 12a). The part of the vertical shaft that connects to the wings is perforated with two small holes that are also decorated with a row of dots (Fig. 12b). Like other butterfly-shaped crown ornaments, this one has dangling small discs attached to both the wings and the vertical shaft. More specifically, there are seven columns of small discs on each wing (Fig. 12) and three columns on the vertical shaft. Each dangling disc was attached with a wire that was twisted approximately five times to form a loop, and then inserted through the back of the sheet (Fig. 12c).

B. Silver Crown Ornament I: Wings with No Vertical Shaft

Two silver wing-shaped ornaments with no vertical shaft were recovered from Chodang-dong 123-3 Beonji Tomb C-1 in Gangneung (Fig. 15) (Ji Hyeonbyeong and Bak Yeonggu 1996). It is not known whether these ornaments had no vertical shaft to begin with, or if the shaft was lost or destroyed after burial. Notably, excavations of Bisan-dong Tomb 51 in Daegu also uncovered silver wing ornaments with no shaft (Fig. 16), but these are the only two known examples of wing-shaped ornaments with no shaft.

The two wings in Figure 15 were cut into their tapered shape from a sheet of silver. Traces on the edges indicate that the cutting was not done with a



Fig. 12. Butterfly-shaped gilt-bronze crown ornament from Chodang-dong 84-2 Beonji Tomb A-1 in Gangneung. (Chuncheon National Museum).
Figs. 12a through 12c. Details.



Fig. 13. Butterfly-shaped gilt-bronze crown ornament from Tap-ri Chamber Tomb 3 in Uiseong-gun, North Gyeongsang Province. (National Museum of Korea).

scissors, but by repeatedly pressing a sharp instrument through the sheet. Along the outer edge of the wings, a single row of small holes was perforated from the front to the back to make a dot pattern. On the lower edge of the base of each wing, where they



Fig. 14. Butterfly-shaped gilt-bronze crown ornament from Gyo-dong Tomb 11 in Changnyeong, South Gyeongsang Province. (National Museum of Korea).

ostensibly would have been attached to the shaft, there is a wedge-shaped outline of perforated holes (Fig. 15a). Indentations between the holes indicate that the holes were once threaded with thin metal wire (Fig. 15a right).



Fig. 15. Pair of wings of a silver crown ornament from Chodang-dong 123-3 Beonji Tomb C-1 in Gangneung. (Chuncheon National Museum).



Fig. 16. Pair of wings of a silver crown ornament from Bisan-dong tomb 51 in Daegu. (National Museum of Korea).

The wire traces near the base might initially suggest that the wings were originally connected to the vertical shaft with wire, but that is not necessarily the case. For example, another silver crown ornament (Fig. 17) from Kyungpook National University Museum also has holes in the base that are threaded with thin metal wire, but the vertical shaft of that ornament shows no traces of ever having been connected to the wings with metal wire. The same situation applies to silver crown ornaments excavated from various other tombs, including the south mound of Hwangnamdaechong Tombs in Gyeongju; Munsan-ri I Zone Tomb 4-1 in Dalseong-gun, Daegu (Fig. 18); and Imdang Tomb in Gyeongsan, North Gyeongsang Province. Thus, the intended function of the wire near the base of the wings remains unclear.

C. Silver Crown Ornament II: Vertical Shaft with No Wings

Oppositely, excavations at Byeongsan-dong 329 Beonji Tomb in Gangneung (Fig. 19) yielded a vertical shaft with no wing-shaped ornaments. In fact, there are no traces on the shaft to indicate that wing-shaped ornaments were ever attached to it. This is not an isolated case, as vertical shafts lacking wing-shaped ornaments have also been found in other areas, including at Seongsan-dong Tomb 1 in Seongju (Fig. 20) and Gyo-dong Tomb 1 and 11 in Changnyeong (Figs. 21 and 22). Based on the lack of hooks, rivets, or other evidence of physical attachment, it is assumed that the vertical shafts without wing-shaped



Fig. 17. Silver crown ornament. (Kyungpook National University Museum).



Fig. 18. Silver crown ornament from Munsan-ri I Zone Tomb 4-1 in Dalseong-gun, Daegu. (Daegu National Museum).



Fig. 19. Vertical shaft of silver crown ornaments with no attached wing-shaped ornaments from Byeongsan-dong 329 Beonji Tomb 26 in Gangneung. (Chuncheon National Museum).
Fig. 19a. Detail of the back.

ornaments were probably once inserted into a crown. In any case, this discovery provides a compelling contrast to the previously discussed wing-shaped ornaments without vertical shafts that were found in Gangneung.

The vertical shaft from Gangneung was created from a sheet of silver that was cut and then folded in half lengthwise down the center. Interestingly, the folding does not seem to have been done with great precision, unlike that of the vertical shaft from Seongsan-dong Tomb 1 (Fig. 20). The upper edge of the Gangneung shaft has five sharp peaks, and the outer edges are lined with two rows of small perforations. There are also two parallel rows of small perforations horizontally traversing the center of the shaft. A guide line was scored on the back, between the two dotted rows (Fig. 19a). Notably, like some other excavated vertical shafts, this one has no perforations along its lower edge. This lack of decoration suggests that the lower part was not exposed, likely due to being inserted into a crown (Figs. 17, 19, and 20).

IV. Conclusion

This paper has utilized the results of recent research to examine the characteristics of Silla crowns and crown ornaments from the Yeongdong region of Gangwon Province, and also to compare these artifacts to counterparts found in other regions. Virtually all of the characteristics of the crowns and crown ornaments from the Yeongdong region are similar to those of related artifacts from other regions. One important exception is the headband of the gilt-bronze crown from Chodang-dong Tomb B-16 in Gangneung (Fig. 2), which is uniquely cut with a serrated edge, an unprecedented feature among Silla crowns. Of course, not every Silla tomb has been discovered, let alone excavated, so it is possible that other such crowns may be discovered in the future. Based on current evidence, however, the serrated edge may be interpreted as a distinctive trait of the Yeongdong region.

To date, only three Silla bronze crowns have been excavated, including the one found in the Yeongdong region, in Chuam-dong, Donghae, Gangwon Province. The discovery of bronze crowns expands our understanding of the variety of materials used to make Silla crowns (from the previously known gold, silver, and gilt bronze). Most importantly, however,

all three bronze crowns were found in sites associated with rituals. Various archaeological findings, technical discoveries, and historical records were presented to suggest that bronze crowns, unlike crowns of gold or gilt bronze, were probably not associated with political status, but were rather linked to the performance of rituals. This hypothesis is supported by the limited number of bronze crowns that have been discovered and by the fact that they have been found only in ritual-related areas distant from the capital. In addition, one bronze crown was discovered in Ulleung-gun, North Gyeongsang Province, an area that had already been conquered by Silla, and thus would not likely have been granted a political crown from the capital.



Fig. 20. Vertical shaft of silver crown ornament with no attached wing-shaped ornaments from Seongsan-dong Tomb 1 in Seongju. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 21. Vertical shaft of silver crown ornament with no attached wing-shaped ornaments from Gyo-dong Tomb 11 in Changnyeong. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 22. Vertical shaft of silver crown ornament with no attached wing-shaped ornaments from Gyo-dong Tomb 1 in Changnyeong. (Gimhae National Museum).

The number of excavated Silla crown ornaments almost matches the number of excavated Silla crowns. Three Silla crown ornaments have been found in the Yeongdong region. The aesthetic quality of these ornaments is somewhat inferior to related ornaments found in the royal tombs of Gyeongju; even so, the ornaments from the Yeongdong region are believed to have served an important symbolic function for leaders in the outlying regions of the Silla Kingdom. Notably, the crown ornaments were elaborately decorated with numerous small, dangling discs, such that they are as resplendent as the gilt-bronze crowns themselves. As such, their significance and symbolic function may have been equal to that of the crowns themselves. Also, some of their unconventional characteristics may have been associated with the specific region where they were used.

Finally, two interesting cases of silver crown ornaments found in the Yeongdong region were discussed: one case of wing-shaped ornaments with no attached vertical shaft, and one case of a vertical shaft with no attached wing-shaped ornaments. In several cases, an excavated vertical shaft and wing-shaped ornaments have been joined together during conservation treatment, even though there was no hard evidence to indicate that they were originally attached. A comparison of the silver crown ornaments excavated from the Yeongdong region with those from other regions reveals that there have been other cases of silver crown ornaments that were not attached. Further analysis of tomb murals showing crowns with ornaments or crowns made from organic materials (probably fabric) will surely help to explicate this matter. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY PARK MYOUNGSOOK

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Figs. 1a and 1b. King's crown ornaments (upper) and Queen's crown ornaments (lower) from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).

Metalwork Objects from Ungjin-period Baekje Tombs in the Gongju Region

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I. Introduction

In 475 CE, the Baekje Kingdom (百濟) was on the verge of collapse after Goguryeo (高句麗) forces suddenly attacked the capital city of Hanseong (near present-day Seoul). Baekje's King Gaero (蓋鹵王, r. 455-475) was killed in the attack, leaving the kingdom in the hands of his brother Munju (文周王, r. 475-477), who had just returned from Silla (新羅), where he had traveled to request military assistance against Goguryeo. Having little choice but to abandon the capital, Munju retreated southward with other members of the royal court and central government, establishing a new Baekje capital in Ungjin (present-day Gongju). Ungjin would remain the capital until 538, when the capital was again moved southwards to Sabi (present-day Buyeo). Ungjin's time as the capital (475-538) was relatively short-lived, but this important period in Baekje history has been illuminated by numerous artifacts and sites found scattered throughout the Gongju region.

To date, a relatively large number of tombs dating to the Ungjin period have been excavated, due in part to a series of research investigations that was carried out for the express purpose of identifying Baekje royal tombs in and around Gongju. Of the excavated tombs, the most exceptional is the Tomb of King Muryeong, which was discovered in 1971. Epitaph plaques inside the tomb confirmed the identity of the deceased as King Muryeong (武寧王, 462-523, r. 501-523) and his queen consort (d. 526). Moreover,

the plaques also provided detailed information about the funerary rites that had been undertaken for the king and queen.

This paper examines fine metalwork artifacts of Baekje that have been recovered from Ungjin-period tombs in the Gongju region. First, the artifacts are compiled and described, and then the development of Baekje metalwork is discussed in order to explicate various aspects of Baekje society.

II. Characteristics of Baekje Metalwork Artifacts from Ungjin-period Tombs

1. Personal Ornaments and Decorative Objects

The two types of metalwork artifacts most frequently found in the tombs of the Ungjin period are personal ornaments and decorative objects. The majority of such artifacts come from the Tomb of King Muryeong, but related artifacts have been recovered from other tombs of the Songsan-ri tumuli group, tombs of the Geumhak-dong tumuli group, Botonggol Tomb 17, and Ungjin-dong Tomb 8. This first section of the paper presents the types of Ungjin Baekje metalwork items that have been found and the characteristics of their production techniques.

1) Personal Ornaments: Personal ornaments from Ungjin-period tombs include crown ornaments, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, belt ornaments, and gilt-bronze shoes, many of which were found

within the Tomb of King Muryeong. Most of these personal ornaments appear to have been worn by the living prior to being placed in the tomb, with the exception of the gilt-bronze shoes, which were made specifically as funerary items. For example, the king's earrings bear traces of repair, implying actual use before burial. In addition, an inscription on the silver bracelets that accompanied the queen indicate that they were made in the second month of the *gyeongja* year (庚子年, 520 CE) six years prior to the queen's death. Finally, the crown ornaments of the king and queen appear to match the description of the "golden flowers" mentioned in *Jiu Tang Shu* (舊唐書), or *Old Book of Tang*, a Chinese historical text. All of these details indicate that the personal ornaments found within the tombs likely had been used prior to the death of the deceased.

Crown Ornaments: Two pairs of gold crown ornaments were found in the Tomb of King Muryeong—one for the king (Fig. 1a) and one for the queen (Fig. 1b). To date, these are the only crown ornaments that have been found in the Gongju area. The king's crown ornament features an arabesque and flame pattern and is adorned with gold spangles. In contrast, the queen's crown ornament is bilaterally symmetrical and lacks gold spangles. Again, these ornaments would seem to match the reference to the "golden flowers that adorned black silk caps" mentioned in the *Jiu Tang Shu*. Unlike the Silla gold crowns from tombs such as Hwangnamdaechong and Cheonmachong, which were made specifically for funerary purposes, the crown and crown ornament recovered from the Tomb of King Muryeong were apparently worn by the king during his lifetime, as evinced by the Chinese records. No silver crown ornaments have yet been found in the tombs of the Ungjin period.

Earrings: Earrings have been found in several Ungjin-period tombs, including the Tomb of King Muryeong, Songsan-ri Tomb 6, a tomb from Gyo-dong,¹ and Jumi-ri Tomb 3. In particular, the characteristic features of Ungjin-period Baekje earrings can be seen in two gold earrings from the Tomb of King

Muryeong. The main hoops of the king's earrings (Fig. 2a) are connected to cylindrical "middle ornaments" with many delicate features. Each middle ornament has a separate upper and lower half formed by three small wing-shaped panels, which were welded together to form a small cylinder. In contrast, the middle ornaments of the queen's earrings (Fig. 2b) are composed of dark green glass beads with round "caps" made from small rings. The use of glass beads in the middle ornaments is considered a characteristic feature of Baekje earrings of the Ungjin period.

Although they both feature glass beads, the two earrings from Gyo-dong (Figs. 2c and 2d) cannot be regarded as a pair, as they differ in size and in the style of their middle ornaments. Reports indicate that earrings with cylindrical middle ornaments, like those frequently used in Silla, were found at Jumi-ri Tomb 3; however, if those earrings still exist, their whereabouts are unknown.

Necklaces, Bracelets, and Rings: The Tomb of King Muryeong yielded two necklaces consisting of faceted cylindrical segments; one necklace has nine such segments (Fig. 3a), while the other has seven. Each of the individual segments is thickest at its center and is slightly curved to conform to the necklace's circular shape. The ends of each segment were extended into long wires that were bent into rings, by which the segments were connected, and then wrapped around the ends of the segment. The same technique was used to make the gold and silver bracelets from the Tomb of King Muryeong and the silver bracelet from a tomb from Songsan-ri.

Many bracelets have been excavated from Ungjin-period tombs, including six pairs discovered in the Tomb of King Muryeong. The most famous are two silver bracelets bearing an inscription (多利作) that can be translated as "made by Dari" (Fig. 3b). These bracelets form a pair, but they can be distinguished by slight differences in their decoration, suggesting that they were not made from the same mold. Even so, given their almost identical size and the lack of welding marks on the surface, it is possible that the bracelets were cast from the same mold and then individually decorated. Gold and silver bracelets from the Tomb of King Muryeong were decorated with notched patterns, but no such patterns appear on silver bracelets from Botonggol Tomb 17 and Ungjin-dong Tomb 8. Rings were found in Geumhak-dong

¹ A number of the artifacts examined in this paper were excavated in the early twentieth century, during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), and therefore the exact context of their discovery (e.g., tomb number) is unclear.



Figs. 2a and 2b. King's earrings (upper) and Queen's earrings (lower) from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).



Fig. 3a. Necklace of nine faceted cylindrical segments from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).



Figs. 2c and 2d. Earrings from a tomb in Gyo-dong. (Gongju National Museum).



Fig. 3b. Silver bracelet from the Tomb of King Muryeong, with the inscription "made by Dari." (Gongju National Museum).



Figs. 4a, 4b and 4c. Belt ornaments from the Tomb of King Muryeong, a toad-shaped pendant, and an animal-face-shaped pendant. (Gongju National Museum).

Tombs 14, 16, and 18, but no rings were found in the Tomb of King Muryeong.

Belt Ornaments: Belt ornaments have been found only in the Songsan-ri tombs, including the Tomb of King Muryeong (Fig. 4a). The belt buckles are generally shaped like mushrooms, as exemplified by the examples from the Tomb of King Muryeong and other Songsan-ri tombs. Whereas the buckles are standardized in form, the plaques forming the actual belts come in a variety of shapes, including square, oval, and inverted heart. In addition, Baekje belt plaques also feature diverse decorative motifs, as opposed to Silla belt plaques, which are uniformly decorated with three-pointed leaf motifs. The belt ornament from the Tomb of King Muryeong features an interesting contrast between the white-silver plaques and darker gold spangles, providing a glimpse into Baekje aesthetics. The belts were further embellished with various types of dangling pendants. For example, the belt from the Tomb of King Muryeong has pendants shaped like a toad (symbolizing the moon, Fig. 4b), an animal face (Fig. 4c), and a white tiger and *jujak* (朱雀, a mythical vermillion bird), both of which appear on an elongated rectangular plate.

Songsan-ri Tomb 1 yielded two square belt plaques made of silver, each decorated with a simpli-



Fig. 4d. Two square belt plaques made of silver from Songsan-ri Tomb 1. (Gongju National Museum).

fied arabesque pattern in openwork (Fig. 4d). These artifacts are typical of Silla belt plaques and closely resemble those found in Geumgwanchong Tomb of Silla. In fact, the belt plaques from both tombs employed the same manufacturing technique, indicating that the Songsan-ri Tomb 1 plaques were Silla products that found their way into Baekje hands. How these Silla belt plaques were introduced into Baekje territory remains unknown, but it likely had to do with the alliance between Silla and Baekje,

which began around 430 and continued until 551.

Gilt-bronze Shoes: The Tomb of King Muryeong is the only Ungjin-period Baekje tomb to have yielded gilt-bronze shoes. Each shoe had three respective components: an outer openwork sheath, an inner plate, and a base. Each component was made from separate metallic sheets composed of an inner layer of silver and an outer layer of gilt-bronze. The shoes of the king (Fig. 5a) and queen (Fig. 5b) are similar in terms of general appearance and production technique, but they show different types of decoration. The surface of each shoe is divided into hexagonal sections, resembling a tortoiseshell pattern, and each section is decorated with openwork phoenix and arabesque motifs. Baekje shoes were produced with an entirely different technique than shoes found in Goguryeo and Silla tombs. Baekje production techniques closely resemble those of sixth-century shoes from the Japanese Archipelago, which reflects the close political relationship that existed between Baekje and the Japanese Wa (倭) state at that time.

2) Decorative Pendants: Decorative pendants made from both gold and silver (Fig. 6) were discovered in the Tomb of King Muryeong. These pendants show

diverse shapes, including flowers, four-leaf figures, leaves, circles, and teardrops. The precise function of these pendants is unclear, but they may have been used to embellish clothing or wooden coffins. One of the flower-shaped silver pendants bears the inscription “140” (一百卅). Flower-shaped silver pendants were also found in Songsan-ri Tomb 2, and flower-shaped gold pendants were found in Geumhak-dong Tombs 2 and 24. Leaf-shaped ornaments were discovered in Songsan-ri Tombs 5 and 8, in Geumhak-dong Tomb 2, and in the stone-chamber tomb at Ongnyong-dong San 20-1 beonji.

2. Ornamental Weapons

A limited number of ornamental weapons of the Ungjin period have been recovered from the Songsan-ri tombs. The decorated sword from the Tomb of King Muryeong (Fig. 7a) clearly ranks among the finest examples of Baekje metalwork from the Ungjin period. This ornate sword, which hung from the king's waist on his left side, features a ring-shaped pommel decorated with a dragon motif, which was delicately cast using the lost-wax technique. At both the top and bottom of the sword's grip, there are small decorative panels with phoenix and arabesque patterns inside tortoiseshell frames. Each of these designs and the

tortoiseshell frames were produced separately and then welded to make the panel. The space between the upper and lower panels is filled with alternating rows of tightly wound gold and silver wire. Aside from its obvious splendor, this sword is an extremely significant artifact, as it is the only example of a ring-pommel sword with dragon or phoenix design that can be dated with confidence. The elaboration of the designs inside the decorative panels reflects the highest degree of craftsmanship and the most advanced technical skills, making this one of the most magnificent decorative swords in all of East Asia. Ring-pommel swords were also discovered in Songsan-ri Tombs 1 (Fig. 7b) and 6, while Songsan-ri Tomb 29 (Fig. 7c) yielded a sword decorated with dragon and arabesque patterns inlaid in gold.

3. Metal Vessels and Mirrors

Various metal vessels were found in the Tomb of King Muryeong, the most exquisite of which is a covered cup and accompanying saucer made of silver, brass, and cupro-nickel (Fig. 8a). The silver cup and its cover are elaborately engraved with lotus blossoms, phoenix, mountains, and trees, while the saucer features an impressive design of a Kalavinka (迦陵頻伽, a mythical creature with a bird's body and

a human head) holding a lotus blossom. The shape of the cup and its cover harmonize well with these diverse images. Several types of copper vessels were found in the Tomb of King Muryeong, including bowls (Fig. 8b) that were formed through casting, wrought through hammering, and then finished by being spun on a potter's wheel. Bowls with similar shapes and production techniques have also been found in Jisan-dong Tomb 44 in Goryeong, Okcheon Tomb M3 in Hapcheon, and Gyeongsan-ri Tomb 2 in Uiryeong. All of these tombs are located within the former territory of Daegaya (大加耶), but the bowls likely originated in the Baekje Kingdom.

Also of great interest are three bronze mirrors from the Tomb of King Muryeong (Fig. 8c). One mirror bearing an inscription reading “Uijason” (宜子孫, Ch. *yizisun*)² and featuring a decorative band of animal figures (獸帶, Ch. *shoudai*) (Fig. 8c left) was found near the king's head. Another bronze mirror with a decorative band of animal figures was found near the head of the queen, while a third mirror featuring a square decorative panel surrounded by

² “Uijason,” a phrase meaning “hopes for the rightful prosperity of descendants,” began to appear on rare and precious objects during China's Han Dynasty.



Figs. 5a and 5b. King's shoes (left) and Queen's shoes (right) from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).



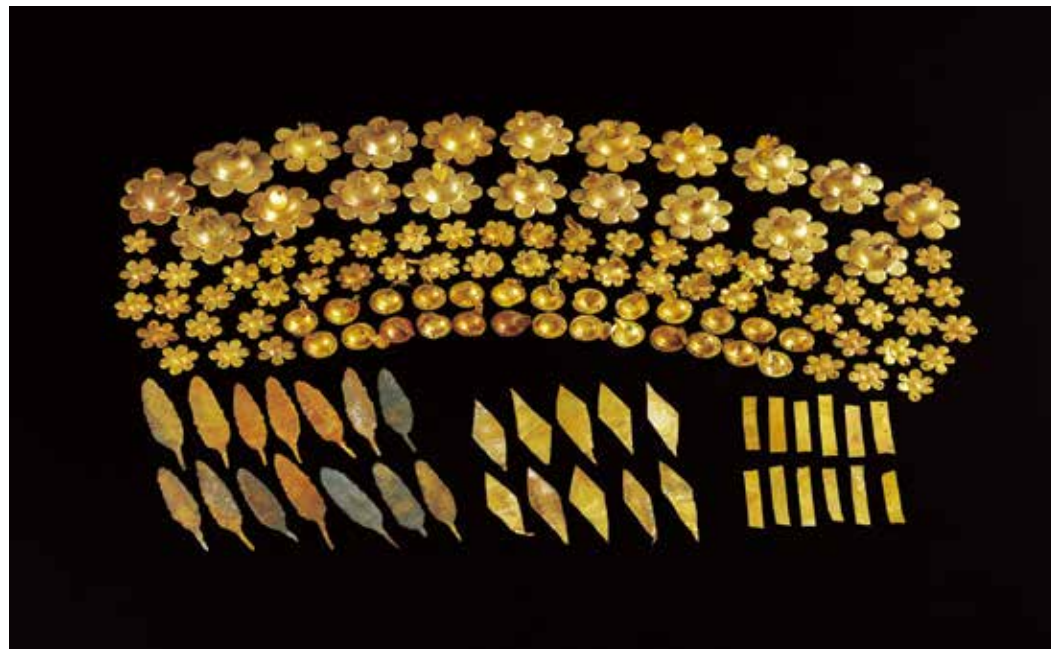


Fig. 6. Gold decorative pendants from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).



Fig. 7a. Decorated sword from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).



Fig. 7b. Ring-pommel sword from Songsan-ri Tomb 1. (Gongju National Museum).



Fig. 7c. Dragon and arabesque patterns inlaid in gold on a sword from Songsan-ri Tomb 29. (Gongju National Museum).

mythical animals (方格規矩神獸紋鏡, Fig. 8c middle) was placed near the king's footrest. These types of mirrors were modeled on the Chinese "*shoudai* mirrors" (獸帶鏡), which were made during the Han (漢, 206 BCE-220 CE) and Wei (魏, CE 220-265) dynas-

ties. However, the decorative figures and patterns on the mirrors from the Tomb of King Muryeong are somewhat less distinct than those typically seen on Chinese *shoudai* mirrors, suggesting that the Baekje mirrors may be imitations produced at a much later



Fig. 8a and 8b. Covered cup and accompanying saucer (8a) and copper bowl (8b) from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).



Fig. 8c. Bronze mirrors from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).

date. Even so, it is difficult to determine whether the mirrors from the Tomb of King Muryeong were made by Baekje or by Chinese craftspeople. Such bronze mirrors were symbolic objects used by the elite, rather than everyday items. As in the Bronze Age, the mirrors of Korea's Three Kingdoms period were one of several types of objects used to symbolize the priestly role held by the king and other members of the elite. Notably, a bronze mirror in Japan was cast from the same mold as the mirror with the "*Uijason*" inscription and bears the same inscription, providing valuable insights into interactions between the Baekje and Japanese Wa states.

As noted, the majority of the metal artifacts excavated from Ungjin-period Baekje tombs in the Gongju region have come from the Tomb of King Muryeong. These include personal objects that appear to have been used by the king and queen prior to their death, as well as objects that were produced or imported during the early years of the reign of

King Seong (聖王, r. 523-554), who succeeded to the throne after King Muryeong and thus oversaw the funeral and interment of his predecessor. Many of the artifacts appear to date to the 520s, and all of the artifacts must have been manufactured before 529, when the queen (who died in 526) was finally interred within the tomb. The personal ornaments (including the decorative sword) that would have been worn by the king and queen, along with the everyday objects (e.g., silver cup and copper saucer, other bronze vessels, bronze mirrors, bronze iron) share many similarities with the metalwork objects of other East Asian countries. As such, these artifacts attest to the vital role that Baekje played in the network of international relationships that existed at the time.

The metalwork artifacts from the Tomb of King Muryeong include both imported and locally made objects. Conversely, large numbers of metalwork artifacts that were made by the same Baekje craftspeople who produced the articles deposited in the Tomb

of King Muryeong have also been found in the territories of Silla, Daegaya, and Japanese Wa. Artifacts from all three of these states also include many local imitations of Baekje metalwork. The Tomb of King Muryeong also yielded metalwork objects, ceramic

vessels, and *wushu* coins (五銖錢) that originated in the Southern Dynasties (南朝) of China. As such, the assemblage of metalwork objects from the Tomb of King Muryeong clearly demonstrates that the people of Baekje maintained close relationships with their



Figs. 9a through 9e. Metalwork artifacts from Suchon-ri Tomb 1: gilt-bronze crown (9a), gold earrings (9b), gilt-bronze belt ornaments (9c), gilt-bronze shoes (9d), and gold-and-silver decorated sword (9e). (Chungnam Institute of History and Culture).

neighboring states (i.e., Silla, Daegaya, Wa), engaged in brisk maritime trade with China, and actively transmitted their sophisticated culture to these surrounding regions.

III. Baekje Society in the Ungjin Period as Seen through Metalwork

I. Development of Baekje Metalwork Culture

Baekje's overall system for producing metalwork seems to have been adversely affected by the transfer of the capital to Ungjin in 475. Of course, the production of objects made from precious metals depends on the availability of materials, such as gold and silver. At the time, gold was in great demand among the ruling elite of the surrounding regions, including China, and was often included in official exchanges of gifts between countries. The *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀) reports that the Japanese, who had no indigenous sources of gold, envied Silla's resources of gold. Hence, the discovery of fine metalwork artifacts produced with such precious metals attests to the presence of highly skilled craftspeople and workshops. Because of the great value of the material, artisans working with precious metals did not enjoy the relative luxury of "trial and error" that characterized the production of pottery and roof tiles. There was little margin for error, as the precious materials had to be used with the utmost efficiency, with the least possible quantities used to the greatest possible effect. Therefore, the production of fine metalwork objects required the presence of craftspeople with the most advanced technical skills. The results of archaeological excavations suggest that, given the political circumstances of the early Ungjin period, Baekje society simply did not have the aforementioned resources for producing fine metalwork at that time, and thus could not actively produce such objects.

The current understanding is that, after moving its capital to Ungjin, Baekje was not able to re-establish its metalwork production system until sometime around the sixth century. The quality and quantity of the metalwork artifacts from the Tomb of King Muryeong suggests that metalwork production had been resumed sometime prior to King Muryeong's death in 523. The metalwork artifacts of the Ungjin period can be usefully compared to those of the Hanseong period, as both continuities and discontinui-

ties can be identified between the two.

Continuity in the Baekje metalwork tradition can be studied by first examining the metalwork artifacts recovered from Suchon-ri Tomb 1 in Gongju, which represents the burial of a Hanseong-period "regional leader." Fortunately, this tomb seems to have been overlooked by grave robbers, as the personal ornaments and decorated sword of the deceased were found in situ. Characteristics of the "Baekje style" can be seen in these objects, including the gilt-bronze crown, gold earrings, gilt-bronze belt ornaments, gilt-bronze shoes, and gold-and-silver decorated sword (Figs. 9a through 9e). The emergence of a common artistic style associated with a specific political entity indicates the existence of full-time, specialist craftspeople, who were continuously employed in the manufacture of objects for the ruling elite. The distinctive characteristics of the Baekje style observed in the metalwork of Suchon-ri Tomb 1 were maintained into the Ungjin period, and can also be seen in the metalwork artifacts of the Tomb of King Muryeong.

Additional examples that demonstrate the continuity between the metalwork of the Hanseong and Ungjin periods are presented in Figure 10. For example, several characteristic features can be identified in the queen's earrings from the Tomb of King Muryeong (Fig. 2b), including the finishing of the connecting rings, the use of filigree, and the three wing-shaped dangling ornaments. These earrings differ significantly from those from the Hanseong period, but earrings recently discovered in Suchon-ri Tomb 8 (Fig. 10a) have helped to bridge the gap between the two. An animal-face belt plaque from Songsan-ri Tomb 2 (Fig. 10b) shares similarities with examples from Suchon-ri Tombs 1 and 4 (Fig. 10c), which date to the Hanseong period. Based on this similarity, the style of belt plaque from the Suchon-ri tombs may have developed over a number of stages into the style of belt plaque from Songsan-ri. Similar belt plaques have been discovered at Gaya and Wa sites, and they appear to have developed from the Baekje examples. No animal-face belt plaques were found in the Tomb of King Muryeong, nor have any been identified at Baekje sites of the Sabi period (538-660). As such, it appears that, sometime during the Ungjin period, these animal-face plaques were replaced by undecorated belt plaques in the form of inverted hearts. In the case of the gilt-bronze shoes



Fig. 10a. Earrings from Suchon-ri Tomb 8. (Author's photograph).



Fig. 10b. Animal-face belt plaque from Songsan-ri Tomb 2. (National Museum of Korea).

from the Tomb of King Muryeong (Fig. 5a), characteristics include the metal cleats attached to the soles and the overlapping of the sides with the front and back where they are connected. Similar details can also be seen in the shoes excavated from Suchon-ri Tomb 4 and Bongdeok-ri Tomb 1 in Gochang (Fig. 10d), both of which date to the Hanseong period. The size, shape, and structure of the gilt-bronze shoes indicate that, unlike other types of metalwork artifacts, they were not used in everyday life, and thus likely were intended solely as funerary objects. The presence of gilt-bronze shoes in the tombs of both Baekje



Fig. 10c. Animal-face belt plaque from Suchon-ri Tomb 4. (Chungnam Institute of History and Culture).

royalty and regional leaders of the Hanseong period indicates that the funerary practices of the former were carried over into the latter. However, no such continuity has been observed for the Ungjin period.

Figures 11a and 11b show renderings of two different versions of the “striding-dragon design” (走龍紋), which decorate the ring-shaped pommels of decorative swords from the Hanseong and Ungjin periods, respectively. The motif represented in Figure 11a appears on a sword from the Tomb of King Muryeong, while that in Figure 11b appears on the sword from Yongwon-ri Stone-lined burial 1 in Cheonan. The two designs are similar in terms of overall composition and general arrangement of the dragons, with one dragon head on either side, each facing towards the center. The design on the sword from Yongwon-ri is



Fig. 10d. Shoes from Bongdeok-ri Tomb 1 Stone chamber 4. (Seoul Baekje Museum).

more symmetrical, however, with the heads of the dragons placed in the exact center. On the sword from the Tomb of King Muryeong, the heads of the dragons extend beyond the central axis to approximately the mid-body of the opposite dragon. The two designs show both similarities and differences, and it is possible that future excavations will uncover intermediate examples that bridge the gap between the two. The dragon ring-pommel decoration of the sword from the Tomb of King Muryeong was once regarded as an exceptional piece, prior to the discovery of decorated swords from Yongwon-ri Stone-lined burial 1 and Suchon-ri Tomb 1. However, recent excavations have uncovered a similar example that predates the sword from the Tomb of King Muryeong by roughly 100 years. Significantly, this recent discovery indicates that the design likely developed indigenously from Hanseong Baekje prototypes, rather than from Chinese sources, as had originally been hypothesized.

Despite those obvious continuities, some metalwork artifacts found in Ungjin-period tombs show discontinuities with the earlier Hanseong period. For example, the leaf-shaped and flower-shaped gold ornaments shown in Figure 6 and certain sets of metal vessels from the Ungjin period have no close counterparts among Hanseong-period artifacts. These unique Ungjin artifacts primarily come from tombs in and around Gongju, with most having been recovered from the Tomb of King Muryeong. The only types of metal vessels so far recovered from Hanseong-era sites are bronze braziers and three-legged cauldrons, but the metal vessels of the Ungjin period are much more varied, with the additional inclusion of bowls, plates, cups, and cups with saucers, as well as spoons, chopsticks, and irons (for pressing clothing). Although the diversity of metal vessels can be regarded as another characteristic of the Ungjin metalwork tradition, it is difficult to know which of these objects were produced by Baekje craftspeople and which might have been imported from the Southern Dynasties of China. The advanced metalworking skills of Baekje craftspeople are evinced by a sarira reliquary from the site of Wangheungsa Temple in Buyeo (Fig. 12), which was definitely produced indigenously. Thus, it is certainly possible that most of the metal vessels from the Tomb of King Muryeong were the products of Baekje craftsmanship. One exception would seem to be the iron, which likely was imported, given that similar examples have been found at Southern Dynasty sites in

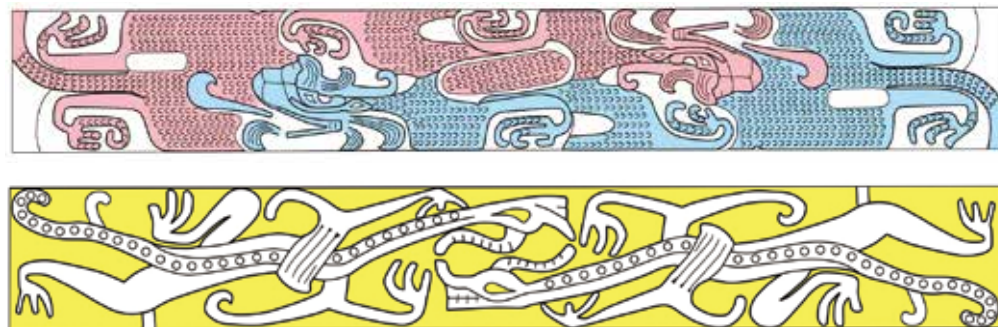
China (Figs. 13a, 13b, and 13c).

What function did the metal vessels placed within the Tomb of King Muryeong serve? Similar vessels recovered from Goguryeo tombs in Ji'an (in China's Jilin Province) have been interpreted as ritual vessels. Such artifacts include a brazier, tripod cauldron, and covered container from Chilseongsan Tomb 96, and a cauldron, tripod cauldron, steamer, and three-legged bowl from Usanha Tomb 68. A set of Goguryeo ritual vessels was also found in the main burial chamber of the south mound of Hwangnam-daecheon Tomb, which is considered a royal tomb. The types of vessels included in these Goguryeo sets appear to have been based upon the sets of ritual vessels used by rulers and aristocrats in the Bronze Age dynasties of central China. However, the vessel types recovered from the Tomb of King Muryeong (e.g., a bronze iron, a silver and copper cup and saucer, copper bowls, and copper dishes) seem more likely to have been everyday items used by the royal family rather than ritual vessels. In contrast, the brazier and three-legged cauldron from Hanseong Baekje sites can be regarded as ritual vessels. Notably, the three bronze mirrors found in the Tomb of King Muryeong also have no known predecessors among Hanseong-era artifacts. However, given that the types of grave goods within the royal tombs of the Hanseong period has yet to be identified, the mirrors cannot yet be used to assess the continuity or discontinuity of Baekje metalwork traditions.

2. Monopolization of Metalwork by the Royal Family and its Socio-political Context

One topic of considerable interest is the ownership of metalwork objects in the Ungjin period. Figure 14 presents a satellite map showing the distribution of key tumuli grounds located in and around Gongju. The tumuli grounds of Suchon-ri, Chiwirisan, and Singwan-dong date back to the Hanseong period, whereas the tumuli grounds of Songsan-ri, Gyocheon-ri, Ungjin-dong, Botonggol, Ongnyong-dong, Geumhak-dong, and Ugeumchi were newly established during the Ungjin period. Some of these tumuli grounds continued to be used in the succeeding Sabi period as well.

Members of the central elite in the Gongju region during the Hanseong period were buried in the Suchon-ri tumuli ground, while subordinate groups used the tumuli grounds of Chiwirisan and Singwan-



Figs. 11a and 11b. Comparison of the "striding dragon design" decorating the ringed pommel of swords from the Tomb of King Muryeong (11a) and Yongwon-ri Stone-lined burial 1 (11b).

dong. All three of these tumuli grounds are located to the north of the Geum River. In particular, a high concentration of metalwork artifacts has been recovered at Suchon-ri. In contrast, the tumuli grounds of the Ungjin period are situated along the hills and mountain ridges to the south of the Geum River. This difference in location is a key distinguishing feature between the tumuli grounds of the two periods. Songsan-ri Tomb 6, the Tomb of King Muryeong (also located within the Songsan-ri tumuli ground), and Gyochon-ri Tombs 2 and 3 all feature burial chambers made of bricks, but the rest of the tombs generally have stone burial chambers with corridor entrances. As Figure 14 illustrates, the tombs of the Ungjin period are concentrated around the areas of Songsan-ri, Gyochon-ri, and Ungjin-dong.

The Tomb of King Muryeong yielded various personal ornaments (e.g., crown ornaments, hair ornaments, earrings, belt ornaments, necklaces, bracelets, and gilt-bronze shoes), which were found in situ in the tomb where the deceased had been laid to rest. A large proportion of the metalwork ornaments discovered in this royal tomb consists of the gold and silver decorative pendants shaped like leaves, flowers, rhombuses, and circles. The metalwork artifacts from the Tomb of King Muryeong are impressive in terms of both their quantity and the high quality of their production techniques. This tomb also yielded three bronze mirrors—the likes of which have not been found in other Baekje tombs—as well as fourteen metal vessels. Only a limited number of artifacts have been recovered from the other tombs of the Songsan-ri tumuli ground or from the tombs of the Gyochon-ri tumuli ground (another central burial ground of the Ungjin period) because most of those



Fig. 12. Sarira reliquary from the Wangheungsa Temple site and detail. (Author's photograph).

tombs had been disturbed by grave robbers prior to archaeological excavation. Nevertheless, Songsan-ri Tombs 1, 2, 5, and 29 yielded several belt ornaments that had escaped looting. Even in their incomplete state, these artifacts demonstrate that the tradition of wearing belts with metallic fittings and ornaments, which had been practiced during the preceding Hanseong and succeeding Sabi periods, was also practiced during the Ungjin period. Interestingly, however, unlike the belts of the ensuing Sabi period, the belt ornaments of the Ungjin period do not follow any single style. In the Ungjin period, the regulation of clothing according to social status had not yet been institutionalized, which may explain the relative diversity of styles among the Ungjin-period belts.

Since Korea's liberation from Japan 1945, the only tomb from the central tumuli grounds of the Ungjin period (Songsan-ri and Gyochon-ri) that has been officially excavated is the Tomb of King Muryeong. Excavations have been carried out on the surrounding tumuli grounds (Ungjin-dong, Botonggol, Ongnyong-dong, Geumhak-dong, and Ugeumchi), but none of the excavated tombs has yielded numer-

ous or diverse metalwork artifacts. A few tombs have yielded metalwork artifacts, but these items have been limited in number, usually because the tombs had previously been robbed. However, seven tombs from the Geumhak-dong tumuli ground yielded leaf- and flower-shaped pendants, as well as finger rings. This discovery suggests that more Ungjin-period tombs containing similar types of metal artifacts may yet be found in the Gongju region. Bracelets have been recovered from several tombs, including the Tomb of King Muryeong, another tomb from the Songsan-ri burial ground (the exact tomb number is unclear), Botonggol Tomb 17, and Ungjin-dong Tomb 8. In terms of their shape and the type of metal used, the bracelets from the Tomb of King Muryeong more closely resemble the example from Songsan-ri than the examples from Botonggol and Ungjin-dong.

Thus far, the majority of Ungjin-period metalwork artifacts have come from the Tomb of King Muryeong, which is obviously due to the fact that this royal tomb was not plundered by grave robbers prior to its discovery. However, even taking this fortuitous circumstance into consideration,



Fig. 13a. Iron from the Tomb of King Muryeong. (Gongju National Museum).



Fig. 13b. Iron from Hwangnamdaechong Tomb north mound. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 13c. Iron from Zhenjiang (鎮江), Jiangsu Province, China (Author's photograph).

the metal artifacts from other tombs of this period are extremely limited by comparison. Given that these excavated tombs most likely include tombs of other royal personages and elite members of Ungjin Baekje society, how can this dearth of metalwork artifacts be explained? Of course, grave robbery is part of the answer, as all but one of the approximately thirty excavated tombs had been disturbed prior to excavation; even so, other reasons must also be considered. First, it is possible that grave goods were used more sparingly during the Ungjin period than in the earlier Hanseong era or later Sabi period. Indeed, the burial traditions of the Sabi period—characterized by stone chamber tombs with corridor entrances that were rather sparsely furnished with grave goods—may have been established during the Ungjin period. The Tomb of King Muryeong may be understood as an exception to that general trend. Second, the overall lack of tombs with metalwork artifacts may also be related to the sudden transference of the capital to Ungjin and the ensuing political instability. Some combination of these two factors almost certainly contributed to the decreasing numbers of metalwork objects placed in tombs of the Ungjin period, as compared to the preceding Hanseong period.

Despite the general diminishment of metalwork objects used as grave goods, the funerary rituals for the king and queen would still have been carried out according to the highest standards of the time, which likely would account for the abundance of metalwork

artifacts recovered from the Tomb of King Muryeong. The burial ground may have been selected and the tomb constructed while the king was still living; in addition, the various objects used in the funerary ceremonies may also have been prepared in advance. According to the epitaph plaques found in the Tomb of King Muryeong, the king and queen were not immediately interred upon their death, but lay in state for a period of twenty-seven months. During that time, the tomb would have been completed, mourners received, and succession to the throne finalized. Although many of the grave goods from the tomb were personal ornaments used while the deceased was still living, some would have been produced exclusively for funerary purposes, as was the case with Silla burials.

The Tomb of King Muryeong was built of bricks, its structure based on Chinese tombs of the Liang Kingdom (梁朝) of the Southern Dynasties. Studies of the tomb's structural elements have identified it as a large-scale tomb of the type reserved for princes or feudal lords (諸侯) of the Southern Dynasties. Chinese craftsmanship is reflected in both the firing of the bricks and in the overall construction of the tomb. The use of a foreign style of tomb and the undertaking of such opulent funerary rituals during the early sixth century may be understood in relation to the need to reinforce or re-establish the eroded power of the king. The royal authority had been weakened in the wake of the military defeat by Goguryeo and the transfer of the capital to Ungjin. As a means of protecting itself from the aristocratic elite, who were becoming more powerful, the royal family may have exercised its authority by monopolizing the use of metalwork objects.

IV. Conclusion

The metalwork artifacts recovered from the Tomb of King Muryeong are of an exceptionally high standard. The characteristic features of Baekje craftsmanship are most evident in the various personal ornaments discovered in the tomb, including crown ornaments, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, belt ornaments, and gilt-bronze shoes. The decorated sword, bronze mirrors, and metal vessels also exemplify Baekje culture from the time of King Muryeong's reign. All of these artifacts were produced prior to 529, when the queen was interred in the tomb, and

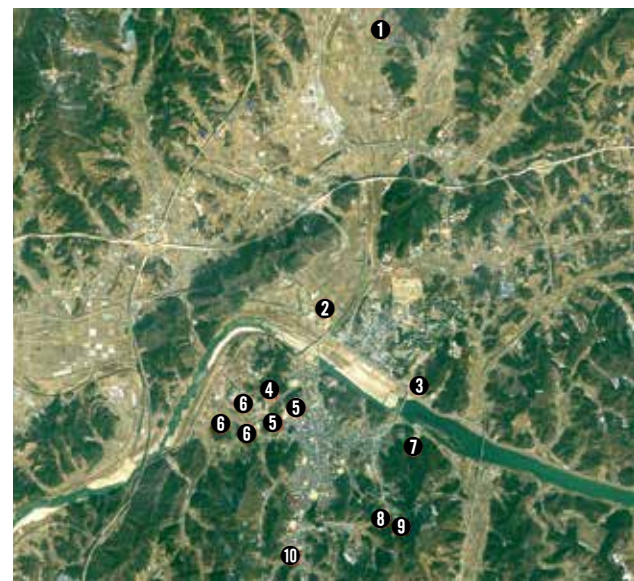


Fig. 14 - Distribution of the main tumuli grounds in the Gongju region.
 ① Suchon-ri; ② Chwirisan; ③ Singwan-dong; ④ Songsan-ri; ⑤ Gyochon-ri;
 ⑥ Ungjin-dong; ⑦ Botonggol; ⑧ Geumhak-dong; ⑨ Ongnyong-dong; ⑩ Ugeumchi).

many of them were likely made during the 520s. The sword and personal ornaments worn by the king and queen, along with such everyday objects as the silver cup with copper saucer, bronze vessels, bronze mirrors, and bronze iron, share many similarities with metal objects from neighboring states. As such, these artifacts offer important insights about the network of foreign interaction that existed at the time, with the Baekje Kingdom at its center.

The Baekje system of metalwork production appears to have suffered a significant setback with the transfer of the capital to Ungjin in 475. Evidence suggests that the system did not fully recover until sometime around the beginning of the sixth century. A comparison of the metalwork traditions of the Hanseong and Ungjin periods reveals both continuities and discontinuities. Continuity is most clearly represented by shared stylistic characteristics among the metalwork objects of Suchon-ri Tomb 1 (Hanseong period) and those from the Tomb of King Muryeong (Ungjin period). At the same time, discontinuity is evident in the sudden reduction in the quantity of metalwork artifacts following the move to Ungjin, as well as in the appearance of decorative objects and sets of metal vessels, such as those found in the Tomb of King Muryeong.

The Tomb of King Muryeong is one of the few tombs of the Ungjin period that was never discovered by grave robbers, which at least partially accounts for the abundance of metalwork artifacts discovered therein. However, even taking rampant grave robbery into account, the overall quantity of metalwork artifacts in other tombs of the Ungjin period seems quite limited. The reduced inclusion of metal grave goods may be related to an overall decrease in the use of grave goods during the period, or might be associated with the political instability that followed the transfer of the capital to Ungjin. Finally, it is known that King Muryeong focused on strengthening royal power throughout his reign, and that one of King Seong's main concerns was to protect the royal family and kingly authority from the aristocratic elite who were becoming more powerful. Given this political situation, it is possible that members of the aristocracy or the regional elite were prohibited from using metalwork objects, which may have been reserved exclusively for the royal family. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY KO ILHONG

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Fig. 1. Gilt-bronze incense burner of Baekje from the Neungsan-ri temple site in Buyeo, Korea. Baekje. Height: 61.8 cm. (Buyeo National Museum).

Taoist Iconography of the Baekje Gilt-bronze Incense Burner

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Introduction

In 1993, archaeologists recovered a large and magnificent gilt-bronze incense burner (Fig. 1) from the site of an ancient Buddhist temple in present-day Buyeo, in South Chungcheong Province. The censer, now in the collection of the Buyeo National Museum and registered as Korean National Treasure 287, was created during the late Baekje Dynasty (百濟, 18 BCE–660 CE). It is shaped like the mythical Mt. Baksan (博山, Ch. Boshan), and its decorative details have strong Taoist associations. This article discusses the background, symbolism, and Taoist associations of the censer, which ranks among the most important Korean archaeological finds of the past twenty-five years.

Over its nearly 700-year period, the Baekje Kingdom had three different capitals: Hanseong, near present-day Seoul (18 BCE–475 CE); Ungjin, present-day Gongju (475–538); and Sabi, present-day Buyeo (538–660). The latter period is now known as “Sabi Baekje” (泗泚百濟). The Buyeo area is bounded by mountains to the north and east, and by the Baekma River to the west; the ancient capital itself was enclosed within the walls of Naseong Castle. To the east of the castle lies the Neungsan-ri Complex of Ancient Tombs, which is believed to be the burial site of the kings of Sabi Baekje.

During the 1992 excavations of a paddy field at Neungsan-ri, an ancient Buddhist temple site was discovered between the castle and the tomb complex.

In 1993, during the second archaeological investigation of the temple site, the remains of an ancient workshop were excavated. Near the smoke vent of the workshop, a wooden water tank was found, and the gilt-bronze incense burner was discovered inside the water tank, along with fragments of roof tiles, earthenware vessels, and jade objects. Other items recovered from the site included glass beads, materials and tools for crafting jade objects, and various types of metal objects, including filigree ornaments, open-work ornaments, and fragments of wind chimes.

The lid of the gilt-bronze incense burner is shaped like Mt. Baksan, the sacred mountain that is frequently depicted by Taoist incense burners. Censers shaped like Mt. Baksan are known in Korean as *baksan hyangno*; in Chinese, they are called *boshan xianglu* or *boshanlu* (博山香爐 or 博山爐), and in English, they are sometimes referred to as “hill censers.” Such censers have rarely been found in Korea. Because of its rarity, size (61.8 cm in height and 11.85 kg in weight), artistic sophistication, and diversity of pictorial details, this censer has attracted considerable scholarly attention (Yun Mubyeong 1994; Choi Eungchon 1999; Jo Yongjoong 2000; Park Kyungeun 2000; Kim Jarim 2006).

The censer consists of three components: the lid, the bowl, and the base. The lid is shaped like a series of mountain peaks, topped by a phoenix with its wings spread as if in flight. This mythical bird is known as a *bonghwang* in Korean, or a *fenghuang* (鳳凰) in Chinese. The bowl is decorated with lotus petals in high relief, and the pedestal is shaped like a

dragon. The three components were cast separately and then subsequently joined together. The bowl and base are connected by a short, thin rod that runs from the dragon's mouth through a hole in the bottom of the bowl, where it is secured with a small tube. A variety of animals and human figures can be found among the mountain peaks on the lid, including people in diverse poses, wild animals (e.g., tigers and wild boars), imaginary creatures, as well as trees, rocks, stream, and mountain paths. Five birds and five humans with musical instruments appear near the top of the lid, just below the phoenix. Each of the lotus petals on the bowl frames a figure of an animal or person; the represented figures include water-fowls, crocodiles, lizards, flying fish, four-legged animals that live near streams, as well as two immortals wearing long hats and robes made from feathers. Forming the base, the coiled dragon raises its head so that the end of its snout nearly touches the bottom of the bowl.

In order to better understand the background and production of the Baekje incense burner, it is necessary to examine the traditional meaning of the motifs, including the ways in which their meaning changed over time. Furthermore, it is important to understand why the Baekje incense burner was used in Neungsan-ri temple of Baekje, and how its motifs operated in the context of production and consumption of the censer. An analysis of those reasons will enhance our understanding of the censer's production, function, and purpose, as well as the intentions of those who created and used the censer.¹

This paper investigates the traditional meaning of the Taoist motifs represented on the incense burner, including the ways in which the Baekje interpretation of those motifs differed from the Chinese tradition. Moreover, by exploring both the reasons for the censer's creation and the context of its use within the socio-political context of the late Baekje, this paper argues that the censer was meant to serve as a political symbol representing a new type of Taoist worldview.

¹ *Fragrance of Korea* (Korea Foundation 2005), a catalogue with English text about the Baekje censer, unfortunately failed to consider the context and background of the production of *baksan hyangno* in Baekje or the originality of the Baekje censer, which surpassed the tradition of Chinese *baksan hyangno*.

I. Sabi Baekje and the Neungsan-ri Site

In 538, King Seong (聖王, r. 523-554) moved the Baekje capital from Ungjin to Sabi, where the surrounding mountains and Baekma River offered advantageous natural defenses, while the vast plains proved an excellent economic resource. In preparation for the capital's transfer, Sabi was constructed as a planned city with an infrastructure that included the town, royal palace, government office buildings, various production facilities, and roads. In conjunction with the transfer, King Seong restructured the Baekje state, reorganizing the Buddhist sects, creating a hierarchy of sixteen ranks for government officials, and implementing the *bang-gun-seong* system (方郡城制, the new governing system of regional provinces) and the twenty-two departments of the central government. All of these initiatives were intended to consolidate the ruling order and royal authority, thus reviving the nation. Under King Seong, Baekje had regained its former territory in the Han River basin, though that territory was soon lost to the Silla Kingdom (新羅, 57 BCE-935 CE). In the wake of that loss, King Seong launched an attack against Silla, but he was killed in 554 at the battle of Gwansanseong Castle, a crushing defeat for Baekje. His son Prince Chang (昌王), who insisted on that war, and also fought in the battle, succeeded him as King Wideok (威德王, r. 554-598), and subsequently spent much of the mid-sixth century trying to stabilize the nation amidst the tremendous political pressures resulting from his father's death and the military defeat at Gwansanseong Castle.

In 1995, a stone sarira reliquary was excavated from the remains of a wooden pagoda at the Neungsan-ri temple site (Fig. 2). The inscription on the front of the reliquary states that the Buddhist temple was built in 567, commissioned by King Wideok and his sister. However, the results of the full excavation of the site suggest that some buildings, including the lecture hall and workshop, were actually built in the mid-sixth century, prior to 567. The two-story lecture hall, which was located at the highest elevation point of the temple grounds, had two rooms, which was unusual for a Buddhist lecture hall. The west room had a stone base where ancestral tablets were likely placed. The unique configuration of the lecture hall recalls structures of Dongdaeja (東臺子) where large-scale ancestral rites were performed during the



Fig. 2. Stone sarira reliquary from the Neungsan-ri temple site in Buyeo, Korea. Baekje, 567. Height: 74.0 cm. (Buyeo National Museum).

Goguryeo Dynasty (37 BCE-668 CE), suggesting that some buildings constructed prior to the inscribed date of 567 may have been used for such rites (Kim Jongman 2000). In the mid-sixth century, King Wideok sought to overcome Baekje's political crisis and strengthen the royal power through various measures at both the domestic and international level. Therefore, it seems likely that those efforts included the construction of a group of buildings (which later became a Buddhist temple) next to the tomb complex at Neungsan-ri, where King Seong is believed to have been buried. The temple was likely intended as a place for ancestral rites to be carried out and for Buddhist rituals to offer prayers for the happiness of King Seong in the afterlife.

II. Taoist Iconography of the Baekje Incense Burner

I. Sacred Mountains and Immortality

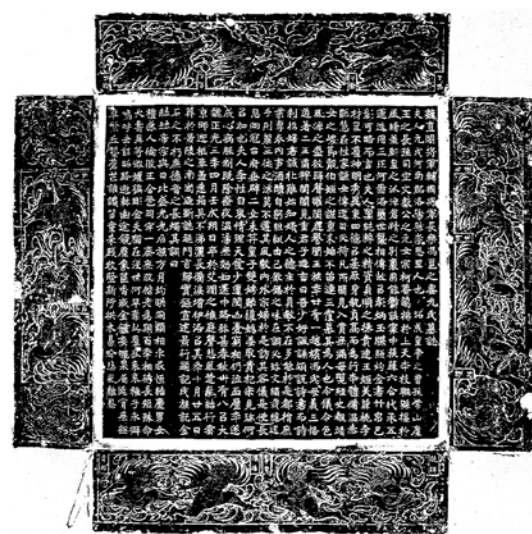
The ten peaks that encircle the base of the censer's conical lid ascend in four tiers. Various animals inhabit the peaks, including elks, snarling tigers, an

elephant with a small figure on its back, wild boars with their tongues extended, a monkey licking its paw, feral dogs striding around the ridges, a bird swallowing prey, and some type of beast biting a snake. This frightening world of wild beasts living according to the law of the jungle is a type of imagery traditionally associated with depictions of the sacred mountains of the immortals, and is a motif typically encountered on Chinese *baksan hyangno* from the Han Dynasty (漢朝, 206 BCE-220 CE).

Most intriguingly, the inhabitants of this wild kingdom include some creatures with both animal and human features. Such mythical beings represent Taoist spirits, who were believed to have special powers. Two of the creatures are beasts with ghastly faces, shaggy manes, and talons like those of a bird of prey (Fig. 1a). The creatures wear short pants, but are nude from the waist up, and they run upright on two legs, waving their arms. Images of such creatures were more widely used in East Asia from the fifth through the seventh centuries, and frequently appear on walls or artifacts from excavated tombs in China and Korea. For example, twenty-two such creatures appear on an epitaph tablet and its cover of Lady Yuan, the wife of Feng Yong (馮邕) and a Yuan clan member of the Northern Wei Dynasty (北魏朝, 386-534) (Fig. 3, dated 522, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Other examples of this motif can also be seen on artifacts of the Northern Dynasties (北朝, 386-581), including the epitaph cover of Hou Kang (侯剛, 526, printed in Juliano 1980); the epitaph cover of Gou Jing (苟景, 528, the Xi'an Beilin Museum); and on the painted ceilings of Mogao Cave 249 (late Northern Wei Dynasty to early Western Wei Dynasty) and Mogao Cave 285 (Western Wei Dynasty [西魏朝, 535-556]), in Dunhuang in China's Gansu Province. In Korea, the motif can be seen in tomb murals from the Goguryeo Kingdom, such as the Deokheung-ri tomb (dated 408), the Tomb of the Four Guardian Deities in Tonggu tomb complex, and Ohoe Tomb 4 and 5 (Fig. 4, Park 1999). Professor Nagahiro Toshio (長廣敏雄) reports that such creatures are known in Chinese as *weishou* (畏獸), or in Korean, *oesu* (Nagahiro Toshio 1969). References to *oesu* can be found in various texts of ancient China, including the Taoist text *Shanhaijing* (山海經, *Classic of Mountains and Seas*), the present form of which dates to the Han Dynasty, and such Tang-Dynasty (唐朝) texts as *Zhen-guan gongsi huashi* (貞觀公私書史, *History of Public*



Fig. 1a. Oesu figure.

Fig. 4. Oesu figure from the northwest corner of the burial chamber of Ohoe Tomb 4, Jian, China. Goguryeo. *Joseon Yujeokyumul Dogam* (조선유적유물도감). (Pyeongyang: Joseon Yujeokyumul Dogam Compilation Committee, 1990).Fig. 3. Rubbing of an epitaph tablet of Lady Yuan, the wife of Feng Yong. Northern Wei Dynasty (dated 522, now housed in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Upper: *Complete Works of Chinese Art, Paintings* vol. 19 (中國美術全集 繪畫編 19). (Beijing: Xinhua Bookstore, 1988). Lower: "Genealogy of the Iconography of Ghosts" (鬼神圖の系譜) by Nagahiro Toshio from *Study of Art of the Six Dynasties* (六朝時代美術の研究). (Tokyo: Bijutsu shuppansha, 1969).

and Private Art during the Zhenguan Era) by Pei Xiaoyuan (裴孝源, active c. 639) and *Lidai minghua ji* (歷代名畫記, *Record of Famous Paintings through the Ages*) by Zhang Yanyuan (張彥遠, c. 815-c. 877). According to these records, *oesu* were typically associated with exorcism during China's Jin Dynasty (晉朝, 265-420). According to Professor Nagahiro, various forms of ghost imagery were gradually integrated into *oesu* motifs during the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (南北朝, 420-589), until *oesu* eventually came to be regarded as nature deities with control over natural phenomena, including storms (Nagahiro Toshio 1969; Kosugi Kazuo 1977; Bush 1974; Hayashi Minao 1985; Yun Mubyeong 1994; Park Kyungeun 1999).

The Baekje incense burner also features three mythical creatures with human faces but the bodies of birds or animals (Fig. 1b). In *Baopuzi* (抱朴子, [Book of the] Master Who Embraces Simplicity), a fourth-century Taoist text from the Eastern Jin Dynasty (東晉, 317-420), Ge Hong (葛洪, 283-343) writes that beings with the face of a human and the body of a bird are called either *qianqiu* (千秋, Kr. *cheonchu*), meaning "a thousand autumns," or *wansui* (萬歲, Kr. *manse*), meaning "ten thousand years." Ge Hong also specifies that such names were befitting of Taoist immortals, who were thought to enjoy eternal life.

An excellent contemporaneous depiction of *cheonchu* and *manse* can be found on a tile (Fig. 5)



Fig. 1b. Mythical creature with human face and bird's body.



Fig. 5. Tile inscribed with "cheonchu" and "manse," excavated from the Dengxian Tomb in Henan Province, China. Southern Dynasties. (Author's photograph).

excavated from a tomb at Xuezhuang village in Deng County (鄧縣), Henan Province (hereafter, the Dengxian Tomb), which dates to the late fifth century (Juliano 1974). An inscription reading "*qianqiu*" (千秋, Kr. *cheonchu*) appears immediately to the left of the



Fig. 1c. Posu figure.



creature with a human face and bird body, while the inscription for "*wansui*" (萬歲, Kr. *manse*) appears immediately to the right of the creature with the head of an animal and the body of a bird.

Another mythical creature can be seen at the lower edge of the Baekje incense burner's lid, under the tail of the *bonghwang* (Fig. 1c). Various authors have identified this creature as a *posu* (鋪首, Ch., *pushou*), a term typically referring to a monster mask represented on door handles (Hayashi Minao 1985; Yun Mubyeong 1994; Park Kyungeun 2000). The *posu* looks downward so that we see the top of its head; between its two curved horns, there are three small triangles arranged in a tiered pattern that echoes that of the mountain peaks. The *posu* has circular curls of hair, paws that appear on either side of its head, and a diamond-shaped tail that extends upward. This *posu* closely resembles a related Chinese image found on

Fig. 6. Rubbing of *Posu* figure from a stone door excavated from a tomb in Hu Qiao, Jianshan, Danyang, Jiangsu Province, China. Southern Dynasties, c. 495. *Cultural Relics* (文物), 1980, 2.

a door (Fig. 6) excavated from a Southern-Dynasty tomb in Huqiao, Jianshan, Danyang City, Jiangsu Province (Nanjing Museum 1980, 1-17). The similarity between the Chinese *posu* image in Figure 6, which dates to around 495, and the *posu* on the Baekje incense burner suggests that Baekje art may have been influenced by the art and culture of China's Southern Dynasties (南朝, 420-589). On Han-Dynasty bronze vessels and *baksan hyangno*, *posu* figures often bite the handles on either side of the bowl. The Baekje incense burner has no handles, however, and the *posu* figure appears only once on the lid. *Posu* figures also frequently appear on or near the entrances of early tombs or on the tombs' ceilings; notably, they are found on the northern part of the ceilings, and north was the direction from which evil spirits were believed to come. As such, the *posu* figures on ancient tombs were likely intended to ward off evil spirits or other dangers. For example, a *posu* figure can be seen on the northern part of the ceiling in Sasinchong Tomb of the Goguryeo Dynasty, located in Tongguo, China (Park Kyungeun 1999). On the Baekje incense burner, the *posu* figure appears under the tail of the *bonghwang* that is atop the lid. Since the *bonghwang* is estimated to face south, the *posu* faces north, which indicates that it was meant to protect the sacred mountain, which symbolizes the Taoist paradise. As such, the world of the sacred mountain represented on the incense burner includes various creatures of paradise that were commonly depicted in Chinese and Korean tombs of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The main *bonghwang* stands at the very top of the lid, above five birds that rest on five peaks. The five birds likely represent the lords of the five great mountains of the five directions (i.e., the four cardinal directions and the center). Historical records, such as volume 49 of *Zhoushu* (周書, *Book of Zhou*), indicate that, during the reign of King Seong, Baekje people believed in the sacredness of the three mountains of the immortals and the five great mountains (三山五岳), and they held rites for the lords of the five great mountains (Kim Sootae 1998). The five lords and the five great mountains were primary elements of the ancient harvest rituals, along with the Emperor of Heaven (天帝). As for the birds, volume 23 of *Samguk sagi* (三國史記, *History of the Three Kingdoms*) records the following: "In the twentieth year of King Onjo (溫祚王, 2 CE), the king built a platform for prayer. When he performed rites for heaven and earth, five



Fig. 1d. Hunter on horseback.

exotic birds flew to him." King Onjo (溫祚王, r. 18 BCE-28 CE) is regarded as the founder of the Baekje Kingdom, and the five birds were likely considered to be celestial messengers representing the five lords.

In addition to these mythical creatures, the mountain-shaped lid of the censer also features various human figures. One figure of particular note is an equestrian hunter with bow and arrow (Fig. 1d). Combined with the holy mountain motif, this motif sometimes appeared since the Han-Dynasty, suggesting the influence of the nomadic culture of the tribes of northern China and Mongolia (Wenley 1948-9). The hunter motif is believed to have originated from ancient sacrificial hunting rituals that were held in gardens representing the sacred mountains of the immortals. Such rituals were intended to ward off evil spirits and to honor celestial and ancestral deities (Munakata Kiyohiko 1991).

2. Lotus and Rebirth

The lower part of the main body of the incense burner is covered with three rows of lotus petals, each with eight petals with their tips pointing outward (Fig. 1e).² Twenty-six different creatures can be

² *Baksan hyangno* from the Eastern Han Dynasty were often decorated with a configuration of four petal-like images between the bowl and the pedestal, as evinced by censers excavated from the Houzhang zhuanhang (後張磚廠) M4 tomb in Luoyang, Henan Province, China (housed in Yanshi Shangcheng Museum); from tombs in Pyeongyang, Korea (Printed in Buyeo National Museum, 2013, fig. 142); and an incense burner excavated from Ye County, Shandong Province, China (printed in Erickson 1989, fig. 33). From the late fifth century on, the main bodies of



Fig. 1e. Main body.

found among the lotus petals, including birds, crocodiles, lizards, flying fish, four-legged animals with wings, as well as two immortals wearing long hats and feathered robes. The edges of the petals are engraved with thin short lines, matching the mountain peaks on the lid.

The lotus motif, which passed from West Asia to East Asia, figures among the primary symbols in various creation myths. Although the lotus is typically associated with Buddhism, in India, the association between the lotus and the creation of the world predates Buddhism. According to the ancient Hindu text *Taittiriya Brahmana*, at the beginning of time, nothing existed except water, which was covered with green lotuses. Prajapati, the Creator, walked into the water and discovered the earth, and then divided the earth into segments that he then spread over the green lotuses, thus creating the world. Lotus blossoms open at sunrise and close at sunset every day, which makes them natural symbols for rebirth and light. As such, ancient people frequently decorated tombs with lotus motifs in hopes of attaining eternal

baksan hyangno were typically decorated with lotus petals, as seen in the Baekje incense burner (Erickson 1989).

life and rebirth of the deceased.

Baksan hyangno are believed to have been used in rituals associated with the royal family during the Han Dynasty. During the period of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, they were used in funerary ceremonies and in Buddhist rituals, eventually becoming Buddhist ecclesiastical paraphernalia (Fig. 7).³ Although lotus motifs are usually associated with Buddhism, the association between the Baekje incense burner and Buddhism remains highly ambiguous. Other than lotus petals, the censer does not feature any other Buddhist symbols. As mentioned, the censer was recovered from the site of an ancient Buddhist temple, but succeeding excavations have demonstrated that the site might have been used for royal rituals prior to 567, the estimated date of the establishment of the Buddhist temple. Considering the site's dual purpose, it would be premature to de-

³ *Baksan hyangno* can be seen in a ceremonial procession scene that appears on tiles recovered from Qijiacun Tomb (Southern Dynasties, Changzhou Municipal Museum 1979, 32-48), which is located in the southern suburbs of Changzhou, Jiangsu Province, as well as on a tile excavated from the Dengxian Tomb in Henan Province (Juliano 1980). Depictions of *Baksan hyangno* also occur on some Buddhist steles dating to the Northern Dynasties.



Fig. 7. Trubner stele excavated from Henan Province, China. Eastern Wei Dynasty. Height: 308 cm. (Metropolitan Museum of Art).

clare the Baekje incense burner a Buddhist relic.

Various East Asian cultures have traditionally believed that all things were created from *ungi* (雲氣, translated as “sacred clouds”). Some scholars have suggested that, with the introduction of new plant designs, cloud motifs evolved into designs of lotus blossoms and scrolls (Doi Yoshiko 1964; Hayashi Minao 1989; Jo Yongjoong 2000). In that context, the immortals and other creatures on the bowl and the lid might be interpreted as issuing from the lotus blossoms, symbolizing rebirth or reincarnation. As such, the censer itself may represent a paradise in the traditional East Asian worldview.

3. Dragon and *Bonghwang* Connecting Heaven and Earth

At the top of the lid, a bird alights with its wings spread, as if having just descended from above (Fig. 1f). The bird represents a *bonghwang* (鳳皇, Ch. *fen-ghuang*, generally translated as “phoenix” in English). Notably, the bird on the Baekje censer closely resembles one that appears on a Chinese molded tile from the Dengxian Tomb in Henan Province; the tile is inscribed with “鳳皇” in the lower right corner (Fig. 8), clearly identifying the image as a *bonghwang*. The physical features of the birds are nearly identical: the comb of a rooster; an S-curved neck; a *cheokmok* (尺木, Ch. *chimu*), or mane-like spike of feathers at the back of the neck, textured with short lines; outstretched wings that curve gracefully upward; and a long tail that also curls up towards the heavens. Professor Hayashi Minao (林巳奈夫) has shown that the

comb and long tail symbolize the dignity of the *bonghwang* (1966), which was believed to be a celestial messenger that appeared from above when humans became immortals and ascended to heaven (Guo Moruo 1933; Sofukawa Hiroshi 1979). With its wings outstretched and its long tail pointing upward, the majestic *bonghwang* atop the lid can be interpreted as a messenger of the Emperor of Heaven, claiming the sacred mountain as the world of its master.

The sacred mountain represented by the lid of the Baekje incense burner might be Gollyun Mountain (崑崙山, Ch. Kunlunshan), one of the mythic moun-

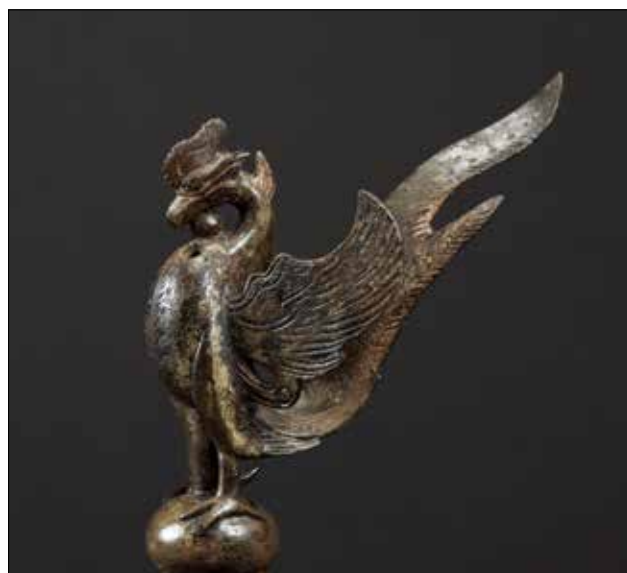


Fig. 11. *Bonghwang* figure.



Fig. 1g. Dragon pedestal.



Fig. 8. Pictorial brick inscribed with “*bonghwang*” excavated from the Dengxian Tomb in Henan Province, China. Southern Dynasties. (Author's photograph).

tains of the immortals. According to *Shizhou ji* (十洲記, *Notes on the Ten Island Continents*), a Chinese text believed to date to the Six Dynasties period (六朝時代, 220-589), Gollyun Mountain has an inverted pyramidal shape with steeply inclined sides, and it is occupied by fearsome carnivorous beasts. *Shan-haijing* describes Gollyun Mountain as a mysterious, treacherous place surrounded by powerful currents of water in which even birds' feathers sink. Ancient *baksan hyangno* represented this inaccessible sacred peak by placing the wider bowl of the censer atop a slender pedestal.

In ancient times, dragons, such as the one at the base of the Baekje censer (Fig. 1g), were also commonly associated with the sacred mountains. According to *Chu Ci* (楚辭, *Songs of Chu*) and *Shanhaijing*, the sacred mountain of the immortals can be reached by riding on a dragon. This belief is supported by a painting on a T-shaped piece of silk (Fig. 9) and by murals from ancient tombs that show human figures (presumably the tomb occupants) riding dragons to the world of the immortals. Many animals, including cranes, deer, tigers, and *kirin* (麒麟 Ch. *qilin*), were believed to be vehicles of the immortals. However, according to *Shiji* (史記, *Historical Records*), traditionally ascribed to Sima Qian (司馬遷, c. 145 or 135 BCE-86 BCE), only dragons were able to reach Gollyun Mountain. All these records indicate that dragons were believed to connect heaven and earth.

III. Baekje Metalworking Techniques and Production of the Baekje Incense Burner

Chinese-style *baksan hyangno* first appeared in Korea in the early centuries of the Common Era (Fig. 10). In particular, fragments of *baksan hyangno* have been excavated around Pyeongyang from tombs belonging to the ruling class of the Nangnang (樂浪, Ch. Lelang) Commandery. In 108 BCE, Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (漢武帝, r. 141-97 BCE) established Four Commanderies (漢四郡) in Korea, including the Nangnang Commandery, which controlled the area around present-day Pyeongyang. Mountain-shaped incense burners discovered inside the tombs of Nangnang leaders (e.g., Seokam-ri Tomb 9 and 219 and Jeongbaek-dong Tomb 88) were embellished with various motifs, including four-petal flowers, turtles, and phoenix (Buyeo National Museum 2013,



Fig. 9. Painting on T-shaped silk, excavated from Tomb 1 of Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan Province, China. Western Han Dynasty (Hunan Provincial Museum). Tomb 1 of Mawangdui in Changsha (長沙馬王堆1號漢墓). (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1976).



Fig. 10. Bronze mountain-shaped incense burner, excavated from Tomb 9 at Seokam-ri, Pyeongyang, Korea. Nangnang Commandery Period. Height: 20.3 cm. (National Museum of Korea).

178-184). Excavations at a site in Pyeongyang yielded a mould of the lid that would have simplified the production of large quantities of jars with the mountain-shaped lid, suggesting that such jars were once produced on the Korean Peninsula. After the demise of the Nangnang Commandery in 313 CE, some elements of Chinese-style Nangnang culture were introduced to Baekje; even so, no *baksan hyangno* had been found in Korea until the discovery of the Baekje gilt-bronze incense burner.

Among the three kingdoms that ruled the Korean peninsula in the early centuries of the Common Era (i.e., Goguryeo, Silla, Baekje), Baekje was most active in making exchanges with China and introducing advanced culture and products from abroad. Records of interactions between Baekje and China's Liang Dynasty (梁朝, 502-587) can be found in various historical texts, including volumes 3 and 54 of *Liangshu* (梁書, *Book of Liang*); volume 26 of *Samguk sagi* (三國史記, *Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms*); and volume 7 of *Nanshi* (南史, *History of the Southern Dynasties*). According to those records, during the reign of Baekje's King Seong (r. 523-554), the Liang Dynasty sent Baekje a copy of the Buddhist Nirvana Sutra, along with a renowned scholar of China's *Shijing* (詩經, *Classic of Poetry*), and painters, craftsmen,

and other artists. King Wideok established close diplomatic ties with several Chinese states, negotiating five times with the Southern Dynasties, six times with the Northern Dynasties, and four times with the Sui Dynasty (隋朝, 581-618). Based in part on the advanced culture and production techniques imported from China, Baekje developed its own style of ceramics and metalwork in the sixth and seventh centuries. For example, Baekje's unique interpretation of Chinese ceramic jars is evident in a silver sarira jar from the site of Wangheungsa Temple in Buyeo (enshrined in 577) and in two sarira jars—one gold and one gilt-bronze—from the site of Mireuksa Temple in Iksan (enshrined in 639, Fig. 11) (Yi Songran 2009; Joo Kyeongmi 2014). The sarira reliquaries from the Mireuksa Temple site show the advanced metalworking techniques that Baekje artists developed, including casting, forging, and chasing. In particular, the gold and gilt-bronze sarira jars, lavishly decorated with chased designs, feature an innovative arrangement of decorative motifs that rarely occurs on Chinese artifacts.

In China, the peak of *baksan hyangno* occurred during the Han Dynasty, several centuries before the creation of the Baekje censer. Most sixth-century Chinese censers are ceramic vessels that take the simplified form of flowers or Buddhist *cintamani* (Fig. 12) (Erickson 1989). Even so, it should be noted that, to date, no *baksan hyangno* with the detail and sophistication of the Baekje incense burner has been discovered in China.

The Baekje incense burner can also be distinguished from its Chinese counterparts by its distinctive Taoist imagery. As discussed, the Baekje censer features such mythical creatures as *cheonchu*, *manse*, *oesu*, which more commonly appeared on the walls of fifth- and sixth-century tombs. Also, instead of featuring only the traditional motifs of winged immortals or primitive hunters, the Baekje incense burner also features more civilized human figures who seem to be practicing meditation. As such, the censer reflects how the understanding of the Taoist world was changing in the fifth and sixth centuries. The figures on the incense burner seem to be Taoist hermits on the holy mountain. Wearing long robes and carrying walking sticks, they stroll on the mountainside, wash their hair in performing their ablutions, gather herbs, or meditate under a tree (Fig. 1h). The fourth-century Taoist text *Baopuzi* explained various means



Fig. 11. Sarira reliquaries excavated from west pagoda of the site of Mireuksa Temple in Iksan, Korea. Baekje, c. 639. Height: 13.0 cm (right: gilt-bronze jar). (National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage).



Fig. 12. Celadon mountain-shaped incense burner, excavated from Shaxi Gongshe, Yongfeng County, Jiangxi Province, China. Southern Dynasties. Height: 18.8 cm. *Masterpieces of Jiangxi Provincial Museum* (江西省博物館 文物精華) (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2006).

of attaining immortality, including residing on a sacred mountain, following an herbal diet and “elixir” rather than eating grains, meditating for self-cultivation, and practicing special breathing techniques. The practices discussed in this book of Taoist theory and principles had significant influence on Taoist beliefs and rituals after the fourth century. The Baekje



Fig. 1h. Meditating human figure.

incense burner reflects those changes, differentiating it from Chinese *baksan hyangno* of the time.

Where and how was the Baekje incense burner made? Since its discovery, scientific analyses have been conducted on the Baekje censer, as well as on other relics excavated from the temple site at Neung-san-ri (Kang Hyungtae, Yu Heisun, and Kwon Hyeoknam 2000; Kang Hyungtae, Ko Minjeong, and Kim Yeonmi 2013).

Quantitative analysis of bronze and gilt specimens taken from the Baekje censer revealed that its bronze alloy consists of 81.5% copper (Cu), 14.3% tin (Sn), and less than 0.1% (each) of various other impurities, including lead, silver, nickel, cobalt, antimony, and iron (Kang Hyungtae, Yu Heisun, and Kwon Hyeoknam 2000⁴). Meanwhile, quantitative analysis of the gilt-bronze halo collected from the workshop site at Neungsan-ri (Fig. 13) found that its bronze alloy consists of 81.6% copper, 11.3% tin and 0.91% lead. Lead is believed to be an impurity in this instance, as its ratio is less than 3%. The results show that the halo was made from a bronze alloy very similar in composition to that of the Baekje censer. It would appear that Baekje metalworkers

⁴ Some portion (around 4.1%) is unaccounted for due to oxidation and erosion.



Fig. 13. Gilt-bronze halo collected from the workshop site at Neungsan-ri, Buyeo, Korea. Baekje. (Buyeo National Museum).

understood that bronze is harder than pure copper, and that an alloy of copper and 12-16% tin would yield bronze that is even harder still. Analyses of the isotope ratio of the galena (lead sulfide; the primary ore from which lead is obtained) in the censer and the halo revealed that the lead in both artifacts likely originated in the Okcheon metamorphic zone near Buyeo (Kang Hyungtae, Ko Minjeong, and Kim Yeonmi 2013). Lead-isotope ratio analysis has limited accuracy, but the similarities in alloy composition and zone of origin certainly increases the likelihood that the incense burner and the halo were produced in Buyeo using the same materials and combined in the same proportion.

Conclusion

The Baekje incense burner reflects the Chinese tradition of *baksan hyangno*, which depict a sacred mountain populated by hunters, wild animals, mythical creatures, and dragons carrying people to the world of the immortals. However, the Baekje censer includes new types of figures not seen in Chinese *baksan hyangno* since the Han Dynasty, including hermits in meditation, immortals wearing long hats and flying through the air, and heterogeneous creatures. In particular, the unique landscape of the Baekje censer reflects the changing view of the Tao-

ist world of the immortals. Rather than repeating the traditional representation of winged immortals, the Baekje censer features hermits following the prescriptions of *Baopuzi* in practicing special breathing techniques and meditations and in eating herbs instead of grains.

During the Han Dynasty and in the ensuing years, *baksan hyangno* is thought to have symbolized the power of the ruler, who was believed capable of communicating with heaven and the world of the immortals. As the model of encompassing all things from all directions, the censers also represented the ruler's absolute sovereignty over all existence. Extant Chinese *baksan hyangno* reveal that the context of the production and use of such censers changed after the Han Dynasty, however. In particular, the incorporation of Buddhist elements led to a weakening of the censers' symbolic value and association with absolute power. The Baekje incense burner stands as a notable exception to this change.

Excavations and research have determined that the group of buildings was constructed at Neungsan-ri some time before 567. At that time, King Wideok faced a political crisis due to Silla's crushing defeat of Baekje in the battle of Gwansanseong Castle, which resulted in the death of his father, King Seong. During the reign of King Seong, Baekje reorganized its ritual system and strived to consolidate royal authority by performing rituals honoring heaven and the ancestors. In the sixth century, the need to assert royal authority and the divine right of kings, both living and deceased, became even greater, which perhaps led to an increased emphasis on religious ritual. Therefore, the temple at Neungsan-ri likely was intended as a memorial for King Seong, who had revived the nation and asserted absolute royal authority. In that context, the Baekje incense burner can be interpreted both as a symbol of royal authority and as a product of the socio-political milieu of the sixth century, a time when Baekje actively developed its cultural and religious capacity through the import of advanced culture from the continent. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY CHUNG EUNSUN

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Feature

Silla Stone-chamber Tombs with Corridor Entrances in the Gyeongju Area: Social Status and Change in Tomb Structure

by Choi Byung Hyun

Elements of Goryeo Celadon that Reflect Influence of Liao Crafts

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The Tradition of Dosando Paintings and the Nine Bends at Dosan

by Yun Chinyong

Collection

Scientific Analysis of a Goryeo Lacquer Incense Box with Inlaid Mother-of-pearl and Gold-painted Designs

by Yi Yonghee

Silla Stone-chamber Tombs with Corridor Entrances in the Gyeongju Area: Social Status and Change in Tomb Structure

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1. Introduction

The area of present-day Gyeongju (慶州) once served as the capital of the Silla Kingdom (新羅, 57 BCE-935), the ancient state that evolved out of Saro-guk, a member of the Jinhan confederacy. From around the fifth century CE, in the *Maripgan* period (fourth through early sixth century), a distinctive new type of tomb, commonly known as the “wooden-chamber tomb with stone mound” (*jeokseok mokgwakbun*), came into use for the ruling elite of Gyeongju. Then, from the sixth century onward, such wooden-chamber tombs with stone mounds were replaced by a new type of tomb called a “stone-chamber tomb with corridor entrance” (*hoenghyeolsik seoksilbun*), which was covered with an earthen mound and which could accommodate subsequent interments. The shift between these two types of tombs marks the transition from the “early” Silla burial tradition to the “late” burial tradition.

The stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances first appeared early in the sixth century, coinciding with several major political and social changes in the Silla Kingdom. By that time, a centralized system of government had been established, Buddhism had been officially adopted and recognized as the state religion, and various state laws and decrees had been instituted. These developments mark the beginning of the period that historians refer to as the “Middle Ancient period,” or *junggogi* (中古期, 514-654) of Silla; accordingly, the use of stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances is also associated with the Middle Ancient period. Used until the end of the Unified Silla period (統一新羅, 668-935), these stone-chamber tombs were also adopted by the elite of various regions outside of Gyeongju. The burial practices of

the late Silla period¹ are also characterized by the use of stone-lined burials into which the deceased was interred either vertically (*suhyeolsik seokgwakbun*) or horizontally (*hoenggusik seokgwakbun*); in fact, both techniques were used in the early Silla period. Cremation burials also became more popular in the late Silla period, in conjunction with the official recognition of Buddhism. Even so, the definitive element of the late Silla burial tradition is the stone-chamber tomb with corridor entrance.

Burial practices are widely viewed as manifestations of historical and social developments, and the case of Silla is no exception. As such, the burial practices prevalent during the various stages of the Silla period represent crucial evidence reflecting the sociopolitical context of the times. Therefore, this paper examines tumuli groups, tomb structure, and construction techniques of the late Silla period, with the aim of gaining insights into the social hierarchy and overall nature of the Silla Kingdom.

The late Silla burial tradition emerged around the same time that the powerful elite of the capital, or “royal city” (*wanggyeong*, 王京), began to actively assert direct control over local communities. As such, examining how the burial practices of the “royal city” may have influenced or structured regional burial practices in the Silla state may be a key avenue of research for considering the burials of this period. The first step in such an endeavor is to elucidate the burial tradition of the Silla center, as represented by the tumuli of the capital. Therefore, the current study focuses solely on excavated tumuli sites located

¹ In Korean archaeology, the Silla period is roughly divided into three chronological parts: early Silla (late fourth to early sixth century); late Silla (mid-sixth to mid-eighth century); and final Silla/early Goryeo (late eighth to tenth century).

in and around present-day Gyeongju.

II. Typology for Stone-chamber Tombs

I. Typological Scheme

Many structural attributes may be utilized to compare funerary architecture. In the case of stone-burial chambers with a corridor entrance, the floor plan and corridor entrance constitute the most significant attributes used for typological analysis.

Silla stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances are generally divided into two types: those with “rectangular” chamber floors and those with “square” chamber floors. Notably, however, these types have not been clearly defined. Therefore, in order to provide objective criteria for characterizing the burial chamber types by floor plan, the floor dimensions of 202 excavated Silla stone-chamber tombs were plotted on a scattergraph (Fig. 1), where the Y-axis indicates floor length (distance between the wall with corridor entrance and opposite wall) and the X-axis indicates floor width (distance between the walls flanking the corridor entrance wall).

In Figure 1, the dots clustered around the central diagonal line represent tombs with square chamber floor plans; the dots above the central diagonal line represent tombs with vertically rectangular chamber floor plans; and the dots below the central diagonal line represent tombs with horizontally rectangular chamber floor plans. Based on the data in Figure 1, a length-to-width ratio of 1:1.25 (1:0.8) represents a satisfactory means for distinguishing square and rectangular chamber floors. Therefore, in this paper, the length-to-width ratio of the floor plan will be used to classify stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances into the following types: “vertically rectangular floor type” (AI type), with a length-to-width ratio less than 1:0.8 (i.e., wall with corridor entrance is narrower); “horizontally rectangular floor type” (AII type), which has a length-to-width ratio greater than 1:1.25 (i.e., wall with corridor entrance is wider); and “square floor type” (B type), with a length-to-width ratio in between 1:0.8 and 1:1.25.

2. Types of Stone-chamber Tombs (Figure 2)

1) Stone chamber with vertically rectangular floor (AI type): Tombs belonging to this type have a floor length-to-width ratio between 1:0.40 and 1:0.79.

However, there are a limited number of tombs with floors that are more than twice as long as they are wide. This type of stone-chamber tomb has a flat ceiling consisting of two to four stone slabs. This type can be divided into the following two subtypes based on the location of the corridor entrance.

Stone-chamber tomb with vertically rectangular floor and left-oriented corridor entrance (AI1 type)

Stone-chamber tomb with vertically rectangular floor and right-oriented corridor entrance (AI2 type)

2) Stone chamber with horizontally rectangular floor (AII type): Tombs belonging to this type have a floor length-to-width ratio between 1:1.131 and 1:2.33. However, there are an extremely limited number of tombs with floors that are more than twice as wide as they are long. This type of stone-chamber tomb has a flat ceiling consisting of two to four stone slabs. This type can be divided into the following three subtypes based on the location of the corridor entrance.

Stone-chamber tomb with horizontally rectangular floor and left-oriented corridor entrance (AII1 type)

Stone-chamber tomb with horizontally rectangular floor and right-oriented corridor entrance (AII2 type)

Stone-chamber tomb with horizontally rectangular floor and centrally oriented corridor entrance (AII3 type)

3) Stone chamber with square floor (B type): Tombs belonging to this type have a floor length-to-width ratio between 1:0.82 and 1:1.24. This type of tomb has a vaulted ceiling that is capped with one or two stone slabs. This type can be divided into the following three subtypes based on the location of the corridor entrance. It should be noted that the chambers with a centrally oriented corridor tend to have floor length-to-width ratios that are closest to 1:1.

Stone-chamber tomb with square floor and left-oriented corridor entrance (B1 type)

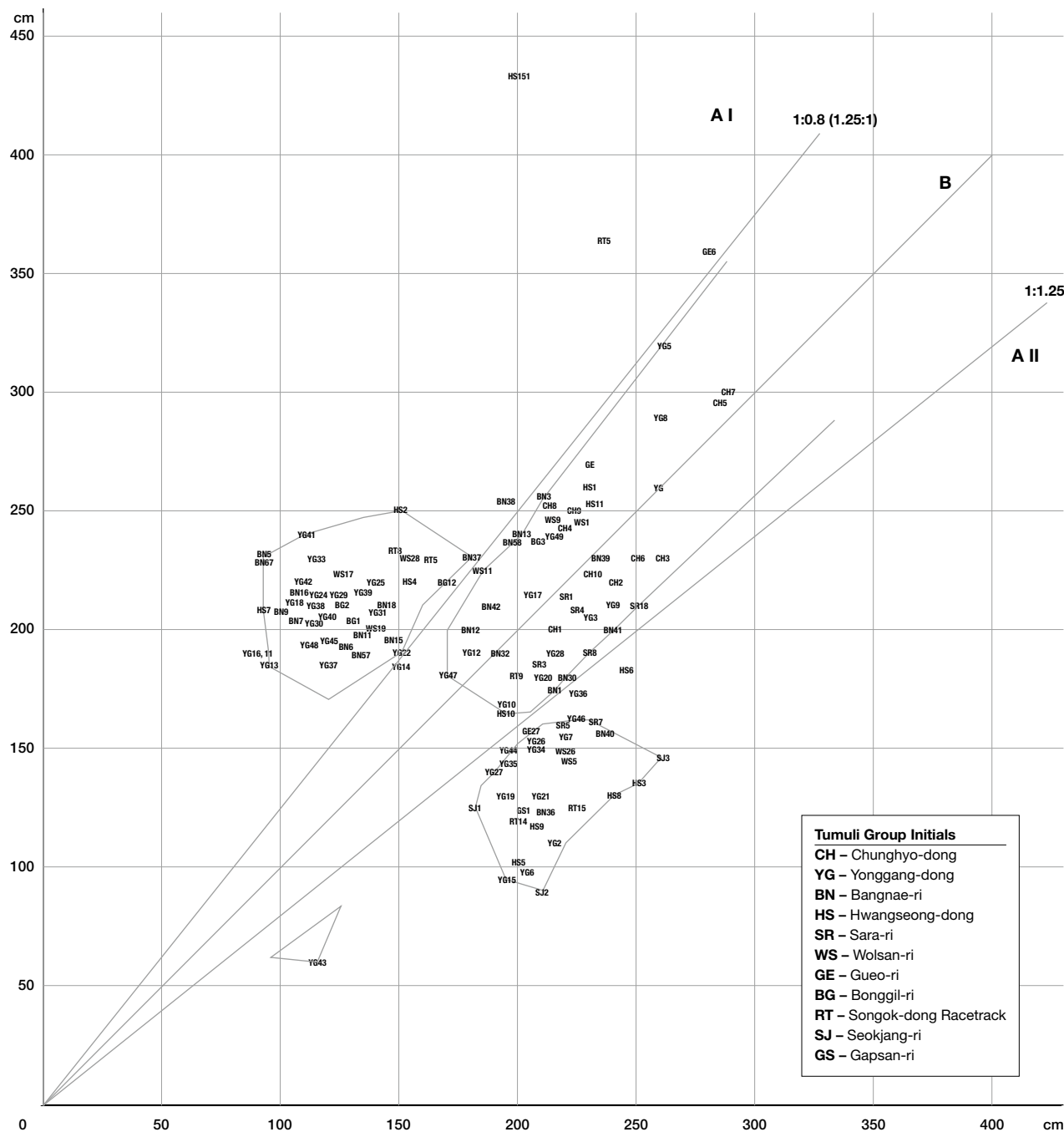


Fig. 1 - Scatterplot of the Dimensions of Stone-chamber Tombs.

Stone-chamber tomb with square floor and right-oriented corridor entrance (B2 type)

Stone-chamber tomb with square floor and centrally oriented corridor entrance (B3 type)

III. Chronology of Stone-chamber Tombs

A general chronology of the stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances can be estimated based on the type of ceramic wares that were in use at the time of the tombs' construction. The types of pottery that

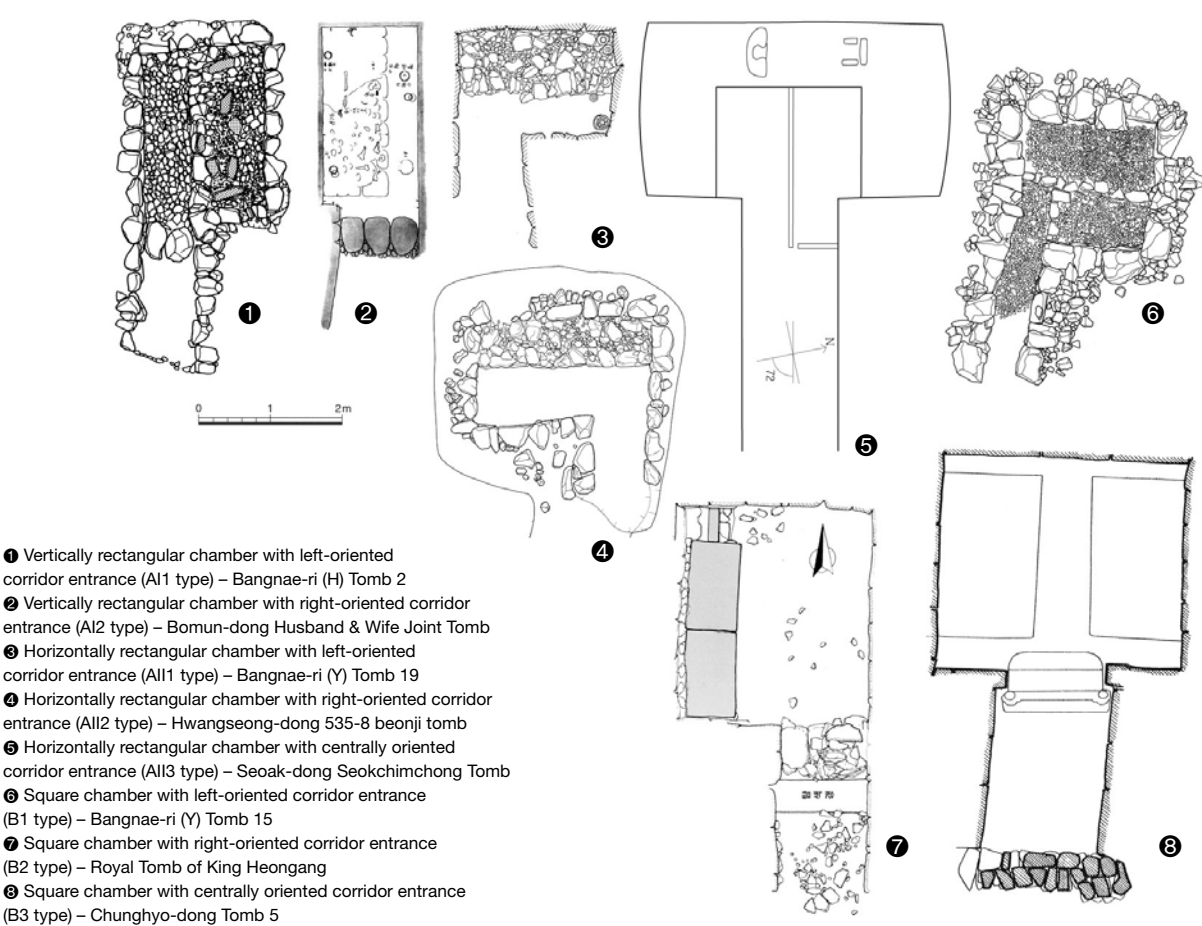


Fig. 2 - Types of Silla Stone Chambers with Corridor Entrances.

were being used in the period when the tombs were constructed were Late Silla-style pottery and Final Sil-la/Early Goryeo-style pottery. In fact, almost all of the stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances in the Gyeongju region that have thus far been investigated coincide with the use of Late Silla-style pottery. In a previous paper, the author utilized typological analysis to establish a four-phase chronological scheme for Late Silla-style pottery. These four phases can be further divided into thirteen subphases (based on relative dating), ranging from approximately the second quarter of the sixth century to around the mid-eighth century. Based on this chronological scheme outlining the development of Late Silla-style pottery, a chronology for the Gyeongju stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances can also be established, as shown in Table 1.

Stone-chamber tombs first appeared in the Gyeongju region in the early sixth century, around

the time of the transition from “early” to “late” Silla pottery. Therefore, the earliest construction of stone-chamber tombs coincides with Phase 1a (“establishment” phase) of the chronology of Late Silla-style pottery, which dates to the second quarter of the sixth century. All three types of stone-chamber tombs (i.e., those with square floors, vertically rectangular floors, and horizontally rectangular floors) were in use from this time in the Gyeongju region. Notably, both stone-chamber tombs and wooden-chamber tombs with stone mounds were in use until Phase 1b, indicating that the burial traditions of both the early and late Silla period coexisted during these early phases. The use of wooden-chamber tombs with stone mounds came to an end only during Phase 1c, dating to the late sixth century, at which time the stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances became the primary burial practice in the Silla Kingdom. The three types of stone chambers discussed above can-

same time that Buddhism was officially recognized by the Silla state. Accordingly, stone-chamber tombs were not lavishly furnished with grave goods. In addition, the presence of a corridor entrance left the chambers highly susceptible to grave robbery. As such, most of the tombs have yielded only limited numbers of artifacts, making it difficult to assess the tumuli rank or the status of the deceased based solely on the artifact evidence.

Other characteristics often associated with the rank or social status of the deceased include the overall size of the stone chamber, the type of ceiling (i.e., flat or vaulted), and the construction techniques. Significantly, all three of these traits show a close correlation with the type of stone-chamber tomb, as determined by the floor plan. For example, flat ceilings typically were used for rectangular chambers, while vaulted ceilings were more commonly used for square chambers. Based on these associations, it may be possible to utilize the type and size of the burial chamber to determine the approximate social position or status of the deceased.

As seen in Fig. 3, the tombs of each type (as established in Fig. 1) tend to cluster into several groups according to the area of the burial chamber floor. These groups can then be associated with the following burial chamber “ranks,” which in turn reflect the social status of the deceased.

Rank 1: Appearing in “Group a” tombs, which include

1. square-chamber tombs with centrally oriented corridor entrances (B3 type, with a length of 2.60-3.60 m and width of 2.60-3.55 m) and
2. extra-large, rectangular-chamber tombs (AI and AII types, with a length of 3.65-4.18 m and width of 2.27-3.65 m). The burial chambers of these tombs have a floor area of 6.76-12.46 m².

Rank 2: Appearing in “Group b1” tombs, which consist of square-chamber tombs with centrally/left/right-oriented corridor entrances (B3, B1 and B2 types, with a length of 1.90-2.60 m, width of 1.98-2.60 m, and floor area of 4.34-5.98 m²).

Rank 3: Appearing in “Group b2” tombs, which consist of square-chamber tombs with left/right-oriented corridor entrances (B1 and B2 types, with a length of 1.65-2.25 m, width of 1.70-2.20 m, and floor area of

3.06-4.14 m²).

Appearing in “Group c1” tombs, which consist of vertically rectangular-chamber tombs with left/right-oriented corridor entrances (AI1 and AI2 types, with a length of 2.10-2.50 m, width of 1.35-1.80 m, and floor area of 3.05-4.14 m²).

Appearing in “Group d1” tombs, which consist of horizontally rectangular-chamber tombs with left/right-oriented corridor entrances (AII1 and AII2 types, with a length of 1.30-1.60 m, width of 2.00-2.60 m, and floor area of 3.00-3.80 m²).

Rank 4: Appearing in “Group c2” tombs, which consist of vertically rectangular-chamber tombs with left/right-oriented corridor entrances (AI1 and AI2 types, with a length of 1.70-2.40 m, width of 0.93-1.50 m, and floor area of 1.76-2.89 m²).

Appearing in “Group d2” tombs, which consist of horizontally rectangular-chamber tombs with left/right-oriented corridor entrances (AII1 and AII2 types, with a length of 0.90-1.45 m, width of 1.25-2.20 m, and floor area of 1.85-2.90 m²).

All but one of the Rank 1 square-chamber tombs (“Group a” tombs) have centrally oriented corridor entrances, whereas the Rank 2 square chambers (“Group b1” tombs) have all three types of corridor entrances, and the Rank 3 square chambers (“Group b2” tombs) have only left- or right-oriented corridor entrances. This data suggests that hierarchical differences existed amongst the tombs with square burial chambers, in terms of both the floor area and the detailed style of the burial chamber. Meanwhile, all of the rectangular burial chambers belong to Rank 3 or below, except for the ones that are extra large in size. Based on these findings, it is possible to establish a hierarchical order for Silla stone-chamber tombs: those with square chambers and centrally oriented corridor entrances at the top, followed by those with square chambers and left/right-oriented corridor entrances, and then those with rectangular chambers at the bottom.

However, one of the “Group a” tombs has a square burial chamber and a right-oriented corridor entrance, rather than a centrally oriented one. In addition, there are three known tombs that have an extra large rectangular chamber, as represented by the dots located diagonally above and below the

“Group a” cluster in Figure 3.² Based on the pottery found within these “aberrant” Rank 1 tombs, they are thought to have been constructed during Phase 1 of the Late Silla-style pottery chronology. Although some pottery from a later date has been found in these tombs, such artifacts are believed to have been placed there during later internments. Even in such cases, the nature of the chamber structure supports the theory that these tombs were originally built around the time of Phase 1. As such, they represent the earliest known stone-chamber tombs in Gyeongju. Thus, it would seem that, during the early period, when the first stone-chamber tombs were being constructed in the Gyeongju area, the standardization or regulation of burial-chamber types according to social norms or hierarchy had not yet been established. This premise might explain the construction of aberrant types, such as the square-chamber tombs with right-oriented corridor entrance and the extra large rectangular chamber tombs.

Apart from stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances and from cremation burials, the burial practices of the late Silla period also included stone-lined burials into which the deceased was interred either vertically or horizontally. These tombs were also sparsely furnished with grave goods, making it difficult to establish distinctions based on artifact evidence alone. Following the method used for the stone-chamber tombs, the length and width of these stone-lined burials have been plotted onto the scattergraph in Figure 4, where the Y-axis represents floor length and the X-axis represents floor width. As seen in Figure 4, the dots representing stone-lined burials with vertical entrances and horizontal entrances (respectively) do not form any distinct clusters in terms of floor dimensions. This result would seem to indicate that, with the stone-lined tombs, the direction of the interment was not closely associated with the rank or status of the deceased.

² The only square stone-chamber tomb with a right-oriented corridor entrance from “Group a” is the Royal Tomb of King Heongang (r. 875-886). However, this tomb and several others included in this study (e.g., the ‘Royal Tomb of King Sindeok’) have never actually been confirmed as royal tombs; the names are simply part of the common parlance. The following tombs have extra large rectangular stone chambers: Wachong Tomb in Dongcheon-dong (Type AI2); Seochimchong Tomb in Seoak-dong (AII3); and the tomb at Location C1 #1-5 from the site of the horserace track in Songok-dong (Type AI1).

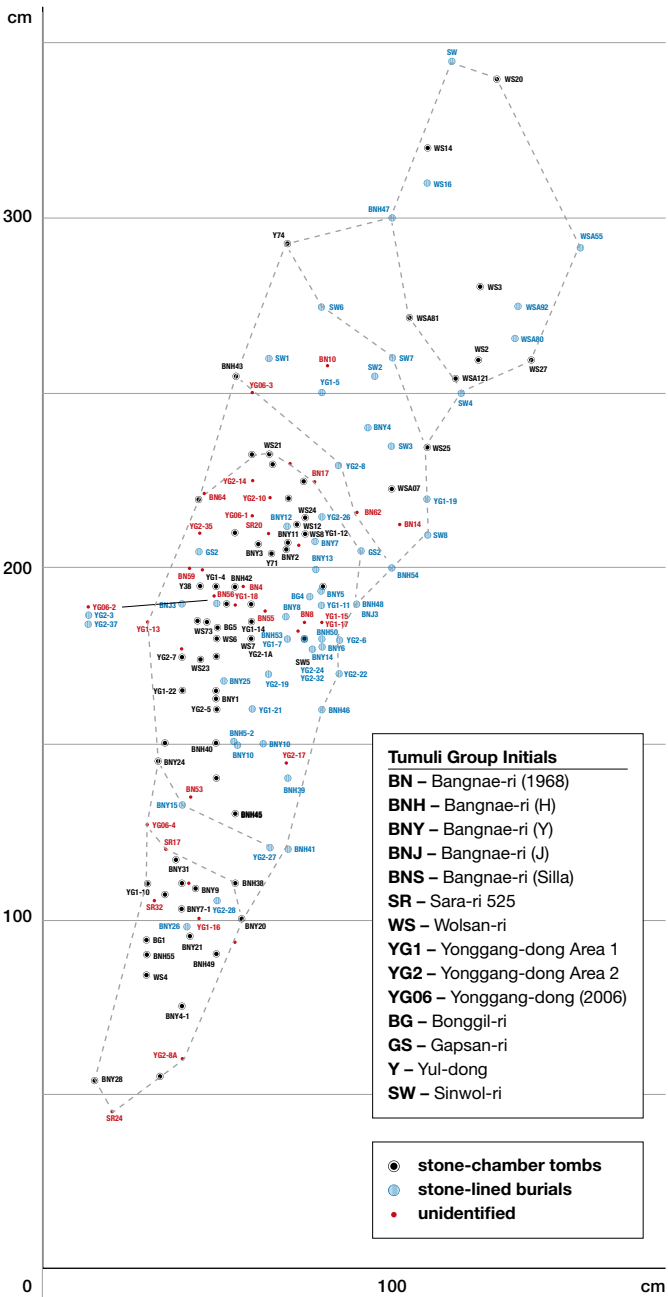


Fig. 4 - Dimensions of Stone-chamber Tombs (Figure 1) and Stone-lined Burials.

All of the stone-lined burials have been classified as “Group e,” and their floor dimensions have been superimposed with those of the stone-chamber tombs in Figure 3. Based on this combined scattergraph, the “Group e” burials can first be divided into the following two clusters: “Group e1” burials, which are plotted near the Rank 3 stone-chamber tombs and thus are included with that rank, and “Group e2” burials, which are included with the Rank 4 stone-

chamber tombs. However, the “Group e3” stone-lined burials are plotted below and to the left of the Rank 4 stone-chamber tombs. Since they can be clearly distinguished in terms of floor area, this group can be attributed to a separate rank, resulting in at least five different ranks for the Gyeongju-area tombs of the late Silla period. Located near the lower left corner of the scattergraph are the “Group e4” stone-lined burials, with a few small stone-chamber tombs distributed diagonally opposite them. However, given that the majority of these burials do not exceed 1.0 m in length, it is possible that they contained the remains of children.

As seen above, the burials of the late Silla period can be divided into at least five different ranks corresponding to the social position or status of the deceased. Notably, the burial tradition of the late Silla period developed during and after the Middle Ancient period, when the “bone rank” (*golpum*, 骨品) system of aristocratic rank was officially instituted. Based on this chronology, it seems very likely that the burial ranks were related to the Silla bone rank

system. In the *Samguk sagi* (三國史記, *Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms*), one of the *japji* (雜志), or “miscellaneous treatise volumes,” includes a section on housing that indicates the existence of sumptuary laws at the time. Based on this reference, the Silla bone rank system may have included some restrictions regarding burial construction and use, which might explain the various ranks among the burials of the late Silla period.

The exact nature of the correlation between the Silla bone rank system and the different ranks of burials in the Gyeongju area is difficult to determine. Perhaps the simplest initial hypothesis is to associate Rank 1 burials with “true bone,” or *jingol* (眞骨), status, the highest level of the bone rank system. In accordance, the Rank 2 burials would correlate to the “sixth head rank,” the Rank 3 burials to the “fifth head rank,” the Rank 4 burials to the “fourth head rank,” and the Rank 5 burials to the commoners. However, even in a society where social status was determined by bloodline, as denoted by the bone rank system, there would have been individuals who

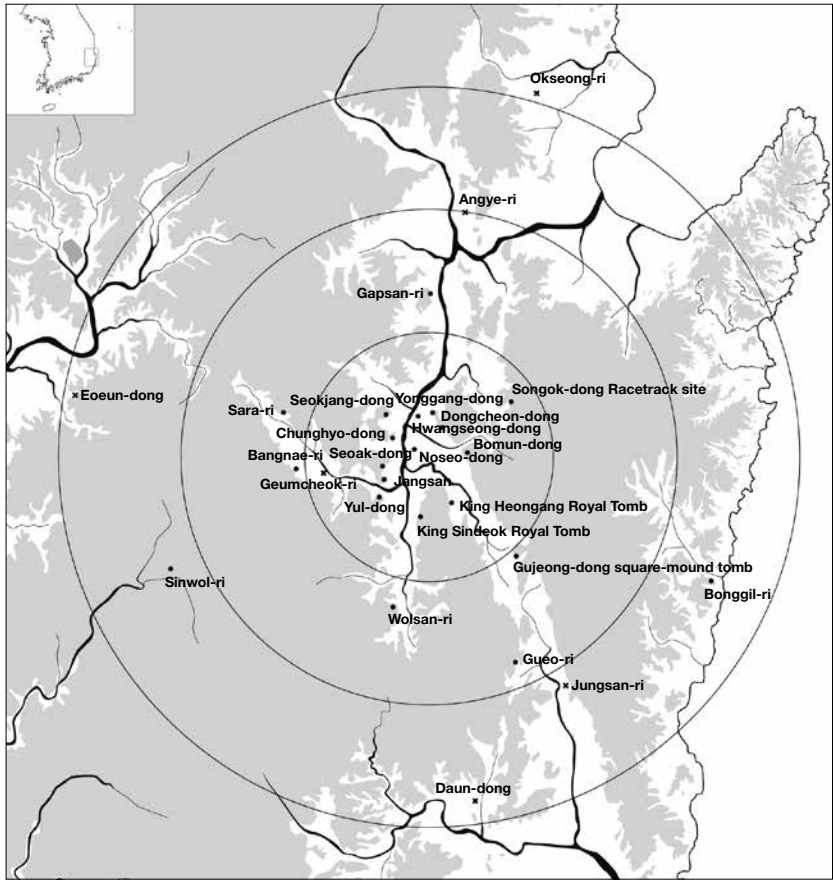


Fig. 5 - Distribution of Late Silla Tumuli Groups.

	BURIAL CHAMBER RANK						STONE-LINED BURIAL			
	1	1	1	1	Unknown	Total	Horizontal Entrance	Vertical Entrance	Unknown	Total
Noseo-dong	3					3				
Seoak-dong	3					3				
Royal tomb at Gujeong-dong	2	1				3				
Chunghyo-dong	2	9				11				
Yonggang-dong	3	5	15	26	3	52	15	7	17	39
Dongcheon-dong	1				1	2				
Bomun-dong	1		1			2				
Hwangseong-dong		3	6	2	2	13			8	8
Bangnae-ri		10	35	46	14	105	23	28	13	64
Sara-ri		5	4		5	14		4		4
Wolsan-ri		2	4	2	3	11	5	18		23
Gueo-ri	1		1		1	3				
Bonggil-ri		1	1	2	2	6	1	4		5
Songok-dong (Racetrack)	1		3	2	1	7			26	26
Seokjang-ri			1	2	2	5				
Gapsan-ri				1		1	1			1
Sinwol-ri							7	1		8
Yul-dong								4		4
Total	17	36	71	83	34	241	52	66	64	182

Table 2. Summary Sheet of Burial Chamber Rank and Stone-lined Burials.

were able to elevate their social status above their original blood rank, typically through military or governmental service. Therefore, the rank of the burials should not necessarily be seen to directly represent the hereditary social status of the deceased.

2. Rank of Tumuli Groups (Table 2, Figure 5)

In the Gyeongju region, tumuli groups of stone-chamber tombs exist mainly in mountainous locations surrounding the Gyeongju Basin, but some tumuli groups are also located on flatlands within the basin or on mountains at the edge of the basin. The various locations of tumuli groups comprise tombs of different ranks, a circumstance that would appear to be closely related to the initial establishment of the tumuli groups. As such, the locations of the late Silla tumuli groups likely reflect a hierarchical order.

The Seoak-dong tumuli group is situated at the foot of Mt. Seondo, west of the Gyeongju Basin, and appears to have been the highest ranked tumuli group of the late Silla burial tradition. This group

consists of a row of Silla royal tombs dating to the Middle Ancient period, with large clusters of tombs on either side of the royal tombs. Thus far, excavations at this site have uncovered only a small number of Rank 1 burial chambers, but there are numerous large tombs yet to be explored in the mountain ridges that branch out from the central mountain range. This tumuli group appears to have been formed in the Middle Ancient period, when the site came to be used as the “royal cemetery” of the Silla Kingdom.

A few late Silla stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances are also present amongst the tombs in the Noseo-dong district, which is located within the Gyeongju Basin (i.e., on flatlands). All of the stone-chamber tombs thus far excavated from this site have been found to contain Rank 1 burial chambers, which suggests that some members of the Silla royal family continued to adhere to the tradition of flatland burials, even after the establishment of the royal cemetery near Mt. Seondo in the Middle Ancient period.

The tumuli groups of the second highest rank are the Chunghyo-dong and Yonggang-dong groups, which are located in the mountains surrounding the Gyeongju Basin. These tumuli groups consist primarily of tombs with burial chambers belonging to Rank 2 and below, but a few Rank 1 chamber tombs are also present. In addition, the tombs of the Dongcheon-dong and Bomun-dong tumuli groups appear to be similar in rank to those in Chunghyo-dong and Yonggang-dong, but only a few of the Dongcheon-dong and Bomun-dong tombs have been fully excavated thus far. Notably, the tumuli groups in the mountains around the Gyeongju Basin and the Seoakdong tumuli group (examined above) represent burial grounds that were established only in the late Silla period. Therefore, these tumuli groups appear to have been established by the aristocratic elite, who previously had been buried in wooden-chamber tombs with stone mounds in the Gyeongju area, but later (from the sixth century onward) began to establish new burial grounds outside the basin.

The next rank of tumuli groups is represented by the sites of Hwangseong-dong and Bangnae-ri, as well as by the Sara-ri, Wolsan-ri, Bonggil-ri, and Gueo-ri tumuli groups. Most of these groups occur in the mountainous hinterlands outside the Gyeongju Basin, with the exception of the Hwangseong-dong group, which lies in the northern part of the Gyeongju Basin. These tumuli groups generally consist of tombs with Rank 2 burial chambers and below.³ All of these groups are either situated within or in close proximity to burial grounds that had existed since the early Silla period (or the even earlier Saro-guk period), such that they can be regarded as an extension of the earlier burial grounds. As such, this collection of tumuli groups appears to have been established in the early Silla period (or even before) by local indigenous communities that had settled in the region.

The tumuli groups at the Songok-dong and Seokjang-dong sites are characterized by tombs with Rank 3 burial chambers and below, including a high

³ The Gueo-ri tumuli group and the tumuli group from the horserace track in Songok-dong each contain a tomb with a Rank 1 burial chamber. The pottery from both of these tombs dates to Phase 1 of the late Silla pottery chronology. As such, they appear—like the other examples discussed above—to belong to the earliest phases of the stone-chamber tombs, when social regulations concerning their construction had yet to be established.

frequency of stone-lined burials with horizontal or vertical entrances. Distributed around the Gyeongju Basin, these groups appear to have been used by outlying settlements where agricultural and ceramic production took place under the control of the capital. The final rank of tumuli groups is represented by the Sinwol-ri and Yul-dong sites, which consist of only a limited number of stone-lined burials with horizontal or vertical entrances. As the stone-lined burials are generally from an early date, these burial grounds may not have been in use for a long period of time.

Based on the findings above, the tumuli groups of the late Silla burial tradition seems to demonstrate a hierarchical ordering. Furthermore, this hierarchical order may have reflected the nature of the different social groups that constructed and used these tombs.

V. Changes in Tomb Structure

1. Changes in Construction Techniques (Figure 6)

Most of the stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances in the Gyeongju region were built on inclined sites in mountainous locations. The central tombs were constructed in rows along the branches of mountain ridges that extend out towards the plains, with smaller tombs located on inclined ground to the left and right of these central tombs. The first step in constructing the stone burial chambers was to dig a shallow pit to hold the foundations that would support the floor and walls. However, the majority of the main structure was located above the ground, so the stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances can be considered an above-ground type of funerary architecture. Most of the corridor entrances of the burial chambers faced south, but the direction sometimes varied, depending upon the site's topography.

As previously discussed, the stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances can be divided in to various "types" based on the floor plan; those types were then subdivided into various "ranks" according to the size and other details. The overall structure of the tombs changed over time, and it would seem that the nature of these changes varied according to the rank of the burial chamber. The techniques for constructing various parts of the tombs also differed according to the rank. The burial chambers and tomb corridors were generally built from worked stone, for

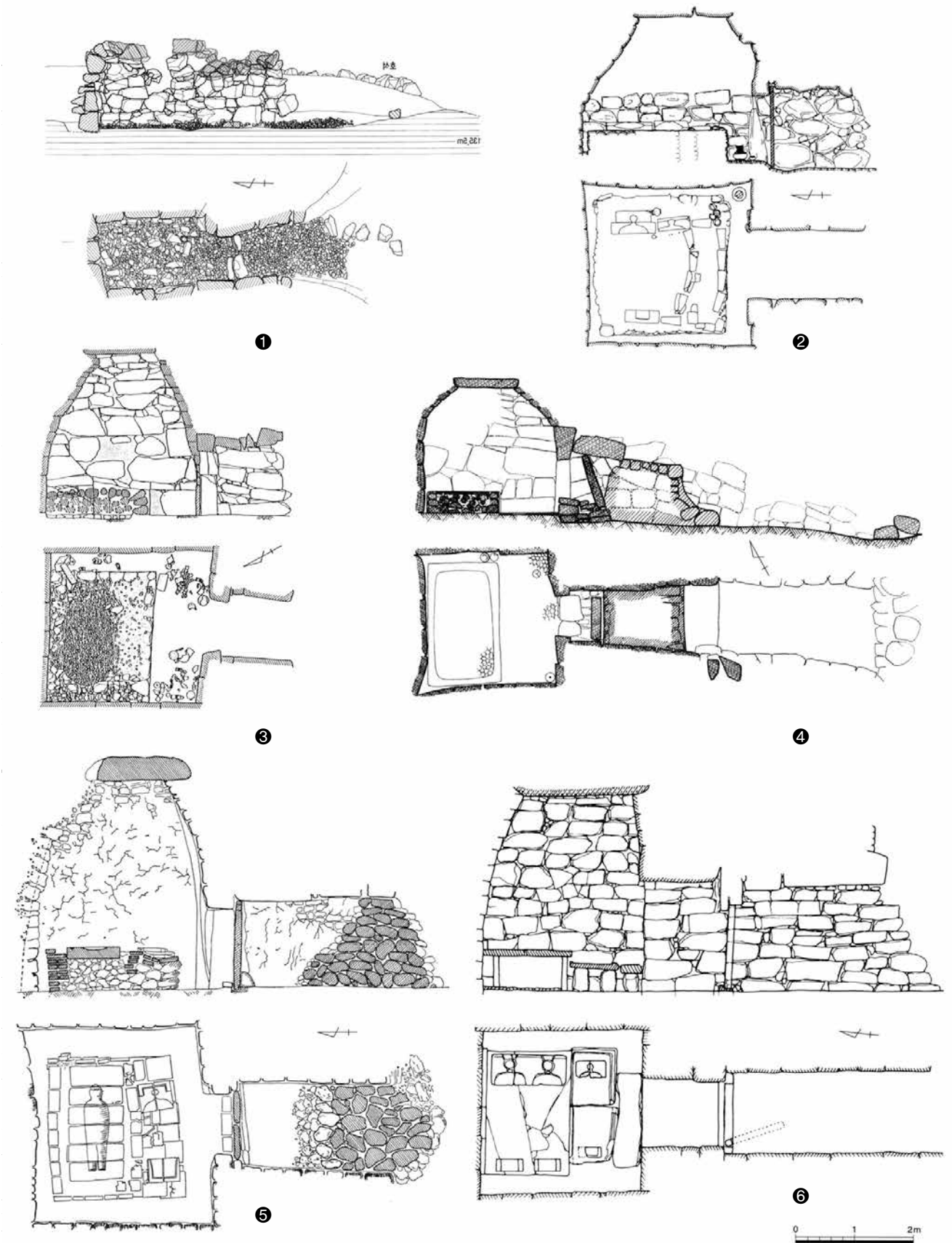


Fig. 6 - Cross-section and Plan of Silla Stone-chamber Tombs.

① Bangnae-ri (Y) Tomb 1, ② Seoak-dong stone-chamber tomb, ③ Yonggang-dong tomb, ④ Chunghyo-dong Tomb 10
⑤ Ssangsangchong, ⑥ Seoak-dong Jangsan pottery figurine tomb.

simple in structure, and they were built from worked stones of varying size. The flat ceilings of the rectangular burial chambers are no more than 2.0 m in height, even in the largest chambers. The vaulted ceilings of the square burial chambers are taller than the flat ceilings of the rectangular burial chambers, but their height never exceeds the length or width of the chamber. The burial platforms of this phase are low and are attached to one wall of the chamber. The corridors are short, the doorways have no frames to mark the inner entrance, and the chambers were blocked or sealed by stacking worked stones near the entrance.

Phase 2 (middle late sixth century–middle early seventh century): The Rank 1 burial chambers in this phase consist solely of square chambers with centrally orientated corridors, and their distribution was limited to the Gyeongju Basin and the surrounding mountains. The ceilings of the square chamber tombs are relatively tall, but their height does not exceed the length of any of the chamber walls. The higher ranking square burial chambers have high burial platforms that were constructed away from the chamber walls and that were plastered with lime. These platforms supported headrests, shoulder-rests, and footrests made of stone slabs. Over time, the structure of the corridor evolved and developed so that the inner entrance came to feature a lintel and a door threshold. By the end of this developmental phase, doorjambs were fitted on both sides of the inner entrance, thus completing the final form of the entrance doorframe. Initially, these corridor entrances were blocked off with a single large stone slab, but with the addition of the doorjambs, the entrance was blocked with a pair of stone slabs.

Phase 3 (late early seventh century–middle late seventh century): The square burial chambers of this phase were built using rectangular stone blocks of standardized size. These stones were stacked to form a perfect stretcher bond, with each row of stones offset by half a stone from the row above and below it. Some of the chambers have vaulted ceilings with a height that exceeds the length of the walls. The corridors became longer and the entrance was fitted with a leaf gate to allow for more convenient access.

Phase 4 (late late seventh century–middle eighth

century): The corridors became longer and a “pseudo-corridor” was erected between the inner entrance and the burial chamber. With the development of the corridor structure, the burial chamber was approached first through the leaf gate to the corridor, followed by the pseudo-corridor. The burial platforms were built using stone slabs, with an additional stone slab—carved with headrest, shoulder-rest, and foot-rest—placed atop the platform.

VI. Conclusion

A hierarchy can be observed within the stone-chamber tombs with corridor entrances that formed the core of the late Silla burial tradition. These tombs, which were first constructed in the Gyeongju area in the early sixth century, had burial chambers that can be divided into several ranks that reflect the social status of the deceased. The different ranks of burial chambers were characterized by different structural features and construction methods. A hierarchy seems also to have been present amongst the late Silla tumuli groups in the Gyeongju region. The hierarchical nature of the tombs and tumuli groups of the Gyeongju region can be understood as a feature of the burial system of the Silla royal city, established during the Middle Ancient period. This burial system can shed light on the nature of the contemporaneous Silla society, which was structured by the “bone rank” system.

However, it must be stressed that the above understanding of the late Silla burial tradition should not be applied to the entire area of the Silla Kingdom. The way in which the late burial tradition of the Silla capital, including its tomb system, may have influenced the regional communities remains to be explored through further research. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY KO ILHONG

This paper is an edited and abridged English version of “Social Stratification Represented in the Silla Stone Chamber Tombs of the Gyeongju Area and Changes in Tomb Structure,” previously published in 2012 in *Hanguk Kogo-Hakbo* (한국고고학보), 83.

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Elements of Goryeo Celadon that Reflect Influence of Liao Crafts

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Preface

Inspired and influenced by Chinese wares created at the Yue kilns in Zhejiang Province, Korean potters began to produce celadon-glazed stoneware in the ninth and tenth centuries, during the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392). By the twelfth century, Goryeo celadon had evolved its own aesthetic characteristics, typified by jade-green glaze and inlay decoration. In the early phases of celadon production in Korea (i.e., the tenth, eleventh, and early twelfth century, China was divided between two coeval dynasties: the Northern Song (960-1126) and the Liao (916-1125) dynasties. The Northern Song influence on Goryeo arts and crafts is well known; less well known, however, is that the Liao Dynasty also played a role in the development of Goryeo celadon. Elements reflecting the Chinese influence from this era persisted until the mid-Goryeo period, when Goryeo began to interact with the Southern Song (1127-1279), Jin (1115-1234), and Yuan (1279-1368) dynasties. As such, the forms and decorative patterns of later Goryeo celadons reflect different patterns of Chinese influence.

From the tenth to the early twelfth century, Goryeo exerted considerable diplomatic effort to maintain favorable relations with both Northern Song and Liao, as the two often were in conflict with each other. These diplomatic circumstances are believed to have affected the degree, timing, and nature of the Chinese influence on Goryeo celadon.

After several ruptures in relations (see below), Goryeo and Northern Song reestablished diplomatic relations in 1071 (twenty-fifth year of King Munjong, r. 1046-1083); cultural exchange between the two states peaked between 1071 and the early twelfth century. Exchanges between Northern Song and Goryeo have been extensively researched and documented,

but the parallel exchanges between Liao and Goryeo have been less well studied. However, any attempt to elucidate Liao influence on Goryeo ceramics must take into account the fact that Liao ceramics were also influenced by Northern Song. Thus, some elements that were shared by Liao and Goryeo might actually have originated with Northern Song, and thus should not be considered as evidence of Goryeo-Liao exchange. Recognizing the cultural relationship between Northern Song and Liao, this paper examines how Goryeo celadon was influenced by cultural and aesthetic elements unique to Liao. Through this examination, the paper reveals similarities and differences among the ceramics of Goryeo, Liao, and Northern Song, and further explicates the originality of Goryeo celadon.

Political, Economic, and Cultural Exchange between Goryeo and Liao

Liao's Invasions of Goryeo (918-1019)

Early in its history, the Goryeo Dynasty likely had relations with Liao, but records reveal that any official diplomatic relations between the two had taken a significant downturn by 942. According to *Goryeosa* (高麗史, *History of Goryeo*), Liao sent a diplomatic delegation and fifty camels to Goryeo in 942, but Goryeo severed diplomatic relations between the two states. The Liao delegates were condemned to exile on an island, while the camels were corralled under Manbugyo Bridge, tied up, and held until they starved to death (Chapter 2 of “Biography of King Taejo,” tenth month of the twenty-fifth year of King Taejo). Around the same time, in his *Hunyo sipjo* (訓要十條, *The Ten Injunctions*), King Taejo (r. 918-943), the founding monarch of Goryeo, expressed hostility

toward the Khitan people of Liao and clearly stated that they should be rejected.

Liao eventually invaded Goryeo three times: in 993, 1010, and 1018. The first invasion, in 993, ended that same year in a truce in which Goryeo agreed to sever its diplomatic relations with Song and to become a vassal state under Liao. According to *Goryeosa*, Goryeo was forced to send official delegates to Liao and to temporarily adopt the Liao era name (Chapter 3 of “Biography of King Seongjong,” fourth month of thirteenth year of King Seongjong, r. 981-997). As such, diplomatic relations between the two were initiated by force. Despite obvious pressure from Liao, Goryeo still sought every opportunity to restore its relations with Northern Song. The alternating use of Northern Song and Liao era names from the time of its establishment onward reflects the precarious position of Goryeo, caught between the two powers.

The years 918 through 1019 may be characterized as a developmental stage during which diplomatic relations between the three states of Goryeo, Liao, and Northern Song were gradually established. Under these circumstances, Goryeo celadon began to show the influence of the ceramic production technologies of both Five Dynasties (907-960) and Northern Song, based on the Yuezhou kilns, while Liao ceramics began to form their own characteristics based on the tradition of Northern Song ceramics. The relationship between Goryeo and Liao remained highly unstable throughout the period, rendering a clear assessment very difficult.

Goryeo's Diplomatic Relations with Liao (1020-1070)

Although Goryeo and Liao continued to exchange diplomatic delegations until Liao's collapse in 1125, Goryeo's official relations with Northern Song were more sporadic. A tenuous peace among the three states ensued in 1020, shortly after Liao's third and final invasion of Goryeo, with Goryeo sending embassies to both Liao and Northern Song. Even though Goryeo sent a large diplomatic delegation to Northern Song at that time, there are no records of any official delegations sent by Goryeo to Northern Song between 1030 and 1070. During those years, however, the two states continued to engage in brisk private trade, a situation indicating that Goryeo was likely forced to sever its official ties with Northern Song under military threat from Liao. Still, as a prac-

tical economic and cultural measure, Goryeo maintained some exchange with Northern Song.

Relations between Goryeo and Liao remained quite stable, with the two states frequently engaging in trade and with Liao envoys making substantial tribute gifts to Goryeo. Along with such official exchanges, private and contraband trading occurred continuously along the two countries' shared border.

Even though Liao and Goryeo continued their exchanges through the eleventh century, the precise nature of Liao's influence on Goryeo art is difficult to determine. It is believed that, despite the ongoing trade and diplomatic relations, Goryeo likely assumed its culture to be superior to that of Liao. In fact, through much of the eleventh century Goryeo seems to have looked down on Liao culture and refused to embrace Liao cultural elements, let alone assimilate them into their own art. However, this situation changed in 1063 (seventeenth year of King Munjong), when Goryeo was introduced to Liao's *Khitan Tripitaka* (契丹大藏經), a substantial work that conveyed the advanced nature of Liao's Buddhist scholarship and culture. Hence, from around 1070 onward, Goryeo arts and crafts began to incorporate elements associated with Liao, evincing Goryeo's newfound respect for Liao art and culture.

Cultural Exchanges between Goryeo and Liao (1071-1125)

At this time, Goryeo and Northern Song resumed diplomatic relations, and both cultural and commercial exchanges between the two states began to increase. The newly reinstituted diplomatic relations between Goryeo and Northern Song did not take the form of a tribute-investiture system. Rather, Goryeo seems to have been motivated by such practical interests as the adoption of China's advanced culture and politics of reform.

At the same time, with the introduction of the *Khitan Tripitaka* in 1063, relations between Goryeo and Liao underwent important revisions. Exchanges between Goryeo and Liao increased, particularly with regard to Buddhist art and culture. Liao likely felt somewhat uncomfortable about its culture, as Goryeo had always revered Northern Song culture while looking dismissively upon the culture of Liao. Thus, in transmitting the *Tripitaka*, Liao aimed to show that its Buddhist culture was just as mature as that of Goryeo and Northern Song. Liao was also motivated

to signal its amity towards Goryeo in order to entice Goryeo into a political alliance.

Liao's *Tripitaka*, which was twice transmitted to Goryeo, had a significant impact on Goryeo Buddhists because it was much more extensive and elaborate than the Northern Song *Tripitaka*. After its introduction, Liao's Buddhist scriptures and texts are believed to have been continuously transmitted to Goryeo through the exchange of diplomatic delegations. The transmission of Liao's Buddhist culture was especially robust during the reigns of King Sukjong (r. 1095-1105) and King Yejong (r. 1105-1122). An important record of this exchange can be found in *Xuanhe fengshi gaoli tujing* (宣和奉使高麗圖經, *Illustrated Record of the Chinese Embassy to the Goryeo Court in the Xuanhe Era*), published in 1123 by Xu Jing (徐兢; 1091-1153), a Northern Song envoy to Goryeo. Xu Jing stated that many Khitan artisans traveled from Liao to Goryeo to make vessels and clothes.

Khitan Artisans in Goryeo and the Importation of Liao Crafts

Throughout the Goryeo period, people from other parts of Asia came to Goryeo seeking refuge, including Han Chinese, Jurchens from Northeast China, Khitans from Liao, and people from Balhae. The largest influx of Khitans is believed to have occurred during the reigns of King Hyeonjong (r. 1009-1031) and King Jeongjong (r. 1034-1046). The immigration of Khitans continued during the reigns of King Munjong (r. 1046-1083), King Sunjong (r. 1083), and King Seonjong (r. 1083-1094), and lasted at least until 1117 (twelfth year of King Yejong [r. 1105-1122]). The following record appears in the Crafts section of *Xuanhe fengshi gaoli tujing* (Chapter 19):

高麗 工技至巧 其絕藝 悉歸于公 如幞頭所將作監乃其所也 常服白紵袍皂巾 唯執役趨事 則官給紫袍 亦開契丹降 虜數萬人 其工技十有一擇其精巧者 留於王府 比年器服益工 弟浮僞頗多 不復前日純質耳。

The craftsmanship of Goryeo is highly elaborate, and the most skilled practitioners of any craft belong to governmental offices such as Bokduso (僕頭所) and Jangjakgam (將作監). These governmental artisans usually wear a white robe and black headband, but those who have received a governmental assignment receive a red robe. I

have heard that there are tens of thousands of Khitan prisoners, and that one in ten of them are skilled artisans who are being kept in the capital. Accordingly, the vessels and clothes have become more refined these days. But many of these newer goods are ostentatious and artificial; the simple, authentic things of the past can never be restored.

Another mention of artisans among Khitan prisoners, with an emphasis on textiles and clothes, appears in the Local Specialties section of *Xuanhe fengshi gaoli tujing* (Chapter 23):

...其國 自種紵麻 人多衣布 絕品者 謂之紵 潔白如玉 而奢邊幅 王與貴臣 皆衣之 不善蠶桑 其糸系 線織紵 皆仰買入 自山東閩浙來 頗善織文羅花綾緊糸系 錦罽 邇來北虜 降卒 工技甚衆 故益奇巧 染色又 勝於前日...

In Goryeo, they grow ramie and hemp, so many clothes are made from these materials. The best textile is a type of silk called *shi* (紵), which is as clean as jade, although its finish is not quite so fine. All high officials and members of the royal court wears clothing made from *shi*. But since Goryeo people lack skills in sericulture, they must go to merchants to buy threads and fabrics imported from the Shandong and Minzhe regions [in today's Fujian and Zhejiang provinces] of China. The Goryeo people excel at making flower-patterned silk, silk woven with strong threads, and woolen textiles. Recently, more dexterity and skills are shown and the dyeing has improved due to the influence of clothing artisans among the prisoners from the North.

Based on these records, it seems highly likely that the artisans among the Khitan prisoners began directly introducing shapes and patterns from Liao to Goryeo. Xu Jing's characterizations of these designs as "ostentatious and artificial" and his assessment that "more dexterity and skills are shown" would seem to reflect his unfamiliarity with the designs, which varied widely from conventional Northern Song aesthetics. Based on the passages from *Xuanhe fengshi gaoli tujing*, which are the earliest known records concerning the occupations and activities of Khitan people in Goryeo, many of the Khitan prisoners who entered Goryeo must have been artisans and craftsmen.

The importation of Liao art and aesthetics into Goryeo is known to have influenced Goryeo Buddhist



Fig. 1. Liao green-glazed dish with molded peony design. Eleventh or twelfth century. Height: 1.5 cm, Length: 9.5 cm. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 2. Liao green-glazed calabash-shaped bottle with incised peony scroll design. Eleventh or twelfth century. Height: 23.8 cm. (National Museum of Korea).

sculpture and metal crafts. Other areas of Goryeo culture that reveal the influence of Liao include the directional orientation of Goryeo burials and some types of burial goods, including bronze spoons and iron scissors, among others.

The collection of the National Museum of Korea includes a green-glazed dish with stamped peony design (Fig. 1) and a green-glazed calabash-shaped bottle with incised peony scroll (Fig. 2), both of which are believed to have been produced in the Nanshan kilns of Liao and imported into Goryeo. Other green-glazed vessels of Liao origin found in Korea include a gourd-shaped bottle, a square dish, and an ewer. In addition, excavations at the site of Samcheonsa Temple in Mt. Bukhan, Seoul, yielded a shard of what is thought to be Liao three-color pottery.

Liao also produced large quantities of silk, which was often given to neighboring countries as a diplomatic or tribute good. Liao metalwares also were used as diplomatic and tribute goods, listed under the category of "silver ware." In addition to silk, other Liao items imported into Goryeo via govern-

ment or private trade included metalware and horse trappings. Given that Goryeo and Liao shared a border, where goods were briskly exchanged and which people certainly crossed (both officially and unofficially), it is almost certain that numerous other types of crafts were also imported into Goryeo from Liao.

Influence of Liao Metalware and Three-color Pottery on Goryeo Celadon

The influence of Liao Buddhist sculpture and metalware on the arts of Goryeo began to become apparent in the late eleventh century. Although it would be easy to assume that the same situation prevailed with Goryeo celadon, it is important to note that the level of ceramic production in Goryeo was higher than that of Liao, both technically and aesthetically. In fact, it would be more accurate to say that both Goryeo and Liao were under the influence of Northern Song ceramics. Because of this shared influence, the ceramic styles of Northern Song, Goryeo, and Liao were closely related.

During the first half of the tenth century, China and Liao were at war. In the midst of this conflict, Liao launched a full-scale attack on Dingzhou (定州, in present-day Hebei Province), one of the centers of Chinese ceramics and silk production. Liao captured Chinese artisans from Dingzhou and pressed them into service in their own facilities. As a result, craft technology and techniques from the Hebei and Shanxi provinces served as the foundation for the early crafts of Liao, in such areas as textiles, metalware, and ceramics. In particular, the production of metalware quickly increased in Liao and improved through

the incorporation of the metalware styles and techniques of people from the northern steppes, based on the tradition of China's Tang Dynasty (618-907).

A Goryeo celadon ewer with incised scroll design (Fig. 3), housed in the Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka, has a form very similar to that of a silver ewer inscribed with the date 1018 (Fig. 4), which was recovered from the tomb of Liao Princess Chenguo (陳國). The Goryeo celadon ewer has a shorter, more gently curved handle and spout, reflecting the form's transition from metalware to celadon. The handle of the silver ewer in Figure 4 is sharply bent where it connects to the neck, a detail also seen in a white porcelain ewer (Fig. 5) that was recovered from the mid-tenth-century tomb of Liao's Prince of Weiguo (衛國王), the Imperial Son-in-Law (the tomb dated to 959). This white porcelain ewer demonstrates how Liao crafts incorporated elements from Northern Song while still maintaining their own character. The handle's unusual shape can also be found on some Goryeo celadon and metalware.

The expression and arrangement of the cloud and dragon design on a Goryeo celadon cylindrical covered box with an inscription reading "*Sangyakguk*" (尚藥局, Figs. 6 and 6a, Handok Medico-Pharma Museum) matches that of a gilt silver cosmetic case with dragon design (Fig. 7) discovered in the tomb of Liao Princess Chenguo (陳國, 1018). This correlation suggests a direct relationship between Goryeo celadon and Liao metalware.

Liao influence on the details of Goryeo crafts can also be seen in two vessels now housed in the United States. Both a Goryeo gilt-silver ewer (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and a Goryeo celadon ewer (Art Institute of Chicago) have a body and spout deco-



Fig. 3. Goryeo celadon ewer with incised scroll design. Twelfth century. Height: 18.6 cm. (Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka).



Fig. 4. Liao silver ewer from the tomb of Liao Princess Chenguo. 1018. Height: 10.1 cm. (Inner Mongolia Cultural Relics and Archaeology Research Institute).



Fig. 5. Liao white porcelain ewer from the tomb of Liao Prince of Weiguo, the Imperial Son-in-Law. 959. Height: 21.5 cm. (Lu Jing, 2003, p. 94).



Fig. 6. Goryeo celadon cylindrical covered box with the inscription "*Sangyakguk*" and incised cloud and dragon design. Twelfth century. Height: 9.6 cm. (Handok Medico-Pharma Museum).

rated with a bamboo motif, a feature typical of Liao metalwork ewers.

Influence of Liao Three-color Pottery

Liao ceramic production was closely connected to Dingzhou porcelain. Technologies from the Ding and Cizhou kilns in Hebei Province were introduced to Liao kilns in Shangjing (上京) and Chifeng Gangwa (赤峰缸瓦). Liao ceramics can be divided into two categories: those with forms that follow traditional Chinese styles, and those with forms from the Khitan nomadic culture of the steppes.

Liao ceramics include many white porcelain vessels with shapes and decorative patterns that follow the Chinese style, although their quality is not so high as that of the Chinese pieces. Even vessels from the two primary Liao kilns—Chifeng Gangwa kilns (the official kilns of Liao) and Longquanwu (龍泉務) kilns in Beijing (which strongly followed the Chinese style)—could not match the quality of contemporaneous Chinese wares. By the late eleventh century, Liao society and the lifestyles of its upper classes gradually began to decline. As such, the metalware vessels once produced for daily use were replaced by three-color pottery vessels. At that time, three-color (i.e., *sancal*, 三彩) wares were rarely produced in Northern Song, but in Liao, three-color vessels in the tradition



of Tang three-color pottery seem to have been intensively produced at the Chifeng Gangwa kilns. Many types of three-color pottery were produced in Liao, including lobed trays (Fig. 8), with barbed rims decorated with geometric patterns, and animal-shaped vessels with imaginative shapes and designs. In addition to demonstrating the uniqueness of Liao ceramics, these three-color vessels relate closely to metalware vessels. Given that the three-color wares were typically intended to replace metalware vessels, the



Fig. 7. Liao gilt-silver cosmetic case with dragon design from the tomb of Liao Princess Chenguo. 1018. Height: 22.0 cm. (Inner Mongolia Cultural Relics and Archaeology Research Institute).



Fig. 8. Liao three-color pottery lobed trays excavated from Xiaoliuzhangzi (小劉仗子) Tombs 2 and 4, Ningcheng, Inner Mongolia. Eleventh and twelfth century. Height: 2.0 cm, Length: 26.0 cm. (Inner Mongolia Cultural Relics and Archaeology Research Institute).

two types shared many of the same decorative patterns and expressions. In particular, Liao three-color ewers shaped like animals have long been regarded as among the finest Liao ceramics. Liao metalware and three-color pottery arrived in Goryeo via trade and diplomatic exchange, and they are thought to have been cherished in Goryeo as high-quality luxury items for the ruling class.

The relationship between Liao three-color pottery and Goryeo celadon is exemplified by the close resemblance between a Goryeo celadon dragon-shaped brush holder (Fig. 9) and a Liao three-color dragon-shaped brush holder with molded decoration (Fig. 10). The Liao brush holder predates the Goryeo one; given this chronology, and the strong similarity between the two, the Goryeo brush holder was likely made in imitation of the Liao one.



Fig. 9. Goryeo celadon dragon-shaped brush holder with openwork decoration. Twelfth century. Height: 9.0 cm, Length: 17.6 cm. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 10. Liao three-color pottery dragon-shaped brush holder with molded decoration. Eleventh or twelfth century. Height: 9.6 cm, Length: 16.5 cm. (Lu, Jing, 2003, pp. 264-265).

Figure 11 shows a Goryeo celadon dragon-shaped ewer (National Treasure #61), characterized by a U-shaped body with raised tail fin, large upright fins, and a lotus petal design on the base. Corresponding features also appear on a Liao three-color carp-shaped ewer, which features a leaping carp atop a base decorated with lotus flowers. In addition, the heads of the dragon on the Goryeo ewer in Figure 11 share many details with those of a Liao three-color *makara*-shaped ewer (Fig. 12). Although the relationship between these two vessels is not as direct as that between the brush holders in Figures 9 and 10, the similarity is sufficiently strong to indicate a correspondence.

The central peony design on the cover of a Goryeo celadon cosmetic case decorated with openwork scroll design (Fig. 13, Liaoning Provincial Museum) resembles a peony design from a Liao three-color lobed tray (Fig. 14). The Goryeo design was likely modeled after the Liao design, but the Goryeo design is more complex, reflecting the structural requirements of an openwork design.

Liao influence on Goryeo celadon began to emerge in the late eleventh century. Notably, in the early twelfth century, the Khitan artisans who arrived in Goryeo during the reigns of King Hyeonjong and King Jeongjong likely began to actively participate in the production of Goryeo metalware and textiles. These Khitan artisans may be thought of as couriers who delivered Liao's favored shapes and patterns directly to Goryeo.

To summarize, Liao metalware and three-color potteries are generally considered to be unique to Liao, and distinct from the ceramic style of Northern Song, which both Goryeo and Liao shared. Furthermore, the influence of Liao metalware and three-color pottery on Goryeo celadon is readily apparent. Liao metalware incorporated elements from Tang Dynasty metalware as well as elements from the people of the northern steppe. Three-color pottery was rarely produced in Northern Song, and the Liao three-color pottery drew inspiration from Tang three-color pottery. The influence of Liao metalware and three-color pottery on Goryeo celadon likely can be attributed to their excellent quality and relative scarcity. It is known that Goryeo actively embraced the advanced ceramic culture of Northern Song, but certain characteristics of Goryeo celadon also reflect the influence of Liao arts and crafts.

Interestingly, however, some types of traditional

Khitan vessels—such as leather-flask-shaped jars, long-necked jars with strap, and jars with dish-shaped mouth and handles—were produced in Northern Song, but not as Goryeo celadon.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the exchange of ceramic styles, forms, and shapes between Liao and Goryeo, within the context of the overall political and cultural exchanges between Goryeo, Liao, and Northern Song. The exchanges between Goryeo and Liao can be divided into three phases, in consideration of both states' relationship with Northern Song.

The first phase began in 918, with the founding of Goryeo, and lasted until 1019, just after Liao's third invasion of Goryeo. In this period, trilateral diplomatic relations between Goryeo, Liao, and Northern Song were still being developed. Goryeo received ceramic production technologies from kilns active in the Five Dynasties (907-960) and the Northern Song (960-1127) periods, but there were not yet stable cultural exchanges between Goryeo and Liao. The second phase, which lasted from 1020 to 1070, was a time of relative peace and stability that saw Goryeo send envoys to both Northern Song and Liao. In this period, Goryeo shared an official diplomatic relationship with Liao, but had not yet resumed ongoing diplomatic relations with Northern Song. The relations between Goryeo and Liao remained fairly stable, with large quantities of diplomatic and tribute goods being taken to Goryeo by Liao envoys. Goods were also briskly exchanged via official, private, and illicit trade. Despite these robust exchanges, Liao's influence on Goryeo art could not yet be distinctly detected. However, with the introduction of Liao's *Khitan Tripitaka* (契丹大藏經) to Goryeo in 1063, Goryeo notably recognized Liao's advanced Buddhist culture, thus paving the way for the influence of Liao arts and crafts to penetrate more deeply in the next period. The third and final phase lasted from 1071, with the resumption of diplomatic relations between Goryeo and Northern Song, until the fall of Liao in 1125. This period witnessed Goryeo's most robust exchanges with both Northern Song and Liao.

Based on China's advanced craft technologies, Liao metalware combined the tradition of the Tang-Dynasty metalware with characteristics borrowed



Fig. 11. Goryeo celadon dragon-shaped ewer. Twelfth century. Height: 24.4 cm. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 13. Goryeo celadon cosmetic case with openwork scroll design. Eleventh or twelfth century. Height: 11.8 cm. Length: 22.3 cm. (Liaoning Provincial Museum).



Fig. 12. Liao three-color pottery makara-shaped ewer. Eleventh or twelfth century. Height: 15.0 cm. (Palace Museum, Beijing).

from the metalware of the northern steppe people. Likewise, Liao ceramics evolved two distinct types: forms based on traditional Chinese styles and forms based on characteristics from the Khitan nomadic culture of the steppes. With its advanced metalware production, Liao exerted considerable influence on Goryeo Buddhist sculptures and metalware. Liao's influence on Goryeo celadon was not as strong, however, as the overall level of ceramic production in Liao did not match that of Goryeo. Notably, Northern Song ceramics had a powerful influence on both Goryeo and Liao; as such, all three states shared a relatively common ceramic style. Thus, some of the



Fig. 14. Liao three-color pottery lobed tray with molded peony and bee design. Eleventh or twelfth century. Height: 2.4 cm. Diameter: 14.0 x 25.0 cm. (Liaoning Provincial Museum).

similarities between Liao and Goryeo ceramic vessels must be attributed to the shared influence of Northern Song on both Liao and Goryeo, rather than solely on Liao. However, Goryeo celadon does reflect the influence of Liao metalware and three-color pottery, which were distinct from the ceramic tradition of Northern Song. This influence attests to both the excellence and the uniqueness of Liao metalware and three-color pottery. Hence, in producing its world-renowned celadon, Goryeo incorporated elements from both the ceramics of Northern Song and from the arts and crafts of Liao.

The influence of Liao is most clearly apparent in the shapes and decorative patterns of Goryeo celadon. The characteristics of Liao ceramics became known in Goryeo through the official, private, and contraband import of Liao goods. Furthermore, Khitan artisans, who began moving south and entering Goryeo in the late eleventh century, also played a significant role by actively participating in the production of Goryeo metalware and textiles in the early twelfth century. ㉙

TRANSLATED BY PARK MYOUNGSOOK

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The Tradition of Dosando Paintings and the Nine Bends at Dosan

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I. Preface

The renowned Neo-Confucianist scholar Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) was one of the most deeply revered figures among Joseon literati. The works of Zhu Xi were eagerly consumed and cherished by Joseon intellectuals, who often took his publications as the basis for their own literary and cultural works. For example, sixteenth-century Joseon literati avidly read Zhu Xi's *Records on Mt. Wuyi* (武夷誌) and wrote poems appropriating the rhymes of his *Wuyi Boating Songs* (武夷櫓歌). The Wuyi Mountains (武夷山) are located in northern Fujian province (福建省), the province where Zhu Xi was born. One of Zhu Xi's key poems about the region of Mt. Wuyi was entitled "The Nine-Bend Stream at Mt. Wuyi" (武夷九曲櫓歌), and this poem was often portrayed in paintings called *Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (武夷九曲圖), which were also deeply appreciated by the Joseon literati. In fact, veneration for Zhu Xi and this particular poem was so great that an independent subculture based on the "nine bends" arose in Joseon, as literati began to associate "nine bends" with paradise or utopia. Many writings on the topic were published, and many individuals even sought to recreate or identify further examples of the nine bends in their own surrounding landscapes, helping to expand and strengthen this interesting subculture.

This paper examines the "nine bends" culture of Korea, with particular emphasis on the status of Dosan (陶山), a mountain north of Andong, which served as the foothold of study and cultivation of Yi Hwang (李滉, 1501-1570), one of the most prominent Confucian scholars of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). In particular, this paper considers the significance and characteristics of visualizing Dosan

through Dosando (陶山圖), or "paintings of Dosan," a small subgenre of Joseon paintings that depict Yi Hwang's retreat in Dosan (Yun Chinyong 2001, 7-34; Yoo Jaebin 2004).

At the age of 61, Yi Hwang settled in an area south of Dosan and built an academy at the site now occupied by Dosan Seowon (陶山書院). At the school, Yi Hwang taught many students and published many important works, enhancing his status as one of Joseon's most accomplished scholars. As such, later scholars who followed Yi Hwang came to regard Dosan as the center of the Yi Hwang School, also known as the Toegye School of Thought (退溪學). Indeed, Dosan became a recognized symbol of the Confucianism of Yi Hwang and the entire Yeongnam region, which is located in the southeast of Korea (present-day North and South Gyeongsang Provinces).

The subgenre of Dosando includes any paintings that depict Yi Hwang's retreat in Dosan. Over time, however, this category of paintings underwent important changes, as artists began to directly associate Dosan (i.e., the idyllic landscape of Yi Hwang) with the area of Mt. Wuyi (i.e., the idyllic landscape of Zhu Xi). As the tradition of Dosando developed, Joseon artists began to highlight the perceived "nine bends" of Dosan, just as Zhu Xi had celebrated the nine bends of the stream at Mt. Wuyi. On one level, Dosando paintings were intended to display the picturesque landscape of Dosan, but they also carried a symbolic meaning and value that went much deeper than their aesthetic beauty. Thus, these changes in the tradition of Dosando paintings directly reflect the ways in which Chinese paintings of *Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* became acculturated into a new tradition of "nine-bends" paintings of Joseon.

The representative example of nine-bends paintings from Joseon is *The Nine Bends at Gosan*, which

depicts the residence and academy of Yi I (李珣, 1536-1584). In the late seventeenth century, paintings of the nine bends at Gosan were widely distributed to promote and strengthen the Yi I school. Around that time, Dosando paintings began to be produced as a show of solidarity among the scholars following Yi Hwang. Significantly, the core elements depicted in Dosando paintings (i.e., the structures of Dosan Seowon and the actual nine bends at Dosan) are still extant. Furthermore, a wealth of documentation and information about the relevant historical figures is also available, thereby enabling us to deepen our understanding and appreciation of Korea's nine-bends culture.

II. Yi Hwang's Settlement in Dosan

Yi Hwang was born in 1501 in Onhye-ri, Andong, North Gyeongsang Province, and he lived in the vicinity of his hometown until he was in his late forties. After passing the state examination at age 34, he was appointed to various civil-service posts. Although highly regarded by the court for his work as an official, he preferred to focus on his own studies and self-cultivation. As a result, he served for only a relatively short period in each of his assigned government postings. He finally retired at age 53, at which point he returned home and spent the rest of his life writing and teaching.

Yi Hwang began searching for the best place to establish his retirement retreat in 1546, about seven years before his actual retirement. For a short time, he stayed in various small houses north of Mt. Yeongji and south of Ongye-ri (Fig. 1). However, finding the neighborhood a bit too noisy and crowded for his taste, he moved about one kilometer south to Dongnam, where he built Yangjinam, a hermitage-style residence where he could rest and study. A stream called Togye (兔溪, which can be translated as "rabbit stream") ran in front of the building, which inspired Yi to name the place Toegye (退溪), or "retreating stream", which also became his pen name. Then, in February 1550, Yi Hwang built Hanseoam, another hermitage-style residence to the west of Toegye. The following year, he constructed Gyesang Seodang, an academy, to the north of Hanseoam. He lived at these two nearby buildings—Hanseoam and Gyesang Seodang—for around ten years, and they

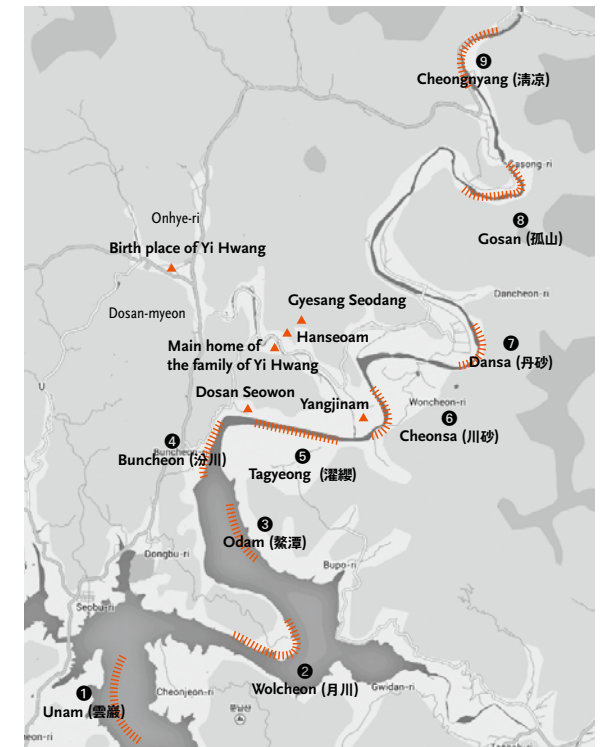


Fig. 1. Map of sites related to Yi Hwang and the nine bends at Dosan.

continue to resonate with his life and activities during the period of his fifties.

Even so, Yi Hwang was never completely satisfied with the site of Gyesang Seodang, finding it too secluded and thus lacking in qualities needed to broaden the mind. He therefore began to search anew in the area south of Dosan, and eventually decided upon the site now occupied by Dosan Seowon. He spent five years constructing an academy named Dosan Seodang, paying strict attention to the structure, size, and arrangement of the academy buildings. It was completed in 1561, and he lived there for the last ten years of his life. Dosan Seodang was the realization of Yi Hwang's dream to create the perfect retreat for his golden years.

In many ways, Yi Hwang's life in Dosan closely parallels that of Zhu Xi near the nine bends at Mt. Wuyi. For example, after settling in Dosan, Yi Hwang wrote *Collected Poems at Dosan*, just as Zhu Xi had written *Collected Poems at Wuyi Jingshe Academy* (武夷精舍雜詠并序) while at his Wuyi Jingshe Academy (武夷精舍). Thus, Yi Hwang's choice of sites, based on the surrounding landscape, and his naming of the sites were almost certainly inspired by Zhu Xi's Wuyi Jingshe Academy.



Fig. 2. *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (武夷九曲圖) by Yi Seonggil (李成吉, b. 1562). 1591. Ink and light colors on silk, 33.5x398.5 cm. (National Museum of Korea).

Yi Hwang was an avid follower of Zhu Xi, and he eagerly acquired and consumed any resources related to Zhu Xi that he could find, including the painting *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*. Obviously, however, he did not name his residence “nine bends,” nor did he attempt to directly reproduce Zhu Xi’s nine bends from Mt. Wuyi. In his writings, Yi Hwang never explained why he avoided making such an overt homage to Zhu Xi. Perhaps he considered himself unworthy of directly copying a great master like Zhu Xi, or perhaps he felt that making his own “nine bends” would somehow violate his admiration for Zhu Xi. In addition, the area around Dosan Seodang may not have been ideal for recreating the nine bends, as the location already offered an abundance of space for rest and contemplation. Moreover, many powerful literati families had established their clan villages near Dosan, mostly around the lower Nak River (present-day Nakdong River). In any event, Yi Hwang himself did not designate or openly refer to the nine bends at Dosan in any of his works.

Starting around the seventeenth century, however, various artists began depicting the landscape of Dosan in Dosando paintings. In total, seven Dosando paintings (Figs. 4-10) are extant, the earliest and most representative of which is *Dosando* (c. 1700, Fig. 4) by Kim Changseok (金昌錫, 1652-1720), now in the Yonsei University Library. A late-Joseon civil official from Andong, Kim was known to be well versed in the three arts (i.e., poetry, painting, and calligraphy). The album including *Dosando* also includes three texts.

Originally a handscroll painting, *Dosando* was divided into seven leaves when remounted as an album. The view is from the south, with the Nak River flowing from right to left in front of Dosan Seowon, which is placed at the center of the composition. The artist employed an aerial perspective to present the

full landscape of the area around Dosan. Landmarks and notable elements are clearly marked by name, and the painting is composed so that none of these landmarks or their labels overlap. Kim Changseok’s *Dosando* became the model for all later Dosando paintings, which typically follow a similar format.

Kim Changseok’s *Dosando* includes an annotation written by Yi Hyeop (李浹, 1663-1737), in which the author states that appreciation of paintings of Dosan was a way to express respect and admiration for Yi Hwang. In other words, these paintings offered a way to honor the memory and praise the achievements of Yi Hwang, similar to paying respects to his portrait, appreciating his works, or dedicating a tribute poem to him. Thus, the annotation equates owning and appreciating Dosando with other traditional ways of respecting sages, followed by such scholars as Zhu Xi.

III. Introduction of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*

First produced in the late seventeenth century, Dosando paintings can be associated with the tradition of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*, in that both involved paintings that depicted the retreats of venerated Confucian scholars. As such, Dosando may be seen as the direct result of the acculturation of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* in Joseon.

The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi became widely known in Joseon during the sixteenth century, around the same time that Zhu Xi’s Neo-Confucianism was being further absorbed, understood, and promoted. At that time, various books about Zhu Xi and his philosophy were introduced to Joseon society, serving as an important catalyst for deepening the Joseon literati’s understanding of Zhu Xi and Neo-Confucianism. As studies of his writings progressed,

Zhu Xi began to command ever more respect and admiration as the founder of Neo-Confucianism. Joseon literati avidly read Zhu Xi’s *Wuyi Boating Songs* (武夷櫓歌) and *Records on Mt. Wuyi* (武夷誌), which naturally led to increased awareness of and interest in the paintings of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*.

Yi Hwang and his fellow sixteenth-century scholars were the first in Joseon to be exposed to *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* paintings, and they expressed their deep appreciation of these works and their fierce admiration for Zhu Xi in various writings. Above all, for Joseon literati, the landscape of Mt. Wuyi depicted in these paintings came to symbolize Zhu Xi and their scholarly devotion to his ideas, while also allowed them to vicariously experience the ideal place of their master with their own eyes.

Exemplifying the Joseon reverence for *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*, Yi Seonggil (李成吉, 1562-1621) painted his own *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (Fig. 2) in 1591, making a copy of the original Chinese painting. Yi Seonggil’s handscroll painting depicts the nine representative scenes (i.e., the nine bends) at Mt. Wuyi, capturing each location in detail. The painting is specifically organized to enable viewers to progress from the first bend to the ninth, as if on an actual journey through the landscape. All of the buildings and important sites are labeled, and the depictions of their locations and characteristics are based on the actual view. In the center of the painting is the fifth bend, where Wuyi Jingshe Academy is depicted (Figs. 2a and 2b). The academy is shown in three-quarter view, with Dayinping Peak (大隱屏) rising behind it like a screen. A few boats appear here and there on the stream to indicate the direction in which the water flows. With its numerous details, elaborate description, and exceptional composition, Yi Seonggil’s *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* clearly demonstrates the considerable talent of the artist.



Fig. 2a. Wuyi Jingshe Academy (武夷精舍) and Dayinping Peak (大隱屏) of the fifth bend, from *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (武夷九曲圖) by Yi Seonggil (李成吉, 1562-1621).



Fig. 2b. Wuyi Jingshe Academy (武夷精舍) and Dayinping Peak (大隱屏).



Fig. 3. *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi* (朱文公武夷九曲圖), artist unknown. c. 1564. Ink and light colors on paper, 34.7 x 587.7 cm. (Yeungnam University Museum).

This version of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* was further copied and distributed to the various provinces, so that Confucian scholars and students in outlying regions could take inspiration from the work.

Another notable copy of the Chinese original is *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi* (朱文公武夷九曲圖, Fig. 3), now in the collection of the Yeungnam University Museum. Significantly, this work is known to have been given to Yi Hwang by his colleague Yi Dam (李湛, 1510-1577). This painting is believed to be a copy of a copy of the Chinese original, produced by a regional painter. Yi Hwang added his annotation to the painting (Fig. 3a) and made it into a handscroll, adding a portrait of Zhu Xi and other relevant information. With its simple style, this work reflects the relatively limited skills of an unknown artist, but it nevertheless demonstrates that Confucian scholars and students away from the capital—including Yi Hwang—revered and took great inspiration from *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*.

As *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* and the work of Zhu Xi continued to be disseminated throughout Joseon society, scholars of the seventeenth century came to associate “nine bends” with an ideal place or utopia. As such, an interesting new practice arose, with people seeking to identify other examples of nine bends at famous scenic locations in Joseon and producing “nine bends” paintings of those sites. Such paintings are the direct result of attempts to assimilate *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* into Joseon culture as an innovative way of paying tribute to the Chinese original.

As mentioned, Kim Changseok’s *Dosando* (Fig. 4) remains the representative example of Dosando paintings. Kim’s painting follows the general format of



Fig. 3a. Annotation on *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi*.

Fig. 3b. *Wuyi Jingshe Academy* (武夷精舍) from *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi*.

Fig. 3c. Title calligraphy of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi*.



Fig. 4. *Dosando* (陶山圖) by Kim Changseok (金昌錫, 1652-1720). c. 1700. Ink and light colors on paper, 39.0x27.5 cm. (Yonsei University Library).

The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi (Fig. 3), the local Korean copy of Zhu Xi’s original work, but it depicts the landscape of Dosan, rather than Mt. Wuyi. Key similarities between the two paintings suggest that Kim Changseok likely modeled his work directly on the local copy of the Chinese original.

First and foremost, the rendering of Dosan Seowon (Fig. 4a) in Kim’s painting matches that of Wuyi Jingshe Academy (Fig. 3b), the centerpiece of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi*. Both paintings show the respective academies from an aerial perspective, with the buildings having a straightforward, rectangular outline.

Second, the manner in which the title of the two paintings is written is also quite similar (Figs. 3c and 4b). In both cases, the title is written on a colored background. In addition, just as Wuyi Jingshe Academy includes several texts relating to Zhu Xi, *Dosando* includes texts by Yi Hwang, such as *Writings at Dosan* (陶山記) and *Collected Poems at Dosan* (陶山雜詠).

Third, like *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi*, Kim’s *Dosando* features the landscape around Dosan, focusing on the Nak River, and it indicates the names of sites relevant to Yi Hwang. This composition clearly shows how scholars and students after Yi Hwang created Dosando paintings to directly reflect the Zhu Xi painting that Yi Hwang himself owned and deeply admired. Furthermore, the mounting of the later painting also follows that of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi of Zhu Xi*.

Moreover, Kim Changseok’s *Dosando* also features a number of other key elements. When Kim made this painting, the culture of “nine bends” had not yet come to be associated with Dosan. As such, Kim did not attempt to designate, let alone to highlight, nine bends in the Nak River. However,



Fig. 4a. *Dosan Seowon* (陶山書院) from *Dosando*.

Fig. 4b. Title calligraphy of *Dosando*.

Fig. 4c. *Hanseam* (寒樓庵) from *Dosando*.

the final work does portray the area that Kim's followers would eventually (i.e., in the late eighteenth century) declare to be the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the nine bends at Dosan. At the left of the painting, near the area of the fourth bend, is a house called Bungangchon (汾江村), which was one of the main homes of the family of a mid-Joseon scholar named Yi Hyeonbo (李賢輔, 1467-1555). In addition, at the right of the painting, near the sixth bend, we can see Wollanam Pavilion (月瀾庵), an important site where scholars often held literary gatherings, frequently led by Yi Hwang and Yi Hyeonbo. These two sites mark the eastern and western boundaries of the painting.

Another interesting element of the painting is the subtle inclusion of Hanseoam (寒樓庵), the home where Yi Hwang lived before moving to Dosan (Fig. 4c). The small house can be seen at the right of the painting, at the end of a small stream that branches off from the Nak River. Notably, unlike other landmarks in the painting, Hanseoam is not labeled, likely because it was not actually located in this area. In general, the artist attempted to present an actual view of the area by adopting a natural perspective, but the

inclusion of Hanseoam represents a conspicuous departure from this approach. Of course, Hanseoam is one of the most important sites related to Yi Hwang, being the house where he lived while he was in his fifties; as mentioned, he even took his pen name of Toegye from the stream that ran in front of the house. Therefore, it is believed that the artist took the liberty of modifying the landscape to include Hanseoam because of its significance in Yi Hwang's life.

Finally, it is important to note how Zhu Xi's *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* and Dosando paintings were collected. Scholars after Yi Hwang are known to have collected both Dosando paintings and *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*. For example, records show that Kim Changseok had both a copy of Zhu Xi's painting and his own Dosando painting in his home. Another record states that the late Joseon scholar Yi Ik (李穡, 1681-1763) asked artist Kang Sehwang (姜世晃, 1713-1791) to paint a version of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*, followed by a Dosando painting. In addition, several annotations written about the two paintings indicate that such paintings were often collected as pairs. These annotations include "On Paintings



Fig. 5. *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (武夷圖) and *Dosando* (陶山圖), artist unknown. Late nineteenth century, ink and light colors on paper, 106.7 x 77.0 cm. (Private collection).



of Mt. Wuyi and Dosan" (武夷陶山二圖跋) from *Collected Writings of Yi Hwijae* (雲山集) and "On Paintings of Mt. Wuyi and Dosan from the Collection of the Family of Han Cheol" (族弟重吉漢喆家藏 武夷陶山圖屏跋) from *Collected Poems of Jo Hongbok* (望雲集). The literati who wrote these annotations viewed Yi Hwang's landscape of Dosan as the successor to Zhu Xi's nine bends at Mt. Wuyi as an ideal place, so it only made sense for them to collect and appreciate both paintings. A work now in a private collection shows the landscapes of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* and *Dosando* side by side on two facing pages (Fig. 5), thus demonstrating that the two were often united as an inseparable pair.

IV. Development of Dosando Paintings in the Late Joseon Dynasty

Most extant Dosando paintings were made after the eighteenth century. Although they generally follow the format established in the late seventeenth century, the extant works are painted in diverse styles, indicating that there was demand for Dosando from various sources. As mentioned, Kim Changseok's *Dosando* is the earliest known example. Chronologically, the next two extant works are Kang Sehwang's *Dosan Seowondo* (1751, Fig. 6) and a nineteenth-century *Dosando* by an unknown artist (Fig. 7), which is

now in the Keimyung University Library. Two other Dosando paintings from later periods are held in private collections (Figs. 8 and 9). Dosando paintings of the late Joseon period can be organized according to changes in their style.

In 1751, Yi Ik asked Kang Sehwang to paint his *Dosando* (Fig. 7). Notably, this work does not follow the actual landscape of Dosan, but was based instead on another Dosando painting that is no longer extant. In the annotation, Kang Sehwang explains that Yi Ik asked him to make the painting as a way to honor the achievements and ideas of Yi Hwang. As such, it was not essential to duplicate the actual landscape. Furthermore, Kang Sehwang explained that Yi Ik wanted the painting as a means to help viewers actually experience Yi Hwang's physical presence, as if they were looking at a portrait of him. Yi Ik explained his theory for appreciating Dosando paintings in an annotation that he wrote in 1739 on a different Dosando painting. In that annotation, Yi states that people looking at a Dosando painting can directly experience Yi Hwang's physical presence and voice by exploring the places where he lived, rested, and studied. Relaying this idea in the later annotation, Kang Sehwang emphasized that Yi Ik believed that viewers of Dosando paintings could gain a type of enlightenment that was not attainable through Yi Hwang's writings.

All of the known Dosando paintings from the nine-



Fig. 6. *Dosan seowondo* (陶山書院圖) by Kang Sehwang (姜世晃, 1713-1791). 1751. Ink and light colors on paper, 26.8 x 138.5 cm. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 7. *Dosando* (陶山圖), artist unknown. Nineteenth century. Ink and light colors on paper, 30.0 x 130.0 cm. (Keimyung University Library).



Fig. 7a. Detail.

teenth century were produced and collected by either followers or direct descendants of Yi Hwang. The earliest of these is the *Dosando* now held by Keimyung University Library (Fig. 7), which follows the format of seventeenth-century *Dosando* paintings by placing Dosan Seowon at the center of a long hand-

Fig. 8. *Dosando* (陶山圖), artist unknown. Nineteenth century. Ink and light colors on paper, 27.0 x 144.0 cm. (Jo Namhak Collection).Fig. 9. *Dosando* (陶山圖), artist unknown. Nineteenth century. Ink and light colors on paper, 33.0 x 51.6 cm. (Seo Jeongcheol Collection).

scroll composition. According to the annotation, this painting was based on a *Dosando* by Yi Jing (李徵), and the scroll was expanded by adding the annotation and some of Yi Hwang's writings and poems. However, the later work reflects the style of paintings from the nineteenth century, indicating that it was most likely copied from another copy (or copies) of Yi Jing's painting, rather than from the original. The annotation also emphasizes that Dosan was not only the place where Yi Hwang lived, but also a space for scholars desiring to follow and succeed in the tradition of Yi Hwang and his school.

The scroll begins on the right with a depiction of Gyesang, the area around Hanseoam. The inscription across the top reads “先生舊居溪上村,” which can be translated as “The teacher's old residence, Gyesang” (as Yi Hwang had lived in Gyesang before moving to Dosan). This area would not actually be visible from Dosan Seowon, but because it was considered an important site in Yi Hwang's life, the artists included it, albeit in a distant corner of the painting.

As mentioned, *Dosando* paintings of the nineteenth century generally follow the style and format

Fig. 10. *Dosan seowondo* (陶山書院圖) by Jeong Seon (鄭敼, 1676-1759). 1777. Ink and light colors on paper, 21.3 x 56.4 cm. (Gansong Art Museum).

of earlier works, often with some unique expressions, as exemplified by the *Dosando* from the Jo Namhak Collection (Fig. 8). With its vivid contrasts and bold brushstrokes, this work represents a more individualized and improvised style. Meanwhile, the *Dosando* from the Seo Jeongcheol Collection (Fig. 9) reflects the style of the renowned late-Joseon painter Jeong Seon (鄭敼, 1676-1759), in that the trees are represented with simple dots, a technique that can be seen in Jeong Seon's own *Dosan Seowondo* (Fig. 10). Whereas previous *Dosando* paintings showed only the western part of Dosan, this one breaks away from that convention to display a broader area, including Yeokdong Seowon (易東書院) on the lower Nak River, another important site related to Yi Hwang that is not portrayed in earlier paintings. These two *Dosando* demonstrate how the conventional presentation of *Dosando* paintings changed in the nineteenth century, taking on the style and the preferred composition of the individual artist.

Figure 5 shows a particularly interesting work from the late nineteenth century, combining *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* and *Dosando* as a pair. The version of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* in this work originated from a sixteenth-century copy of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (Fig. 11) from Unjanggak (雲章閣), the memorial hall of Kim Seongil (金誠一, 1538-1593), a renowned scholar and government official

Fig. 11. *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (武夷九曲之圖), artist unknown. Sixteenth century. Ink and light colors on paper, 156.0 x 87.0 cm. (Unjanggak).

of the mid-Joseon period. The overall shape of the river bends and the arrangement of the sites are remarkably similar in the two paintings. Notably, the nineteenth-century painting follows the style of mid-Joseon landscape paintings in the composition of the rocky hills and in the use of repeated strokes for texture. However, other details characterize it as a work of the nineteenth century.

The Dosando painting in Figure 5 follows the established format, placing Dosan Seowon in the center, depicting the surrounding landscape, and showing the Nak River as flowing from right to left. Interestingly, however, it assumes an aerial view, as if to match the perspective in the adjoining painting of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*. As previously noted, by the nineteenth century, paintings of these two subjects were generally considered as a pair. *Dosando* of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries typically followed the convention of placing Dosan Seowon in the center. But variations emerged, as some works included new sites (e.g., the main home of a particular family or other regional sites), while others began to follow the approach of true-view landscape paintings.

V. Emergence of “Nine Bends” Culture and the Nine Bends at Dosan

In the sixteenth century Joseon scholars began to seek other natural sites with nine bends. The earliest example is the “nine bends at Gosan” (高山九曲), identified in the sixteenth century by the revered Neo-Confucian scholar Yi I. Other examples were later designated by the Noron (老論), or “Old Faction” of Joseon literati, including the “nine bends of Hwayang Stream” and the “nine bends of the Hwang River.” Then, in the late eighteenth century, a group of literati from the Yeongnam region designated the “nine bends at Dosan.” As these examples show, areas with nine bends were sometimes identified by individuals, while in other cases, they were identified through a more collective effort.

The “nine bends at Gosan” is an early example of nine bends designated by an individual. In 1571, Yi I surveyed the area of Seokdam in Hwanghae Province, identifying nine bends there. He named each individual bend and referred to the designated area as the “nine bends at Gosan.” In 1576, Yi I built his Cheonggyedang residence (聽溪堂) in the area of the

nine bends, and then in 1578, he built his Eunbyeong Jeongsu Academy (隱屏精舍) there. Yi I fully intended to spend his retirement at these sites, but circumstances prevented him from doing so; in fact, he was able to visit only periodically while he was between government postings.

The tradition of the “nine bends at Gosan” had virtually disappeared by the late seventeenth century and was only recovered due to the efforts of Song Siyeol (宋時烈, 1607-1689) and his fellow literati of the Noron faction. Many of the structures around the nine bends at Gosan had fallen into disrepair, but Song Siyeol had them repaired and restored. He also commissioned the painting *The Nine Bends at Gosan* (Fig. 12) and asked other literati to write poems modeled after Yi I’s poems. Song Siyeol then had the painting engraved on woodblocks, so that the combined text of the painting and poems could represent the Yi I school, but the woodblock print is not extant. Thus, the painting came to serve as a medium for reinforcing the spiritual solidarity of the literati of the Yi I school. Moreover, it was used to demonstrate the continuity of major Neo-Confucian scholars, from Zhu Xi to Yi I, thus emphasizing the legitimacy of Yi I and the scholars who followed him. Thus, the efforts to signify the nine bends at Gosan was the precursor to later attempts by the Yi I school to designate and appropriate other areas with nine bends.

After the nine bends at Gosan, other examples of nine bends began to appear, including the nine bends of Hwayang Stream (華陽九曲), associated with Song Siyeol; the nine bends of the Hwang River (潢江九曲), associated with Gwon Sangha (權尙夏, 1641-1721); and the nine bends of Gogun (谷雲九曲), associated with Kim Sujeung (金壽增, 1624-1701). In the latter case, “Gogun” was Kim Sujeung’s pen name, and thus refers more broadly to the area where he resided. In accordance with tradition, these areas were documented in paintings, some of which are still extant, including *The Nine Bends of Gogun* (谷雲九曲圖, Fig. 13), painted in 1682 by Jo Segeol (曹世傑, b. 1635), and *The Nine Bends of Hwayang Stream* (華陽九曲圖, Fig. 14), attributed to Gwon Sineung (權信應, 1728-1787).

An examination of extant “nine bends” paintings illustrates that the literati of the Yeongnam region and those of the Noron faction had somewhat different views on the “nine bends” tradition. Notably, the literati of the Yeongnam region traced their scholarly lineage only from Zhu Xi to Yi Hwang, so they were



Fig. 12. *The Nine Bends at Gosan* (高山九曲圖卷), artist unknown. 1688-1701. Joseon Historical Records Part II, vol.1 (朝鮮史料集真續, 第一輯), plate 16.



Fig. 13. “Cheongok Bend” (青玉峽圖), the second bend from the album *The Nine Bends of Gogun* (谷雲九曲圖) by Jo Segeol (曹世傑, 1635-after 1705). 1682. Ink and light colors on silk, 42.5 × 64 cm. (National Museum of Korea).



Fig. 14. *The Nine Bends of Hwayang Stream* (華陽九曲圖), attributed to Gwon Sineung (權信應, 1728-1787). Eighteenth century. Ink and light colors on paper, 23.0 x 37.5 cm. (Chungbuk National University Museum).

not interested in areas associated with other scholars. At first, the Yeongnam literati focused exclusively on *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*, but then, in the late seventeenth century, they began to collect Dosando paintings as well. Thus, beginning with *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*, Joseon paintings of nine bends split in two directions, represented by the Dosando paintings of the Yi Hwang school and by *The Nine Bends at Gosan* of the Yi I school.

In the late eighteenth century, however, the literati in the Yeongnam region dramatically changed their ideas about the “nine bends,” as they became convinced that the retreats of notable scholars and sages should include the requisite nine bends. In that context, they took it as their duty as followers of Zhu Xi to recognize the achievements of past scholars and sages by designating nine bends in areas related to those figures.

The first example of nine bends to be designated by the literati of the Yeongnam region in the late eighteenth century was the nine bends of Muheul (武屹九曲) in honor of Jeong Gu (鄭述, 1543-1620). This area of Daega Stream on Mt. Gaya was recognized by Jeong’s followers around 1776 and commemorated in 1784 in the painting *The Nine Bends of Muheul* (武屹九曲圖, Fig. 15) by Kim Sangjin (金尙眞, 1736-1811).

After the nine bends of Muheul for Jeong Gu, the next example of nine bends to be identified was Yi Hwang’s nine bends at Dosan, declared in the late



Fig. 15. “The Sixth Bend” from *The Nine Bends of Muheul* (武屹九曲圖) by Kim Sangjin (金尙眞, 1736-1811). Ink on paper, 36.0 x 23.0 cm. (Private collection).

eighteenth century. Although Yi Hwang himself had never explicitly referred to the nine bends at Dosan, his followers justified their designation by pointing to what they perceived as indirect evidence of Yi’s intentions in his writings. According to Yi Hwang’s descendant Yi Isun (李頤淳, 1754-1832), Yi Hwang wrote poems that appropriated the rhymes of Zhu Xi’s *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* (武夷九曲詩) and Wuyi Boating Song (武夷櫓歌). As such, Yi’s followers argued that he had implied the existence of the nine bends at Dosan, even though he never openly specified or discussed them.

Although he lived in Dosan for approximately ten years, diligently working on his studies, Yi Hwang never actually designated the area’s nine bends. The fact that the designation was made by his followers in the late eighteenth century is of some importance. By equating areas of Dosan with the nine bends at Mt. Wuyi, Yi Isun and the others were directly associating the scholarly achievements of Yi Hwang with those of Zhu Xi, thus emphasizing Yi Hwang as the legitimate successor to Zhu Xi.

In addition to Yi Isun, other descendants and students of Yi Hwang who participated in the des-

ignation included Yi Yasun (李野淳, 1755-1831), Yi Gasun (李家淳, 1754-1832), and Yi Jonghyu (李宗休, 1761-1832). After a close examination, they decided that the nine bends at Dosan encompassed the area from Unam Peak (雲巖) to Mt. Cheongnyang (淸涼山). According to *Collected Writings of Yi Gasun* (霞溪集), Yi Gasun proposed the nine bends in the following order: Unam (雲巖), Wolcheon (月川), Odam (鰲潭), Buncheon (汾川), Tagyeong (濯纓), Cheonsa (川砂), Dansa (丹砂), Gosan (孤山), and Cheongnyang (淸涼) (Fig. 1). This designation seems to have been accepted as the “official” nine bends at Dosan.

Further information about these designations can be found in the second chapter of *Records on My Family Mountain* (吾家山誌), entitled “Appendix to *Records on My Family Mountain*” (吾家山誌後識). In that appendix, the author explains that the nine bends were never mentioned in Yi Hwang’s *Writings at Dosan* (陶山記), and that they were only designated by later generations because they were all sites known to Yi Hwang, which he physically visited and walked through. In short, this record states that the nine bends at Dosan represented the area inhabited by Yi Hwang during his lifetime, so such a memorial designation could only have been established later by his students.

All of the nine bends at Dosan are locations closely associated with Yi Hwang, including scenic spots and houses of people with whom Yi Hwang spent time. In addition, the names chosen for the nine bends refer to their geographical and topographical features. For example, several of the names end with *-cheon* (川, stream), *-dam* (潭, pool), or *-sa* (砂, sand), referring to the small tributaries and sandy areas that characterize the area of the Nak River and its surrounding flatlands.

Two points about the designation of the nine bends at Dosan are especially notable. First, all of the chosen sites are close to the Nak River. As such, some of the most important sites from Yi Hwang’s life, including Hanseom and Gyesang Seodang, are not represented, as they are located some distance from the river. Second, the fifth and central bend corresponds to the location of Dosan Seowon, just as Zhu Xi’s Wuyi Jingshe Academy was located at the fifth of the nine bends at Mt. Wuyi. This is especially interesting because, at Dosan, there is no obvious bend in the river around Dosan Seodang; in other words, this bend was presumably chosen only

because the building is located there. Thus, in designating the nine bends at Dosan, the followers of Yi Hwang were definitely following the example of the nine bends at Mt. Wuyi.

What prompted Yi Hwang’s followers to designate the nine bends at Dosan in the late eighteenth century? Given that the practice of designating nine bends had been initiated by the school of Yi I, the followers of Yi Hwang likely sought to reinforce their leader’s status and his academic legacy against that of Yi I. In addition, the landscape and geographical features of Dosan were particularly well suited for the identification of nine bends. Finally, the followers of Yi Hwang argued that the nine bends at Dosan were implied in many of Yi Hwang’s works and studies. Based on all of these factors, Yi Hwang’s students and followers felt it proper to identify and designate the nine bends at Dosan. Their efforts helped to increase the significance of the Dosan area, traditionally associated with Yi Hwang, and to incorporate Dosan into the larger culture of the nine bends.

VI. Conclusion

This paper has examined the relationship between Dosando paintings, depicting Yi Hwang’s retreat and residence, and the Joseon practice of designating the nine bends of various areas, in association with Zhu Xi and *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*. Recognized as an avid follower of Zhu Xi, Yi Hwang specifically chose Dosan as the best place to settle in retirement in order to focus on his studies and self-cultivation. Thus, Yi Hwang was well aware of a possible association between Dosan and Mt. Wuyi. However, for reasons that remain unknown, he never overtly identified or referred to any nine bends in the Dosan area. Accordingly, when the followers of Yi Hwang began to portray Dosan in the late seventeenth century, they did not initially depict the nine bends of Dosan in their Dosando paintings.

Zhu Xi’s *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi* was introduced to Joseon in the sixteenth century, at the time when Zhu Xi and his Neo-Confucian ideas were widely revered among Joseon intellectuals. As such, early extant paintings of Dosan typically follow the style and format of *The Nine Bends at Mt. Wuyi*, even though they do not explicitly identify the nine bends. The practice of identifying nine bends began

in the sixteenth century with Yi I and his nine bends at Gosan; this trend was then revitalized in the eighteenth century by the literati of the Noron faction. At first, the literati of the Yeongnam region did not follow the Noron faction in seeking to identify nine bends, but by the late eighteenth century, they had changed course, beginning with the nine bends of Muheul, associated with Jeong Gu. Subsequently, the Yeongnam literati began actively seeking to designate nine bends at places associated with previous scholars and sages.

As such, the nine bends at Dosan were designated in the late eighteenth century. In selecting the final locations of the nine bends, the followers of Yi Hwang chose places that had close ties to their leader, including scenic areas or the homes of his friends and esteemed colleagues. By designating the nine bends at Dosan, Yi Hwang's followers associated Yi's actual retirement site of Dosan with the nine bends at Mt. Wuyi, with its much larger symbolic and rhetorical implications. Overall, these efforts were intended to reinforce the lineage of Neo-Confucian scholarship, beginning with Zhu Xi and continuing to Yi Hwang.

Dosando paintings were first produced in the late seventeenth century, about 100 years after Yi Hwang had settled in Dosan. After another 100 years or so, in the late eighteenth century, the nine bends at Dosan were declared. Over time, through the nineteenth century, these two practices became intertwined, as Dosando painters began to depict the nine bends of Dosan in their works. Hence, the area of Dosan became an indelible symbol to commemorate Yi Hwang, helping to firmly establish the tradition of the nine bends culture in the Yeongnam region. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY PARK MYOUNGSOOK

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Scientific Analysis of a Goryeo Lacquer Incense Box with Inlaid Mother-of-pearl and Gold-painted Designs

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I. Introduction

The collection of the National Museum of Korea includes the remnants of a Goryeo lacquer incense box with designs of willows, trees, and ducks inlaid in mother-of-pearl and highlighted with gold paint. The box is one of the only known Goryeo lacquerwares in Korea that has designs inlaid in mother-of-pearl. Moreover, its decorative detailing in gold is exceptionally rare among Goryeo lacquerwares. Thus, in terms of both the design and the decoration technique, this incense box is unparalleled among Korean artifacts from any time period.

Nothing is known about the history or provenance of the box prior to 1910, when it was purchased by the Yi Royal Household Museum (predecessor of the National Museum of Korea) from a Japanese collector named Aoki Bunshichi (青木文七). The box has traditionally been attributed to the Goryeo Dynasty (高麗, 918-1392). Although its intended function cannot be confirmed, it has long been considered to be an incense box, because it was found to contain a flower-shaped incense.

The incense box originally consisted of three primary components: a four-sided outer cover that fit over a four-sided inner box, and an inner tray (懸子) that fit into the box (Fig. 1). At the time of purchase, the box was already damaged from apparently having been buried for an untold number of years, but the three main components seem to have been essentially intact. However, during the Korean War (1950-1953), the box suffered further damage, such that it now exists only as fragments. Thus, its original shape can only be estimated from photographs in *The Illustrated Book on Historical Remains of Korea* (朝鮮古蹟圖譜), which was published during the Japanese colonial era (1910-1945).



Fig. 1. Three-dimensional diagram of the incense box (from the top: cover, inner tray, and inner box).

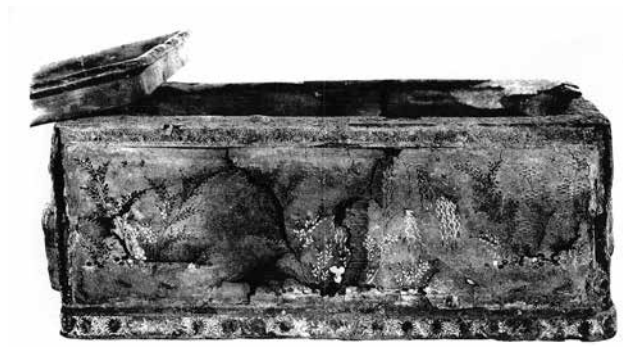


Fig. 2. Cover of the incense box from *The Illustrated Book on Historical Remains in Joseon* (朝鮮古蹟圖譜).



Fig. 4. Current damaged state of the cover.

December 2008, specialists from Korea and Japan jointly conducted research on the box to determine the best methods for conserving and restoring it. To date, research on the box's constituent materials and production techniques has utilized the following procedures: examination with both optical and scanning electron microscopes (SEM); X-radiography; scanning electron microscope/energy dispersive spectroscopy (SEM/EDS); micro X-ray fluorescence (μ -XRF) analyses of the mineral composition of the constituent materials; and attenuated total reflectance-infrared (ATR-IR) analysis of the lacquer-varnishing. Based on the results of this research, the museum has been able to identify various key features of the Goryeo incense box, including the box's shape, composition, and lacquer-varnishing technique. The analyses also revealed important details of the various design elements, which were made with mother-of-pearl, metal wire, pieces of turtle-shell painted with pigments, and gold paint that consists of powdered gold in a binder.

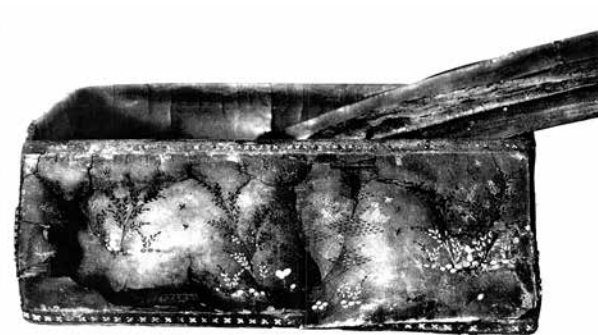


Fig. 3. Inner box of the incense box from *The Illustrated Book on Historical Remains in Joseon* (朝鮮古蹟圖譜).



Fig. 5. Current damaged state of the inner box.

II. Current State of the Incense Box

1. Condition Report

The extensive damage suggests that the box was buried for a long period. Again, no information is known about the box's origin or its recovery, and details of its condition at the time of purchase can only be inferred based on the photographs from *The Illustrated Book on Historical Remains in Joseon* (Figs. 2 and 3). Those photos show that both the cover and box had sustained significant damage, but were still fairly intact. Unfortunately, during the Korean War, the box was shattered into more than 700 fragments (Figs. 4 and 5). Since that time, the fragments have continued to diminish in size, and a number of fine cracks have spread through the lacquered surfaces. The surviving fragments are now in very poor condition, making them extremely vulnerable to any kind of vibration or movement. Many of the mother-of-pearl and turtle-shell designs have been lost, and are identifiable only by their outlines, while others

are covered with dirt or other contaminants, making it very difficult to identify their details. In addition, many of the metal-wire designs have been lost, have disintegrated, or are corroded with rust. In addition, the gold-paint designs that were applied over the layer of lacquer have been abraded, making their exact shapes and subjects difficult to discern. Even so, traces of gold paint still present in some areas suggest that the painted designs represented water from a stream, branches of flowering trees, and birds in flight.

2. Decorative Scheme

All three components of the incense box were amply decorated with inlaid and painted designs. Until recently, the precise arrangement of the designs could not be determined because of the box's damaged condition. However, the investigative research and scientific analyses have now allowed us to identify and recreate the original layout of the designs (Figs. 6-8). The designs on both the cover and the box were arranged symmetrically, with paired designs on the front and back, or paired designs on the left and right sides. The main designs on the cover and inner box are waterside scenes showing willows (cover only) and different types of flowering trees on the banks of a stream, along with pebbles, ducks, flying birds (Figs. 9-16). Secondary border designs around the sides and edges of the box and cover include chrysanthemum scrolls (cover only), peonies, and X-shaped blossoms resembling pinwheels (Figs. 17-21). The edges on all four sides of the upper surface of the cover are decorated with a horizontal band of chrysanthemum scrolls; similar bands can also be found on the vertical sides of the cover. The bands also feature a few peonies amid the chrysanthemum scrolls. The pinwheel-shaped flowers appear in horizontal bands around the upper and lower edges of the box, and in vertical bands on the box's corners. Notably, the pinwheel-shaped flowers in the bands on the lower edges differ from the others in both form and size. The floor of the inner tray is decorated with chrysanthemum blossoms and stems arranged in latticework patterns (Fig. 22), while the tray's edges feature simplified chrysanthemum blossoms and stems (Fig. 23). The shape and arrangement of the chrysanthemum designs on the floor of the tray resemble those on a Goryeo sutra container with inlaid mother-of-pearl chrysanthemum designs, now in the



Fig. 6. Arrangement of designs on the front and back sides of the cover.



Fig. 7. Arrangement of designs on the front and back sides of the inner box.

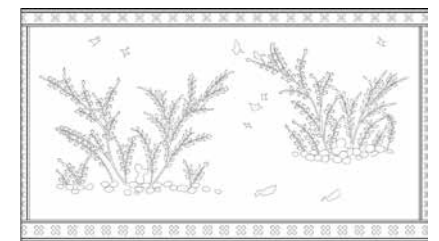


Fig. 8. Arrangement of designs on the left and right sides of the inner box.

collection of the Tokyo National Museum.

III. Materials and Production Technique

1. Physical Dimensions of Fragments

Each of the fragments of the incense box was measured (i.e., length, width, depth, thickness), and, when possible, the measurements were compared to the dimensions recorded in *The Illustrated Book on Historical Remains in Joseon*. The fragments were also photographed to record their condition at the time of examination. In addition, details of the joints were carefully observed in order to determine how the pieces were joined together.

2. Photography

All of the relevant designs were photographed at 1× and 2× magnification with a 65mm lens (equivalent to 5× and 10× magnification) in order to record the box's present condition and to permit identification of the types and characteristics of the designs



Fig. 9. Willow tree.



Fig. 10. Flowering tree 1 (Turtle-shell designs of red and yellow flowers).



Fig. 11. Flowering tree 2.



Fig. 12. Flowering tree 3.



Fig. 13. Tree (incl. traces of the disintegrated mother-of-pearl pieces).



Fig. 14. Gravel and pussy willow.



Fig. 15. Gilt designs of twigs of a flowering tree and birds.



Fig. 16. Mother-of-pearl designs of ducks and gravels and gilt design of water.



Fig. 17. Chrysanthemum scrolls from the edges of the upper surface of the cover.



Fig. 18. Chrysanthemum scrolls from the band around the vertical sides of the cover.



Fig. 19. Mother-of-pearl peony designs and metal-wire designs from the vertical sides of the cover.



Fig. 20. Pinwheel-shaped flower designs from the upper edge of the inner box.



Fig. 21. Pinwheel-shaped flower designs from the lower edge of the inner box.



Fig. 22. Chrysanthemum design from the interior bottom of the inner tray (incl. traces of the disintegrated mother-of-pearl pieces).



Fig. 23. Chrysanthemum designs from the edge of the inner tray (incl. traces of the disintegrated mother-of-pearl pieces).

[Camera: Canon EOS 5D Mark II, Lens: Canon MP-E 65mm].

3. X-radiography

X-ray inspection was undertaken on those fragments that still bear original designs, in order to identify internal damage invisible to the naked eye, to examine the shape and arrangement of the designs, and to determine the direction of the wood grain and the use of a fabric as a base [Instrument: Softex X-ray K2. Parameter: 20 kV, 2 mA, 1 min, distance: 100 cm, Agfa D7 film].

4. Stereoscopic Microscopy and Measuring of Decorative Elements

Details of the mother-of-pearl, turtle-shell, metal-wire, and gold-painted designs were examined with a stereoscopic microscope at 5× to 40× magnification [Leica MZ 9.5 and Leica M205 A]. In order to measure each part of the individual designs, the digital data was processed with image-analysis software [Image-analysis software: Olympus analySIS 5].

5. Transmission and Polarization Microscopy

Transmission and polarization microscopy at 50× to 500× magnification was conducted in order to study the composition and layer structure of the lacquer coatings, the gold-painting technique, the type of wood used, and the material of the fabric base [Instrument: Leica DMLP]. Detached fragments of the lacquer coating and of the wooden frame (2-4 mm in size) were embedded in transparent epoxy and polished to expose the first cross-section of the lacquer layer [Struers silicon carbide paper #500 - #2400]. For microscopic observation, the samples were attached to a glass slide and processed to be as thin as 10-20 μm (0.01-0.02 mm).

6. Scanning Electron Microscopy (SEM)

The samples discussed in the section above, as well as detached samples of the mother-of-pearl and metal-wire designs, were observed with a scanning electron microscope in order to study them in cross-section, and thus examine the composition and layer structure of the lacquer coating, the evidence of processing the mother-of-pearl and metal-wire designs, the shape and dispersion of the gold powder particles in the gold paint, and the fibers of the fabric base [Instrument: Hitachi SEM-3500N, Japan].

7. Scanning Electron Microscope-Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy (SEM/EDS)

The scanning electron microscope was equipped with an energy-dispersive spectroscope, which was used to analyze the composition of the bone-ash layer and the material of the metal wires [Instrument: SEM-Energy Dispersive Spectroscope, Kevex, USA].

8. Micro X-ray Fluorescence Analysis (μ-XRF Analysis)

Because it was difficult to obtain adequate samples of the metal wires and the pigment used to paint the

turtle-shell designs, micro X-ray fluorescence analysis was carried out on those parts [Instrument: Portable μ-XRF Spectrometer, Art TAX, Rontec, Germany, Parameters: 500 mA, 100 sec].

9. Attenuated Total Reflectance-Infrared Analysis (ATR - IR Analysis)

A spectrum of the lacquer was analyzed by ATR-IR and compared to a control specimen in order to identify the type of lacquer used on the incense box [Instrument: ALPHA-E (Bruker Co., Germany), ATR measurement, ATR crystal type: ZnSe (Zinc Selenide)].

IV. Results

1. Physical Dimensions of the Incense Box

The box's original dimensions were estimated based on measurements of the extant fragments (Figs. 4 and 5). When possible, the estimated measurements were compared to data recorded in *The Illustrated Book on Historical Remains in Joseon*, with the *chon* (寸) unit converted into millimeters. For example, the depth (or height) of the box (103 mm) was found to be similar to the previously recorded data. Again, the box has three primary components: the inner box, the cover, and the tray, which fits inside the box. The cover is 293 mm long, 194 mm wide, and 112 mm deep. On one side of the cover, there is a protruding band measuring 15 mm in width and 3 mm in thickness. The inner box is 271 mm long, 171 mm wide, and 103 mm deep. The tray measures 22.7 mm in depth; its length and width are commensurate with those of the inner box (Figs. 24-25).

2. Materials and Method of Assembling the Box

The incense box is made from quarter-sawn pieces of wood from a coniferous tree. The exact species has not been identified, but based on the presence of taxodioid pits, it is assumed to be of genus *Abies* or *Thuja*. The wood pieces forming the four sides of the cover were joined at their edges and then firmly connected to each other by means of a triangular wooden support set in each corner; the sides of the inner box were assembled in similar fashion. Once the sides had been joined, the pieces for the top (of the cover) and the floor (of the inner box) were attached. The cover's top was affixed to its sides with wooden

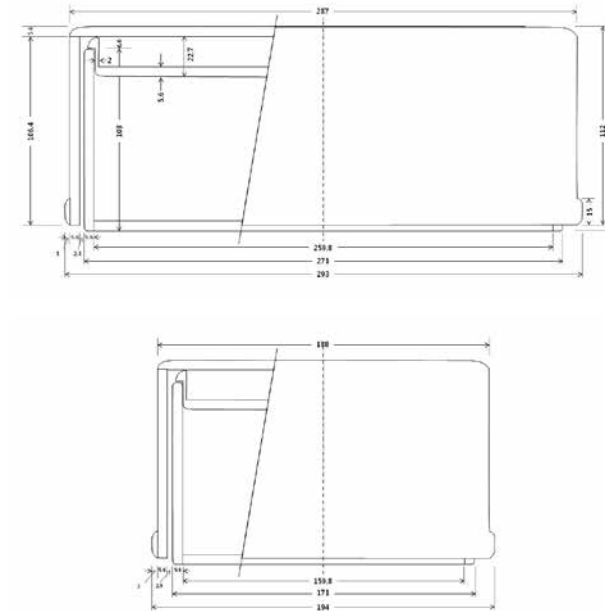


Fig. 24. Longitudinal cross-section of the incense box.

Fig. 25. Transverse cross-section of the incense box.

pegs; by contrast, no pegs were used to connect the floor, which is simply an inserted panel.

3. Results of X-ray Photography

X-ray photography revealed many elements that were hard to see with the naked eye, including the metal wires, the mother-of-pearl and turtle-shell designs, the fabric base, the direction of the wood grain, and fine cracks in the lacquer coating (Figs. 26-30).

4. Type of Lacquer and Lacquer-Varnishing Technique

4.1) Type of Lacquer: ATR-IR analysis of the lacquer specimen revealed a broad absorption band at 3600-3200 cm⁻¹ due to a phenolic hydroxyl (-OH) group and a weak absorption band at 2900-2800 cm⁻¹ due to the stretching vibration of the C-H bond of a methylene group. The analysis also showed the existence of a broad absorption band near 1730-1600 cm⁻¹, apparently resulting from the stretching vibration of the C=C bond, the skeletal vibrations of the aromatic ring, and the stretching vibration of the C=O bond. Absorption bands at 1450 cm⁻¹ from a methylene group and at 990 cm⁻¹ from conjugated trienes were also observed, which confirms that the specimen is a polymer. The spectrum was similar to that of typical lacquer with a primary component

of urushiol (漆酚). At certain bands, the absorption spectrum was somewhat weaker than those of the control specimen, which is attributed to the deterioration and contamination of the lacquer layer and the bone ash mixed with the lacquer (Figs. 31 and 32).

4.2) Lacquer-Varnishing Technique: The wood panels were first primed with an undercoat of lacquer that permeated the surface, and then covered with a fabric base. Next, a layer of bone ash was applied over the fabric base, followed by an outer layer (or top coating) of lacquer. The combined thickness of the bone-ash and outer-lacquer layers is 500-600 μm, with each layer comprising approximately half the thickness. The bone-ash layer consists of lacquer and bone-meal powder of indeterminate forms smaller than 110 μm. The fabric base is 300 μm thick and made from plain-woven silk (density: 28 x 20/cm). The topcoat layer of lacquer (over the bone-ash layer) is around 30-40 μm thick, and the transparent lacquer was applied two or three times in most areas (Figs. 33-35).

5. Decorative Techniques

5.1) Mother-of-pearl Designs: Mother-of-pearl was used to create various designs on the inner box (e.g., pinwheel-shaped flowers); on the cover (willows, pebbles, flowering trees, ducks, peonies and scrolls in the band); and on the tray (chrysanthemums). The material for these mother-of-pearl designs came from thin shells (presumably abalone), and is around 0.3 mm in thickness. Given that fretsaws were not yet in use at that time, the designs were likely cut from the shells using small knives or engravers, or perhaps by using gimlets to make small holes in the shape of the desired design. The cut shells would then have been trimmed with polishing tools (including wires). In some areas, the mother-of-pearl designs have fallen away, exposing the fabric base. Microscopy on the lacquer layer around the mother-of-pearl designs did not detect any bone ash between the mother-of-pearl designs and the fabric base, suggesting that the inlaid elements were attached directly to the fabric base solely by means of the lacquer undercoating, without an intervening layer of bone ash (Figs. 36-38).

5.2) Turtle-shell Designs: Several colored designs were made with thin sheets of turtle shell that were

Figs. 26–30. X-ray photography.

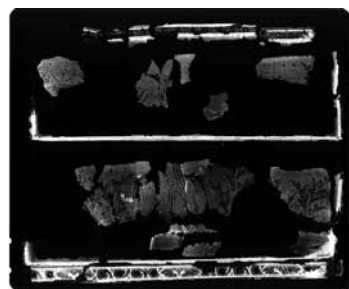


Fig. 26. The front and back sides of the cover.

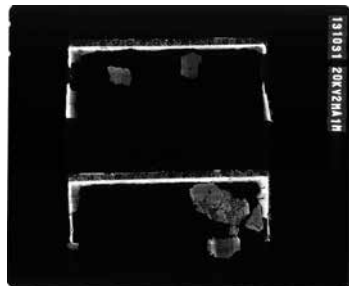


Fig. 27. The left and right sides of the cover.

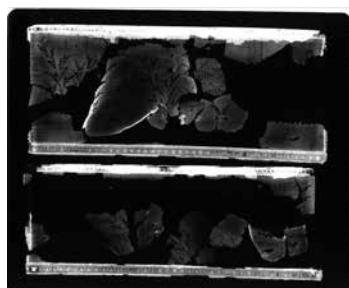


Fig. 28. The front and back sides of the inner box.

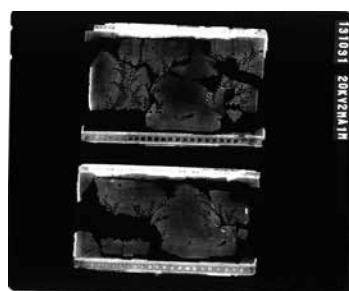


Fig. 29. The left and right sides of the inner box.

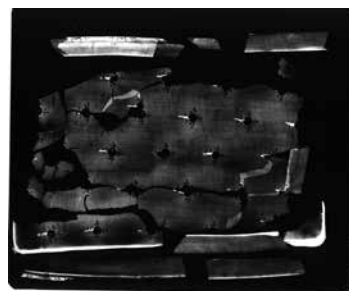


Fig. 30. The top of the inner tray.

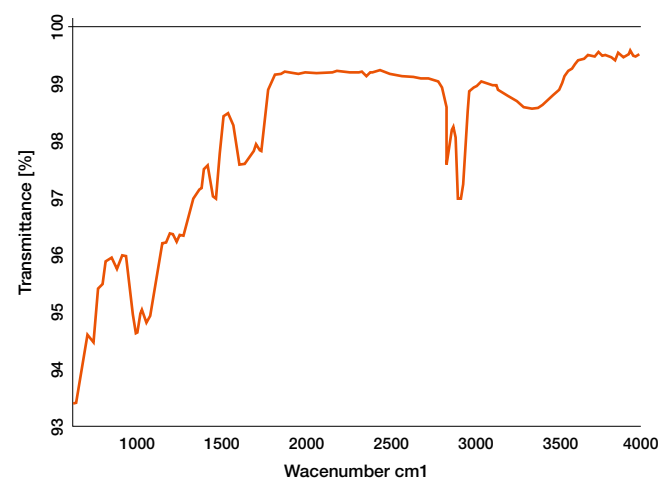


Fig. 31. Infrared absorption spectrum of the control specimen (mixture of bone ash, Japanese raw lacquer, and refined lacquer).

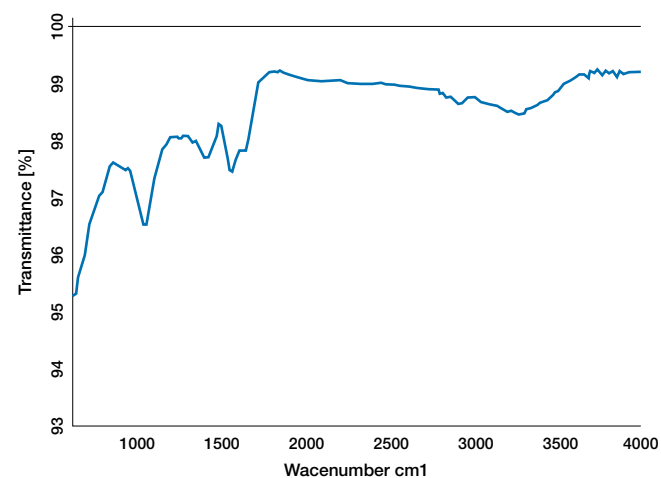


Fig. 32. Infrared absorption spectrum of the lacquer on the incense box.

Painted on the underside. Those designs include the star-shaped flowers of the flowering trees on the cover and box, the chrysanthemums on the edges and bands of the cover, and the pistil of the chrysanthemum at the bottom of the inner tray. According to XRF analysis, the yellow petals and red pistil of the chrysanthemum designs in the cover were made with orpiment (As_2S_3) and cinnabar (HgS), respectively. On the inner tray, turtle-shell sheets painted with orpiment were used to make the chrysanthemum pistil, which is surrounded by petals made from mother-of-pearl. Cinnabar was used for most of the star-shaped flowers on the ends of the flowering trees' branches, but the yellow flowers were again made with orpiment (Figs. 39–41).

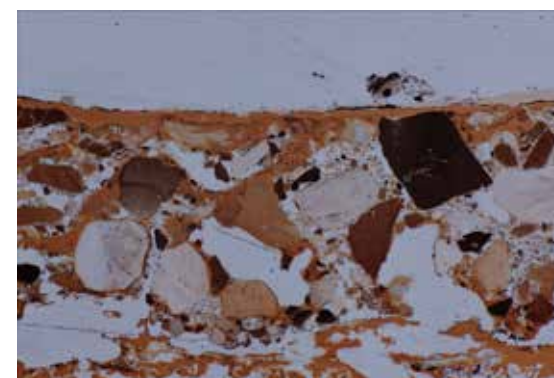


Fig. 33. Cross-section of the lacquer layer (Transmission light microscope x100).

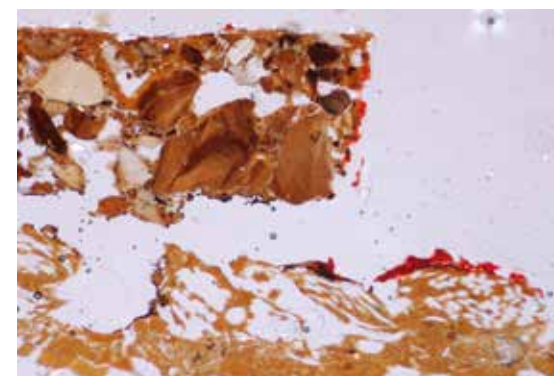


Fig. 34. Cross-section of the lacquer layer around the turtle-shell designs (Transmission light microscope x100).



Fig. 35. Weaving of the fabric base (SEM of the backside of the lacquer layer).

5.3) Metal-wire Designs: The box features a number of designs made with metal wires, some of which were made with a single wire and some of which were made with two wires twisted into a single strand. Metal wires were used to create the borders around the designs, as well as for the borders on the sides of both the inner box and cover. In addition,

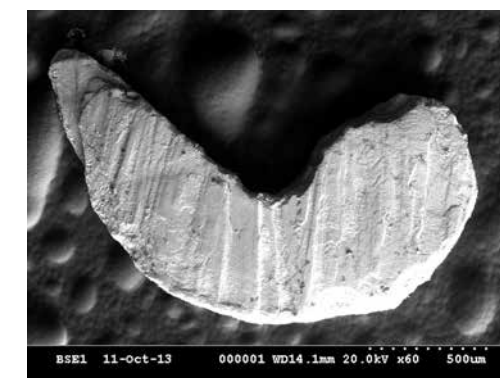


Fig. 36. Backside of the mother-of-pearl scroll leaf design (SEM).

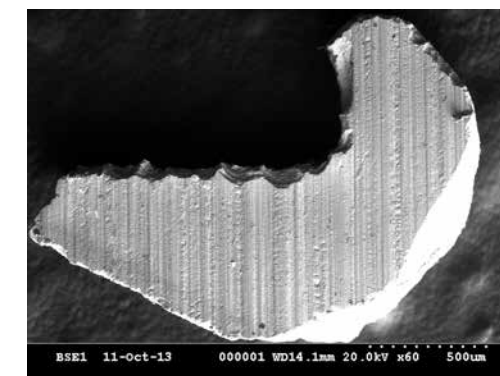


Fig. 37. Sample of mother-of-pearl cut with a fretsaw (SEM).

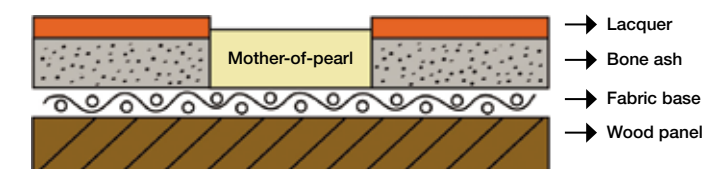


Fig. 38. Cross-sectional diagram of areas inlaid with mother-of-pearl design



Fig. 39. Turtle-shell chrysanthemum designs from the edges of the upper surface of the cover.

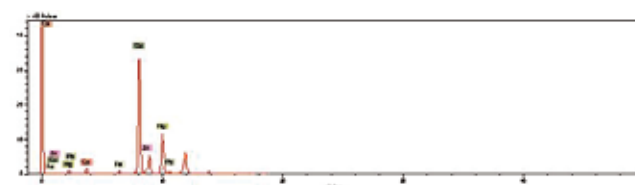


Fig. 40. Fluorescent X-ray analysis spectrum of the red part of the turtle-shell design (Major composition: Hg).

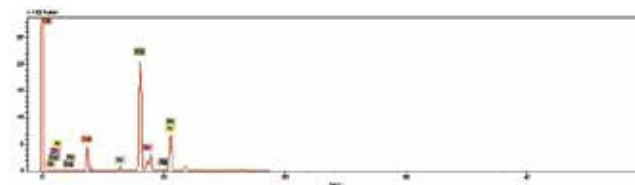


Fig. 41. Fluorescent X-ray analysis spectrum of the yellow part of the turtle-shell design (Major composition: As).

wires were used to render the scrolls' stems, the stalks of the peonies, and the eye-like outlines in the band along the lower edge of the cover. Finally, wires were also used to make the stalks of the chrysanthemums on the tray. According to XRF and SEM-EDS analysis, the single wires have a diameter of 0.5-0.6 mm and were made by forging a thin metal plate of an alloy of tin (Sn) and lead (Pb) (Figs. 42, 43, and 44). The twisted double wires consist of a pair of

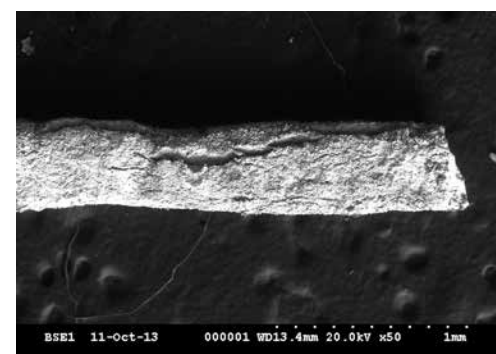


Fig. 42. Side of the forged wire (SEM).

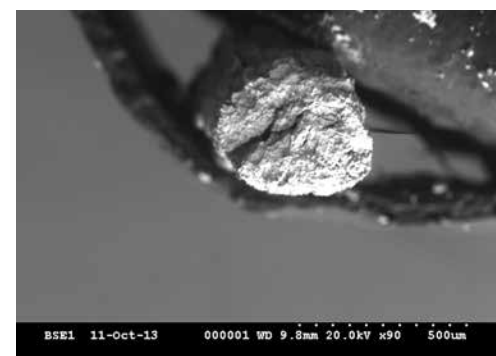


Fig. 43. Cut of the forged wire (SEM).

round wires that are 0.3 mm in diameter and are composed of a brass alloy of copper (Cu) and zinc (Zn) (Figs. 45-48).

5.4) Gold-painted Designs: Gold paint was used to express the branches of some flowering trees, the water flowing around the pebbles, and the birds in flight. Analysis determined that gold leaf was ground into powder to create the gold paint for those designs. The gold powder was likely made via one of two known methods. The first method involves placing gold leaf into a powder container (typically a bamboo segment) with a screen or mesh fitted over the open end, and then using a brush or other implement to force the gold leaf through the mesh, thereby rendering it into a powder. A somewhat more elaborate method is described in the section "How to use color," from the first fascicle of *Jie zi Yuan hua zhuan* (芥子園畫傳, *The Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*) compiled by Wang Gai (王概, 1645-1707). According to that text, gold powder could be made by applying glue to a porcelain vessel and then placing a sheet of gold leaf atop the glue. Once the glue had dried, the gold could be rubbed off by hand, forming tiny powdered granules. Notably, transmission, reflection, and polarization microscopy failed to identify any traces of adhesive (presumably lacquer) in the areas between the gold particles; as such, it is unlikely that the gold powder was either mixed with lacquer and directly applied, or scattered over moist lacquer that had been applied to the surface in the form of the designs. Therefore, it is estimated that the gold-painted designs were made with gold powder mixed with some type of glue (perhaps fish or hide glue), or else with drying oil (Figs. 49-52).

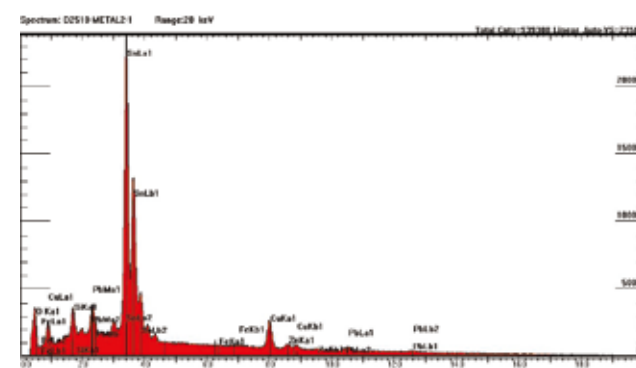


Fig. 44. SEM-EDS analysis spectrum of the solid wire (Sn, Pb).



Fig. 45. Double-stranded wire.

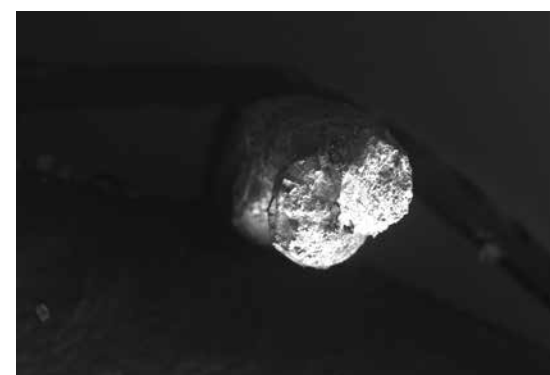


Fig. 46. Cut of the double-stranded wire (SEM).

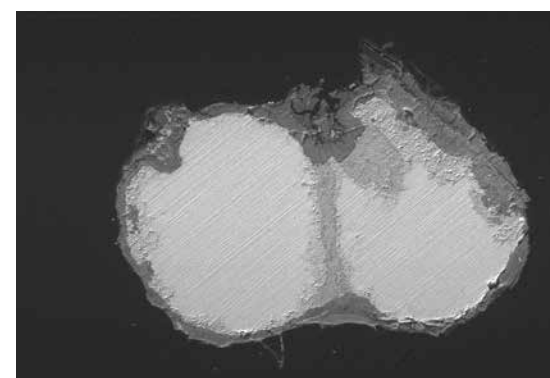


Fig. 47. Cross-section of the double-stranded wire (SEM).

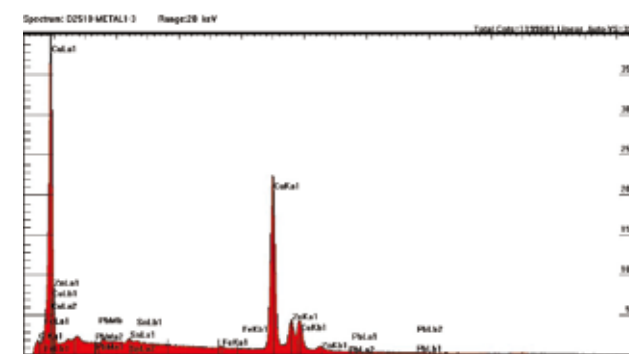


Fig. 48. SEM-EDS analysis spectrum of the double-stranded brass wire (Cu, Zn) composition.

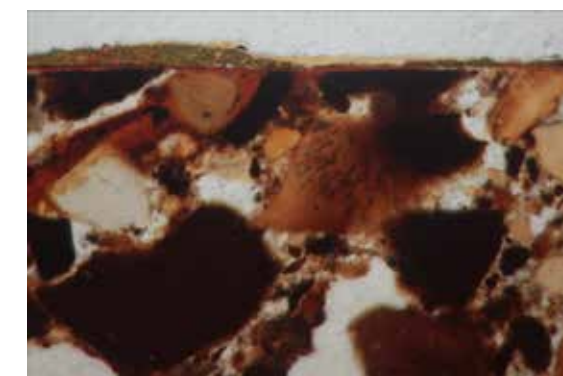


Fig. 49. Cross-section of the lacquer around the gilt designs (reflection microscope x200).

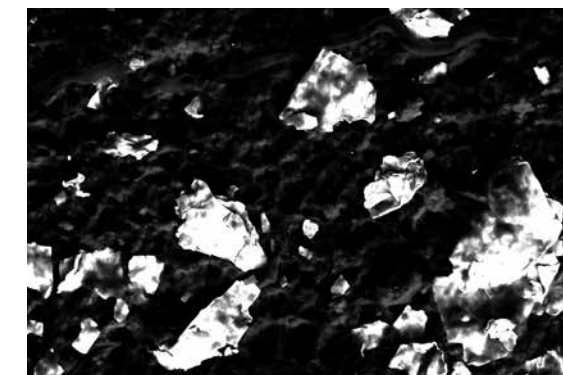


Fig. 50. Surface of the gilt designs (SEM).

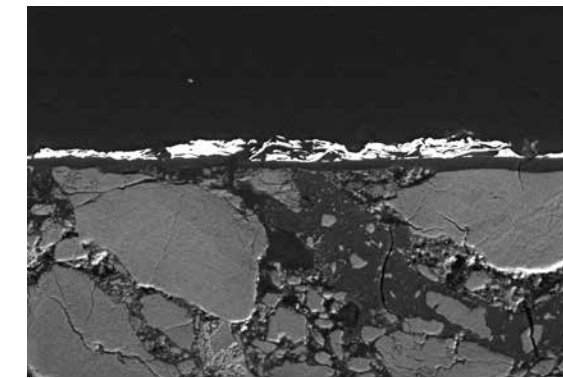


Fig. 51. Cross-section of the lacquer around the gilt designs 1 (SEM).



Fig. 52. Cross-section of the lacquer around the gilt designs 2 (SEM).

V. Conclusion

The Goryeo lacquer incense box with inlaid mother-of-pearl and turtle-shell designs of willows, flowering trees, and ducks and gold-painted designs was made by a method called *moksimjeopichilgi* (木心苧皮漆器). Analysis determined that the incense box was made from quarter-sawn pieces of wood that were covered with fabric, followed by a coating of bone ash mixed with bone meal powder, and finally an outer layer of lacquer.

The mother-of-pearl designs appear to have been made by cutting abalone shells (around 0.3 mm thick) into the desired shapes with gimlets or small knives. Some colored designs were made from thin sheets of turtle shell painted with pigment made from cinnabar or orpiment. Other designs were inlaid with metal wires, consisting either of single metal wires made from an alloy of tin (Sn) and lead (Pb), or twisted pairs of round wires made from a brass alloy of copper (Cu) and zinc (Zn). The gold-painted designs are believed to have been painted with a pigment made from gold powder that was likely mixed with glue or a drying oil, and then applied over the existing designs.

All of the research results suggest that the incense box was produced using the highest quality materials and the most advanced techniques of the day. Despite its fragmented condition, this artifact thus has great value for the study of early lacquerwares, as it offers significant evidence of the most advanced techniques for producing lacquerware at the time. In particular, the data obtained through this research will be of great use in the conservation and restoration of lacquerwares from the Goryeo Dynasty, including this incense box. Even so, further research will be required to determine several additional points, including the type of wood used to make the box, the alloy ratio of the dissimilar metals, the methods for making and applying the gold paint, the type of shell used for the mother-of-pearl designs, and the tools used to make the designs. ㄸ

TRANSLATED BY CHUNG EUNSUN

This paper is an edited and abridged English version of “Investigation of Gold-Painting Technique in the Lacquerwares of Goryeo,” previously presented in a 2013 international symposium on the Goryeo lacquer incense box with inlaid mother-of-pearl and gold-painted designs, held at the National Museum of Korea.

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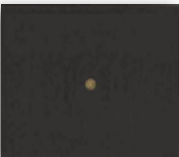
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Further Reading

NATIONAL TREASURES: METAL CRAFTS

국보 금속공예

Daejeon: Cultural Heritage Administration (2008).



Part of the *Overview of Korean Cultural Heritage* series published by the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, this book includes photos and descriptions (incl. materials, period, and dimensions of each object) of forty-six metal crafts that have been designated as National Treasures. The book is divided into two sections—general metal crafts and Buddhist metal crafts—with each section organized chronologically. The general metal crafts section includes bronze ritual vessels and weaponry, as well as various gold artifacts. In particular, the Silla gold crowns, belts, necklaces, and earrings and the Baekje metal crafts from the Tomb of King Muryeong exemplify adept casting techniques and resplendent aesthetics. The Buddhist metal crafts section introduces masterpieces such as the Baekje gilt-bronze incense burner, decorative Buddhist reliquaries, a Unified Silla Buddhist bell, and a Goryeo incense burner. This book provides an excellent introduction to the advanced techniques and aesthetics of Korean metal crafts.

ISBN: 9788963250205 (311 pages, in Korean).

THE GLORY OF KOREAN INLAID METAL ARTS

우리나라 금속공예의 정화, 입사공예

Seoul: National Museum of Korea (1997).



This catalogue was published to accompany a special exhibition of the same title held at the National Museum of Korea in 1997. *The Glory of Korean Inlaid Metal Arts* was the first major exhibition in Korea to focus on inlaid metal crafts, presenting about 130 pieces featuring various uses of the metal inlay technique, dating from the Three Kingdoms Period through the Joseon Dynasty. The items documented in the catalogue include a ring-pommel sword excavated from a tomb of the Three Kingdoms Period, resplendent stirrups from the Unified Silla Period, Buddhist ritual implements from the Goryeo Dynasty, and various utensils and equipment for daily living in the Joseon Dynasty. Including plates and descriptions of the artifacts from the exhibition, as well as detailed articles on the metal inlay technique and the decorative patterns of Korea, this catalogue provides readers with an in-depth understanding of the metal inlay technique of Korean metal crafts.

(178 pages, in Korean).

Yi Nanyeong

METAL CRAFTS OF KOREA

한국 고대의 금속공예

Seoul: Seoul National University Press (2012).



Following the original edition published in 2000, the second edition of *Metal Crafts of Korea* includes a new section on Joseon metal crafts as well as many new supplementary materials in the other sections, gathered by author Yi Nanyeong over the twelve-year interval between publications. This book charts the history of metal crafts in Korea by examining how the function and use of metal crafts changed and expanded over time, from bronze weaponry to household items and accessories. This title is ideal for readers looking for a comprehensive and systematic overview of Korean metal crafts, tracing their chronological development from prehistory through the Three Kingdoms Period, Unified Silla Period, Goryeo Dynasty, and Joseon Dynasty.

ISBN: 9788952113429 (417 pages, in Korean).

MAJESTIC DECORATION OF BUDDHIST SARIRA RELIQUARIES

불사리장엄

Seoul: National Museum of Korea (1991).



This catalogue was published in conjunction with a special exhibition of the same title held at the National Museum of Korea in 1991. *Majestic Decoration of Buddhist Sarira Reliquaries* focuses on Buddhist reliquaries as the essence of Buddhist religion, aesthetics, and art. Various examples of reliquaries are presented chronologically, from the Three Kingdoms Period through the Joseon Dynasty. Sarira reliquaries, along with accompanying offerings, represented the embodiment of the Buddhist faith of their time, as well as magnificent artworks exemplifying the splendor and mastery of Korean metal crafts. This catalogue includes plates and descriptions of the artifacts from the exhibition, along with related articles and a list of other important Buddhist reliquaries of Korea, serving as a useful resource for both scholars and the general public. Within the context of Buddhist reliquaries, the publication enables readers to explore the significance, diversity, and overall development of Buddhist offerings in Korea.

(265 pages, in Korean).



The National Museum of Korea is the premier museum for Korean history and art, with a collection that embodies the essence of Korean culture, comprising some 346,000 diverse artifacts and artworks ranging from the prehistoric age through contemporary Korea. Since its establishment in 1945, the museum has endeavored to conduct and support numerous studies and research activities in the fields of archaeology, history, and art, and to continuously develop a variety of insightful exhibitions and innovative education programs. Due to the great success of these scholarly exhibitions and programs, more and more people are visiting the museum every year; in 2013, the National Museum of Korea welcomed more than 3 million visitors, the fourteenth most of any museum in the world (*Art Newspaper*). For more information, please visit our website: www.museum.go.kr



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