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Pokchang. Image Consecration in Korean Buddhism

Alain Arrault, Elisabeth Chabanol

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Seunghye LEE, James ROBSON & Youn-mi KIM

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À nos lecteurs

Un numéro spécial des *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* sur la Corée s'imposait. En effet, le dernier et unique numéro sur cette aire de l'Asie orientale remonte au numéro 6 de l'année 1991-1992! Édité par Alexandre Guillemoz, bien que portant sur le sujet de prédilection de son « guest editor », le chamanisme coréen, ce numéro présente un vaste panorama dans sa rubrique des comptes rendus sur l'anthropologie, la géographie, l'histoire, les religions, la littérature, le théâtre, la linguistique, la politique, l'économie de la Corée, offrant ainsi des clés de compréhension de la Corée auprès du public des chercheurs et des étudiants. Il faut également noter un long article bibliographique de Henrik Sørensen sur les études des textes rituels bouddhiques en Corée dans le corps même du numéro. Nous n'avons pas eu la même ambition mais il nous a semblé que les études menées depuis quelques décennies sur l'intérieur des statues bouddhiques en Corée, qui s'inscrivent dans des travaux similaires menés au Japon et en Chine, méritaient amplement un numéro spécial, aussi bien pour leur pertinence que pour leur originalité. C'est à la suite d'un colloque organisé en 2017 à l'université féminine Ewha à Séoul, sous l'égide du programme de recherche « From the Ground Up : Buddhism and East Asian Religions » (FROGBEAR, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, sponsorisé par le Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council du Canada – SSHRC) et d'autres institutions locales, que germa l'idée de consacrer à cette thématique un numéro des *CEA*. C'est donc en étroite collaboration avec les « guest editors », Youn-mi Kim (Ewha Womans University), Seunghye Lee (Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art) et James Robson (Harvard University) que ce numéro fut préparé pendant presque deux ans et que nous présentons aujourd'hui. Nous avons privilégié les études effectuées par des spécialistes coréens, non pas évidemment par mépris des études des auteurs occidentaux, mais pour répondre à l'un des rôles que s'assignent les *CEA* : faire connaître en langues occidentales les travaux menés par nos collègues asiatiques, qui œuvrent le plus souvent dans une langue qui n'est accessible qu'aux seuls spécialistes. À ce dossier sur la « cache ventrale » (*pokchang*) des statues et peintures bouddhiques coréennes, nous avons ajouté deux articles évoquant le territoire de la Corée du Nord : le premier de Maya Stiller concerne la disposition spatiale de l'enterrement de sculptures bouddhiques au XIV^e-XV^e siècle ; le second d'Élisabeth Chabanol porte sur une stèle de « bon gouvernement », dédiée à un fonctionnaire lettré du XVII^e siècle et retrouvée lors de fouilles de la Mission archéologique franco-nord-coréenne à Kaesong. Un dernier *nota bene* : dans ce volume, la transcription du coréen utilisée est la romanisation McCune-Reischauer.

Alain ARRAULT et Élisabeth CHABANOL







To Our Readers

This special issue of the *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (CEA) dedicated to scholarship on Korea is noteworthy. The last, indeed the only, issue of the CEA on this area of East Asia dates back to Number 6, which was published in 1991–92! That special issue on Korean shamanism focused on the main area of interest of the “guest editor,” Alexandre Guillemoz. But it also presented a vast panorama of book reviews on the anthropology, geography, history, religion, literature, theater, linguistics, politics, and economy of Korea. Therefore, it offered researchers and students fundamental keys for understanding Korea. We should also note that it included a long bibliographical article by Henrik Sørensen on studies of Korean Buddhist ritual texts. We did not have the same ambition as the editor of that special issue, but it seemed to us that the studies on the interior of Buddhist statues in Korea that have been carried out over the last few decades, which are similar to the research carried out in Japan and China, amply deserved a special issue due to their relevance and originality. This issue is the result of a symposium held in 2017 at Ewha Womans University in Seoul, under the auspices of the “From the Ground Up: Buddhism and East Asian Religions” project (FROGBEAR, The University of British Columbia, Vancouver, funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada—SSHRC) and other local institutions. The idea of devoting a special issue of the CEA to this theme arose out of conversations initiated at that time. The issue that we now present to our readers was prepared over the last two years in close collaboration with the guest editors Youn-mi Kim (Ewha Womans University), Seunghye Lee (Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art) and James Robson (Harvard University). We have primarily included studies by Korean specialists, not out of any contempt for the work of Western scholars, but rather to satisfy one of the fundamental roles assigned to the CEA: to make the scholarship of our colleagues in Asia, who most often work in a language that is only accessible to specialists, more accessible to Western scholars. In addition to the articles concerning the *pokchang* of Korean Buddhist statues and paintings, we have also added two articles on the area that corresponds to North Korea. The first, by Maya Stiller, concerns the spatial arrangement of the burial of Buddhist sculptures in the 14th–15th century; the second, by Élisabeth Chabanol, concerns a stele of “good government,” dedicated to a literate official of the 17th century, that was found during the excavations by the France-DPRK archaeological mission in Kaesong. A final note: in this volume, the transcription of Korean uses the McCune-Reischauer romanization system.

Alain ARRAULT and Élisabeth CHABANOL







Introduction

THE KOREAN *POKCHANG* TRADITION AND THE PLACING OF OBJECTS IN BUDDHIST STATUES

James ROBSON, Seunghye LEE, and Youn-mi KIM

Contextualizing *Pokchang*: The Placing of Objects Inside Statues in East Asia

The present volume of the *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* focuses on the Korean *pokchang* 腹藏 (also Romanized as *bokjang*) tradition. The term *pokchang* refers to the practice of enshrining objects inside of statues or attaching them to paintings. Most of the essays gathered here were first presented at a conference entitled “Consecrating the Buddha: On the Practice of Interring Objects (*bokjang*) in Buddhist Statues” held at Ewha Womans University on August 11th and 12th 2017. The editors would like to thank the “From the Ground Up: Buddhism and East Asian Religions” project, the Institute for Buddhist Culture at Dongguk University (especially the Director, Kim Jongwook 金鍾旭), and Ewha Womans University Museum (especially the Director of the museum, Jang Namwon 張南原) for their generous support of the conference.¹ Substantially revised versions of the Korean language papers delivered on that occasion have been translated from Korean into English in order to make that specialized scholarship more accessible to scholars around the world.² The remainder of the essays were commissioned for inclusion in this special issue. It is our hope that this publication will further facilitate the cross-cultural study of the enshrining of objects inside of religious statues in East Asia.

Research on religious statues from different parts of the world—from Europe to Africa to Asia—has revealed a common practice of placing a variety of different

1. The editors would like to thank all the other scholars who presented papers at that symposium (Hank Glassman, Akiko Walley, Song Mi Kyung 宋美京, Sim Yeon Ok 沈蓮玉, and Maya Stiller, who has contributed a different paper to this issue), the discussants (Nam Dongsin 南東信, Kim Junghee 金廷禧, Juhyung Rhi 李柱亨, Kim Young Mi 金英美, and Sun-ah Choi 崔善娥), as well as the closing remarks offered by Bernard Faure. We were fortunate to have the *pokchang* ritual specialist Master Gyeongam 鏡岩 screen the film “Secret Ritual” and participate in a Q&A with the audience. Finally, the conference also benefitted greatly from the participation of all the other scholars who attended the conference and contributed to the lively discussions.

2. We would like to acknowledge the support received from the FROGBEAR project run by the University of British Columbia, and the Harvard University Korea Institute which made it possible to have the Korean language articles translated into English. Thanks to all the translators for their hard work on this difficult task. We have also received excellent assistance from the coordinators of this *CEA* special issue: Alain Arrault and Élisabeth Chabanol.



materials into cavities inside of statues at the time of their consecration.³ There may appear to be some commonalities across traditions, but the specific contents and reasons for inserting things in statues are as varied as the different religious, historical, and cultural contexts in which they are found. Did the insertion of relics and other objects enliven or animate an image? Did they give it miraculous powers that made it an efficacious image? Or did they merely serve to legitimate the image's perceived powers? There has been much speculation about these questions—both East and West—but in the absence of textual sources that provide specific evidence about the aims of consecrating a statue by inserting things inside, it is perilous to make any overly general assumptions. In this brief introduction it is not possible to situate this specific phenomenon in relation to the much larger history of image consecration rituals throughout Asia or engage with the increasing body of (largely speculative) literature that asks “why” materials were inserted inside of religious images.⁴ This introduction aims to introduce the Korean *pokchang* tradition—and the evolution of scholarship on that tradition by specialists of Korean Buddhism—by contextualizing that tradition within the larger body of scholarship on other traditions in East Asia.

3. David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); and Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). See also, among others, Cyril Mango, “Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963): 61; Sarah Iles Johnston, “Animating Statues: A Case Study in Ritual,” *Arethusa* 41, no. 3 (2008): 445–77; Akira Akiyama, “Interrelationship of Relics and Images in Buddhist and Christian Traditions: Comparative and Performative Aspects,” in *Spatial Icons: Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Indrik, 2011), 643–62; and Akira Akiyama and Kana Tomizawa, eds., *The Interrelationship of Relics and Images in Christian and Buddhist Culture* (Tōkyō: Global COE Program DALs, 2009).

4. On the history of image consecration rituals across Asia, see for example, Richard Gombrich, “The Consecration of a Buddhist Image,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1966): 23–36; Stanley Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), especially chap. 17, “The Process of Sacralizing Images and Objects”; Gérard Colas, “L’instauration de la puissance divine dans l’image du temple en Inde du Sud,” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 206, no. 2 (1989): 129–50; André Padoux, ed., *L’image divine: Culte et méditation dans l’hindouisme* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1990), especially the article by Catherine Clémentin-Ojha, “Image animée, image vivante: L’image du culte hindou,” 115–32; Laurence Thompson, “Consecration Magic in Chinese Religion,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 15 (1991): 1–12; François Bizot, “La consécration des statues et le culte de morts,” in *Recherches nouvelles sur le Cambodge*, ed. François Bizot (Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1994), 101–27; Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins, le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), especially chap. 3, “L’icône animée”; Bernard Faure, “The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze,” *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 3 (1998): 768–813; Donald K. Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Shingo Einoo and Jun Takashima, eds., *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration* (Delhi: Manohar, 2005); István Keul, ed., *Consecration Rituals in South Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2017); and Bernard Faure, “Buddhism’s Black Holes: From Ontology to Hauntology,” *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 27, no. 2 (2017): 89–121. See also the discussion of the Korean *pokchang* tradition in relation to the Indian *pratiṣṭhā* rite in Seunghye Lee’s essay in this special issue.

Before turning to East Asia, however, it is important to note from the outset that although there seem to be no extant examples of Buddha statues from India with relics inside—though there may be one exception—the practice of inserting relics in Buddha images is well attested in a variety of textual sources from Sri Lanka (Buddhaghosa, 5th century CE) to Central and North India (*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, the monastic code of the Mūlasarvāstivāda from about the 1st–2nd century CE) and in the writings of Chinese pilgrims to India (Xuanzang 玄奘 [602–64] and Yijing 義淨 [635–713]).⁵ As Juhyung Rhi has noted, “the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* states in various recensions that to steal an image with a relic is *pācittiya* and to steal one without a relic is *duṣkṛta*,” which indicates it is a lesser offense (*duṣkṛta*) to steal an image without a relic and a more consequential offense (*pācittiya*) to steal one with a relic.⁶ The *Samantapāsādikā*, a 5th century commentary on the Pali *vinayas*, also states that “learned people, having [first] set up either a reliquary or an image enclosing relics, give gifts to both Sanghas, headed by the Buddha.”⁷ Therefore, based on the textual record—which we have only cited a small sample of here—it seems certain that the practice of inserting materials inside of statues began in India and was transported to China and the rest of East Asia with the movement of Buddhism.⁸

Inside Buddhist Statues in Japan

Prior to the 1950s, however, scholars knew surprisingly little about the practice of inserting things inside of East Asian statues (though as we will discuss below the practice was not entirely unknown). In 1954, a statue of Śākyamuni at the Seiryōji 清涼寺 monastery in Kyōto, Japan (commonly referred to as the Seiryōji Shaka 清涼寺釈迦)—a tenth-century Chinese image brought to Japan by a Japanese monk who commissioned it while on pilgrimage in China—was opened up by a group

5. Much of the pertinent evidence is cited and discussed in Juhyung Rhi, “Images, Relics, and Jewels: The Assimilation of Images in the Buddhist Relic Cult of Gandhāra—Or Vice Versa,” *Artibus Asiae* 65, no. 2 (2005): 169–211. Although it seems to have had no impact on research on Chinese images, Alexander Coburn Soper’s *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1959), included translations of Chinese primary sources that mention relics inside of statues (see, for example, p. 16). There is one intriguing Buddha image discovered at Nagarjunakonda, in India, that may be an exception. That image, which was broken when found, has a hole in the lower section (back side of the legs), which contained a gold tube with 95 pearls and some ash (possibly bone ash). See T. N. Ramachandran, *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 1938*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 71 (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1953), 13–14, pl. XIV.

6. Juhyung Rhi, “Images, Relics, and Jewels,” 172.

7. See Robert DeCaroli, *Image Problems: The Origin and Development of the Buddha’s Image in Early South Asia* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 154.

8. The insertion of objects inside statues in India was not limited to Buddhist statues. The Śaivite *Dīptāgama*, a Sanskrit treatise on installation rituals, includes a section on placing jewels into a statue (or its base). See Marie-Luce Barazer-Billoret, “The *Dīptāgama* and Installation Ceremonies,” *Journal of Hindu Studies* 8 (2015): 202–9; and idem, “The Importance of *Pratiṣṭhā* Ceremonies in the Śaivāgamas,” in *Consecration Rituals in South Asia* (see note 4), 113–22.

of scholars. Buddhist practitioners and scholars generally knew that statues had materials inside of them, but there had been no systematic opening of a statue by Japanese scholars in order to study its contents. The opening and subsequent study of the Seiryōji image was made possible due to the fact that the abbot of the Seiryōji temple was the eminent scholar of Chinese Buddhism, Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 (1898–1980). Tsukamoto assembled a group of scholars and representatives from the Ministry of Education for the occasion of the statue opening. When the statue was opened, it was found to contain a diverse assemblage of items (referred to in Japanese as *zōnai nōnyūhin* 像内納入品) inside a large cavity accessible from the backside of the statue. Those materials included donative texts, symbolic silk viscera, relics, incense, textiles, mirrors, minerals, and coins. This rich cache of materials confirmed the potential academic value of studying the contents of religious images. For whatever reason, however, early scholarship on the Seiryōji image primarily remained focused on its formal features, style, and connection with the Udayana Buddha image, which was the image commissioned by King Udayana when he sent craftsmen up to the Heaven of the Thirty Three to make a likeness of the Buddha while he was there preaching to his mother.

The Seiryōji image and its contents quickly attracted attention outside of Japan thanks to an article published in English by Gregory Henderson and Leon Hurvitz a mere two years after the initial discovery.⁹ That essay included a history of the image, photographs of its contents, and translations of key documents. Significantly, the authors of that report suggested that there were likely many other such images with contents preserved inside of them, but neither they—nor anyone else at the time—pursued that line of research, resulting in a rather long delay before scholars picked up the thread and began to systematically study images and their contents.

The most influential early study of statues and their contents in Japan was published by Kurata Bunsaku 倉田文作 in 1973.¹⁰ Although Kurata's focus was also on the Seiryōji image, his essay is a rich and expansive study of a wide range of images and their contents in Japan. He introduced other statues held, for example, by such monasteries as Saidaiji 西大寺, Denkōji 伝香寺, and Tōdaiji 東大寺. That special issue of *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 initiated a trickle of further studies that has over the years grown into a steady stream of publications of research articles and specialized books as more and more statues were opened at the time of repair or conservation and their contents made available for scholarly research.¹¹

9. Gregory Henderson and Leon Hurvitz, “The Buddha of Seiryōji: New Finds and New Theory,” *Artibus Asiae* 19, no. 1 (1956): 9–15. A more recent thorough study of the Seiryōji statue and its contents is Daniel Borengasser, “The Presence of the Buddha: Transmission of Sacred Authority and the Function of Ornament in Seiryōji’s Living Icon” (MA thesis, University of Oregon, 2014).

10. Kurata Bunsaku, ed., “Zōnai nōnyūhin” 像内納入品, special issue, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本の美術 86 (1973).

11. Oku Takeo 奥健夫, “Seiryōji, Jakkōin no Jizō bosatsuzō to ‘gokyō no ryōyaku’: Zōnai nōnyūhin ron no tame ni” 清涼寺・寂光院の地藏菩薩像と「五境の良薬」: 像内納入品論のために, *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 234 (1997): 87–116; Kamakura Kokuhōkan 鎌倉国宝館, ed., *Zōnai nōnyūbin: Kamakura wo chūshin ni* 像内納入品: 鎌倉を中心に (Kamakura: Kamakura Kokuhōkan, 1997);



The increase in publications on Japanese Buddhist statues and their contents has been a welcome trend, but those studies only represent the tip of a much larger iceberg of possible statues waiting to be studied. To gain a sense of the magnitude of the quantity of images that have been identified as having materials inside of them, one merely needs to consult some of the comprehensive indices that have been published over the last 40 years.¹² The two volume *Jūyō bunkazai bekkā zōnai nōnyūbin* 重要文化財別巻像内納入品 (1978) includes entries on nearly 200 images and their contents. By the time the *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai taizen: Chōkoku* 国宝・重要文化財大全: 彫刻 was published twenty years later, in 1998, the number of entries had increased to over 1,000. Those volumes also allow us to have a better sense of the range of things put in statues since the index to the *Jūyō bunkazai bekkā zōnai nōnyūbin* divides the contents into nineteen categories, which include (among other things) vow texts, relics and reliquaries, symbolic viscera, miniature images, prints of Buddha images, *maṇḍalas*, *dhāraṇīs*, *sūtras* and *sūtra* fragments, mirrors, bones, hair, coins, ritual objects, bells, and writing brushes.¹³

The cataloguing and research conducted by Japanese scholars served as a catalyst for Western scholars to take up the study of the contents of Buddhist statues, but to date there has been no attempt to write a comprehensive study of statues and their contents. Most Western language studies have been on specific images that were discovered to have contents inside of them. Like the situation in Japan, most of those images came to the attention of scholars and museum curators when the contents were discovered during the repair or renovation of an image, but there seems to have been only scattered early awareness of the accruing body of Japanese language publications.

While many studies and catalogues tended to introduce statues and their contents in somewhat general terms, one of the first statues and its contents to be introduced in some detail was the “Sedgwick Shōtoku” statue currently held at the Harvard Art Museums. That statue arrived in Boston in the mid-1930s and had its

Nagaoka Ryūsaku 長岡龍作, “Seiryōji Shaka nyorai zō to Hokusō no shakai” 清涼寺釈迦如来像と北宋の社会, *Kokka* 國華 1269 (2001): 11–24; Aoki Atsushi 青木淳, ed., *Tōjuin Amida nyorai zō zōnai nōnyūbin shiryō* 東寿院阿弥陀如来像像内納入品資料 (Kyōto: Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā, 2005); Kanazawa Bunko 金沢文庫, ed., *Amida sanzō zō to zōnai nōnyūbin* 阿弥陀三尊像と像内納入品 (Yokohama: Kanazawa Bunko, 2008); and Oku Takeo, ed., “Seiryōji shaka nyōrai zō” 清涼寺釈迦如来像, special issue, *Nihon no bijutsu* 513 (2009); and Kanazawa Bunko, ed., *Butsuzō kara no messaji: Zōnai nōnyūbin no sekai* 仏像からのメッセージ: 像内納入品の世界 (Yokohama: Kanazawa Bunko, 2011).

12. *Jūyō bunkazai bekkā zōnai nōnyūbin* 重要文化財別巻像内納入品, 2 volumes (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1978); Maruo Shōzaburō 丸尾彰三郎 et al., eds., *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei: Heian jidai, Zōzō meiki hen* 日本彫刻史基礎資料集成: 平安時代・造像銘記篇 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版, 2003); Mizuno Keizaburo 水野敬三郎 et al., eds., *Nihon chōkokushi kiso shiryō shūsei: Kamakura jidai, Zōzō meiki hen* 日本彫刻史基礎資料集成: 鎌倉時代・造像銘記篇 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan, 2003); and Bunkachō 文化庁, ed., *Kokuhō jūyō bunkazai taizen: Chōkoku* 国宝・重要文化財大全: 彫刻, vols. 3 and 4 (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1997–2000).

13. *Jūyō bunkazai: Zōnai nōnyūbin shurui betsu sakuin* 重要文化財: 像内納入品種類別索引 (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shinbunsha, 1978).



interior contents removed in 1937 by the Japanese scholar Kojiro Tomita 富田幸次郎 (1890–1976) and the staff at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts after they heard things rattling inside when the statue was moved.¹⁴ The initial publication by Ellery Sedgwick was impressionistic and general, but he did note that when the statue was emptied from a hole in the bottom the internal objects were on shelves in different sections of the body.¹⁵ Further scholarship on the statue was interrupted due to the outbreak of World War II and it was only in the late 1960s, however, that John M. Rosenfield (1924–2013) analyzed the materials and published a more detailed essay on the Sedgwick Shōtoku image—in which he mentions three other statues with contents held in Western museums. More recently the statue has been the object of an international research project carried out in collaboration with scholars in Japan.¹⁶ Other statues and their contents, especially those connected with the Saidaiji priest Eison 叡尊 (1201–90) and the famous sculptor Unkei 運慶 (1150–1223), have been introduced in a variety of exhibition catalogues and other studies.¹⁷

14. On the circumstances of the acquisition of the image and the discovery of its contents, see Ellery Sedgwick, “A Chinese Printed Scroll of the Lotus Sutra,” *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* 6, no.2 (1949): 6–9.

15. Ellery Sedgwick, “A Chinese Printed Scroll of the Lotus Sutra,” 8.

16. John M. Rosenfield, “The Sedgwick Statue of the Infant Shōtoku Taishi,” *Archives of Asian Art* 22 (1968–69): 56–79. The Sedgwick Shōtoku statue and its contents were recently the subject of a special exhibition: “The Prince Shōtoku: The Secrets Within,” from May 25, 2019–August 11, 2019 at the Harvard Art Museums. Recently, Walter C. Sedgwick has promised the Shōtoku statue to the Harvard Art Museums as a gift in memory of Ellery Sedgwick Sr. and Ellery Sedgwick Jr.

17. See, for example, Anne Nishimura Morse and Samuel Crowell Morse, *Object as Insight: Japanese Buddhist Art and Ritual* (Katonah, NY: Katonah Museum of Art, 1995); Helmut Brinker, “Facing the Unseen: On the Interior Adornment of Eison’s Iconic Body,” *Archives of Asian Art* 50 (1997–98): 42–61; Paul Groner, “Icons and Relics in Eison’s Religious Activities,” in *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*, ed. Robert H. Sharf and Elizabeth Horton Sharf (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 114–51; Wu Pei-jung, “The Mañjuśrī Statues and Buddhist Practice of Saidaiji: A Study of Iconography, Interior Features of Statues, and Rituals Associated with Buddhist Icons” (PhD diss., UCLA, 2002); Hank Glassman, “The Nude Jizō at Denkōji: Notes on Women’s Salvation in Kamakura Buddhism,” in *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, ed. Barbara Ruch (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 383–413; Maruyama Shirō 丸山士郎 et al., “Kōtokuji dainichinyorai zazō no X-sen konpyūta dansō satsuei (CT) chōsa hōkoku” 光得寺大日如来坐像のX線コンピュータ断層撮影(CT)調査報告, *Museum ミュージアム* 621 (2009): 5–27; Maruyama Shirō, “Shinnyo-en Shinchōji shozō dainichinyorai zazō no X-sen dansō shashin (CT) chōsa hōkoku” 真如苑真澄寺所蔵大日如来坐像のX線断層写真(CT)調査報告, *Museum* 669 (2017): 45–66; Helmut Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011); Robert H. Sharf, review of *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache*, by Helmut Brinker, *The Art Bulletin* 95, no.1 (2013): 166–75; John M. Rosenfield, *Portraits of Chōgen: The Transformation of Buddhist Art in Early Medieval Japan* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Pei-jung Wu, “Wooden Statues as Living Bodies: Deciphering the Meanings of the Deposits within Two Mañjuśrī Images of the Saidaiji Order,” *Artibus Asiae* 74, no.1 (2014): 75–96; Ive Covaci, ed., *Kamakura: Realism and Spirituality in the Sculpture of Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); and Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan

In 1983, Roger Goepfer also published a detailed scholarly article (dedicated to Kurata Bunsaku, whose work he knew well) on the Kōen Jizō statue acquired by the Cologne Museum in 1911, in which he described and analyzed the contents that were discovered when the statue was opened in 1983.¹⁸ What is particularly noteworthy about this report is that when the conservators removed the previously undisturbed contents they detailed the precise locations of the various objects (which were secured in place by small bamboo pins). Two small gilt bronze Buddha images were located in the head (with the rest of the empty space filled with printed votive images of Amida) and the body was filled with both printed and handwritten manuscripts—including a *Lotus Sūtra* and thousands of votive prints—a small Jizō image, a bag containing a Buddha relic, a dedicatory text, and a list of all the contents put inside the image (which is dated to 1249). Goepfer’s detailed analysis of the documents in the Kōen statue—which was the most sophisticated at the time it was written—shows the potential value of those documents for providing insight into facets of Buddhism that are not available in canonical sources, such as the list of donors that provides clues about their social status.

Inside Buddhist and Other Statues in China

Scholarship on Japanese Buddhist statues and their contents is perhaps the most advanced, but another area where one finds a significant amount of scholarship is the study of Chinese images in Western collections, which has again been carried out largely in isolation from previous scholarship in Japan. Many of the statues with objects inside of them in Japanese and Western museum collections are in fact Buddhist statues—or statues of popular deities—that originated in China, such as the well-known Seiryōji image. What is particularly surprising about those studies is that they reveal that the practice of inserting things in statues may be traceable back to as early as the 1st or 2nd century CE. Chinese images with cavities and contents include not only the well-known images carved in wood—which tend to post-date the 10th century—but also much earlier ones in stone and metal. The 3rd–4th century CE “Seated Buddha with Flaming Shoulders” gilt-bronze image in the Harvard Art Museums collection is one of the earliest known statues which may have originally contained a relic in a small cavity on its head.¹⁹ Many other similar images contain a cavity (or cavities) in the torso, such as a 5th century CE

東京国立博物館 et al., *Unkei: Kōfukuji Chūkondō saiken kinen tokubetsuten* 運慶: 興福寺中金堂再建記念特別展 (Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2017).

18. Roger Goepfer, “An Early Work by Kōen in Cologne,” *Asiatische Studien* 37, no.2 (1983): 67–102, and Roger Goepfer, “Icon and Ritual in Japanese Buddhism,” in *Enlightenment Embodied: The Art of the Japanese Buddhist Sculptor (7th–14th Centuries)*, ed. Washizuka Hiromitsu et al. (New York: Japan Society, 1997), 73–77.

19. Dorothy W. Gillerman et al., eds., *Grenville L. Winthrop: Retrospective for a Collector* (Cambridge: Fogg Art Museum, 1969), 72–73. See also the discussion in Juhyung Rhi, “Images, Relics, and Jewels,” 173–74.

Maitreya statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art that has a cavity that contained precious stones, textiles, and incense.²⁰

Further research on Chinese images in China is necessary. One of the reasons for the paucity of studies on Chinese images is due in part to the fact that few statues survive *in situ* in China for a variety of historical reasons connected with periods of iconoclastic destruction (Western missionaries and the Cultural Revolution) and the movement of many statues abroad. Some Buddhist statues with contents have, however, been identified in China, such as the Śākyamuni statue in the Liao dynasty wooden pagoda in Ying County 應縣, which was filled with more than 90 objects that included texts, paintings, and relics, and the magnificent 11th century CE Arhat images at Lingyan si 靈巖寺 in Shandong Province that contain symbolic cloth viscera.²¹ Nevertheless, there have been exceedingly few scholarly studies of Buddhist statues with contents in China and most of what we know has come through glimpses provided in studies that only mention in passing the existence of things found in statues.²²

It is rather surprising that scholarship on Chinese statues has lagged behind the work in Japan, since some of the earliest and most detailed published descriptions of statues and their contents concerned Chinese statues. That being said, those accounts are found in unlikely sources, namely late-19th and early-20th century missionary records written by those who were inimical to the practice of icon animation.²³ The

20. See Donna Strahan, “Creating Sacred Images of the Buddha: A Technical Perspective,” in *Wisdom Embodied: Chinese Buddhist and Daoist Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Denise Patry Leidy and Donna Strahan (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2010), 27–45, especially the subsection “Sculptures with Consecratory Chambers,” 40–43. Strahan reports that 22 of the 27 metal sculptures and 12 of 28 wooden sculptures in the MET collection have one or more chambers.

21. On the Lingyan si images see Rebecca M. Bieberly, “‘Seeing’ the ‘Ordinary’ at Lingyan Temple in Eleventh-Century China” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2013). On the Ying xian Śākyamuni statue and contents see Shanxi sheng wenwuju 山西省文物局 and Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 中國歷史博物館, eds., *Ying xian muta Liaodai micang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991).

22. Articles which mention statues with contents include: Yang Zhiguo 楊志國, “Zhihua si putuan de baohu yu xiufu” 智化寺蒲團的保護與修復, in *Zhongguo wenwu baohu jishu xiehui di-ba ci xueshu nianhui lunwenji* 中國文物保護技術協會第八次學術年會論文集, ed. Zhongguo wenwu baohu jishu xiehui 中國文物保護技術協會 and Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物館 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2014), 122–35; Zhang Ping 張萍, “Yinzang zai Maijishan shiku foxiang zhong de zhengui wenwu” 隱藏在麥積山石窟佛像中的珍貴文物, *Zhongguo wenhua yichan* 中國文化遺產, no. 1 (2016): 48–51; and Zhao Yun 趙雲, “Yunnan Anning Caoxi si mudiao sanda shixiang kaoshi” 雲南安寧曹溪寺木雕三大士像考釋, *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地, no. 7 (2016): 83–87.

23. Some of the following is based on James Robson, “Brushes with Some ‘Dirty Truths’: Handwritten Manuscripts and Religion in China,” *History of Religions* 51, no.4 (2012): 317–43; idem, “The Archive Inside: Manuscripts Found within Chinese Religious Statues,” in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. Jörg B. Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 359–74; idem, “The Buddhist Image Inside-Out: The Placing of Objects Inside Statues in East Asia,” in *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual and Cultural Exchange*, ed. Tansen Sen (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), 291–308; idem, “Hidden in Plain View: Concealed Contents, Secluded Statues, and Revealed

irony here is, of course, the fact that the iconoclasts have turned out to be some of the best preservers of information about practices that are rarely discussed in other sources. The British Protestant missionary Joseph Edkins (1823–1905), for example, wrote the following in a chapter entitled “Images and Image Worship” in his 1880 book *Chinese Buddhism*:

The Peking custom in making large images, whether they are of brass, iron, wood or clay is to construct them with the internal organs as complete as possible. While the smaller images are filled with incense or cotton wool, the larger have the interior arranged according to Chinese notions of anatomy. The heads are always empty. The chief viscera of the chest and abdomen are always represented. They are of silk or satin, and their shape is that found in drawings of the organs in native medical works. A round piece of silk represents the heart, whose element is fire. It is the size of a dollar. It and the lungs, which are white and divided into three lobes, are attached to a piece of wood, round which is wound a piece of yellow paper having on it a prayer. To the wood is attached by silk threads of five colors a metallic mirror. This represents intelligence, the heart being regarded as the seat of the mind. The lungs cover the heart as an umbrella or lid as if to preserve it from injury. In the abdomen the intestines are made of long narrow pieces of silk with cotton wool stitched along the concave border. This may represent fat or the mesentery. Embracing all like the peritoneum is a large piece of silk covered with prayers or charms. Inside are also to be found little bags containing the five kinds of grain, pearls, jade, small ingots, and gold of five candareen’s weight. The larger and older idols have in many cases been rifled of these little valuables, no one knows when. Poor priests in want of money, if the fear of sacrilege is not strong in their minds, know where to get help, so that idols, in their interior of which gold and silver were once deposited, have now none. In the metallic images, the way to get inside is from the bottom. As they are very heavy, they usually escaped being robbed. But the clay and wooden images are packed from the whole in the back and are more liable to thievish depredation.²⁴

Slightly later, in 1887, we also find the following account of an “idol factory” in northern China by the Presbyterian missionary Hampden C. DuBose (1845–1910): “Walk into one of the shops, with several hundred images of all sizes, from three inches to ten feet high. If of wood the head is on the counter, the arm on the bench, the body on the floor, and the foot on the shelf; the foot is pinned to the leg, the leg to the body, the arm to the shoulder, the head to the neck, and lo! It is a god! Note the hole in the back. A frog, snake, lizard or centipede is caught and put inside for the soul, and then it is a living deity.”²⁵ Another similar account is found in the May 1916 issue of the *Church Missionary Gleaner*, which included an article entitled “An Idol’s Soul” by the Protestant missionary Rev. C. I. Blanchett, discussing practices found in southern China.

Two years ago the C.M.S. (Church Missionary Society) purchased a group of monasteries and temples in the eastern suburb of Canton. The idols which were removed when the

Religion,” in *The Rhetoric of Hiddenness in Traditional Chinese Culture*, ed. Paula Varsano (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016), 117–205.

24. Joseph Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism: A Volume of Sketches, Historical, Descriptive, and Critical* (London: Kegan and Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1880), 251–52.

25. Hampden C. DuBose, *The Dragon, Image and Demon, or The Three Religions of China: Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1887), 257–59.

missionaries entered into possession were many and varied. Some were valuable works of art; some were quite common and ugly images. The stories told about them by the attendants were sad and depressing. Most of the idols had been worshipped by large numbers of seekers after God for three centuries, but now they can never be worshipped again. Their removal cannot have failed to dispel some of the untold darkness and superstition in the minds of many thousands of people, for the event was discussed in the Canton daily papers for weeks. This particular soul of an idol was taken from one of the principal images . . . it is not hung on the outside of the image as a decoration might be, but in the hollow chest of the idol which is specially constructed to receive it. A religious ceremony of exceptional importance is performed by a high dignitary when the idol is consecrated and the invocation of the soul is made; and then, after all the necessary ritual has been observed, the symbol is wrapped in silk and solemnly suspended inside the newly-created god, introduced through a small hole in the back.²⁶

Early publications on statues and their enshrined contents were not only sequestered away in limited circulation missionary publications, but some hit the pages of mainstream newspapers. Take, for instance, the May 23rd, 1926 issue of the *New York Times*, which included an article entitled “Rare Tokens Found Stuffed in Buddha” that describes a Chinese Buddhist statue (dated to the 15th century) that was being moved after it was sold at auction. When the large brass statue was removed from its pedestal, they found that the torso and head were stuffed with manuscripts, precious stones, minerals, coins, and grains, among other things.²⁷

The mid-1920s also saw one of the first academic publications on a Chinese Buddhist statue with contents. Helen E. Fernald, a curator at the University of Pennsylvania museum, published on a dry lacquer Buddhist image that was found to be filled with a variety of materials when a study of the construction techniques of the statue was being carried out.²⁸ Fernald does not devote a separate section to the contents, but merely mentions them in connection with trying to assess the date and identity of the image.

It might be hoped that among the papers found in the statue would be something to indicate the identity of the figure, but apparently these books are merely portions of sutras, or Buddhist scriptures. Five, or parts of five, different works were concealed within the hollow Buddha, together, so we were informed, with bags “of perfumed ashes to protect the lacquer from worms” (probably the wooden framework) and a small parcel “containing the five organs made in silver but very rudimentary.” The perfumed ashes and silver organs have disappeared but the papers are still with the figure.²⁹

Fernald was unable to date or identify the image (though she speculates it was a disciple of the Buddha), but goes on to describe the texts that were discovered,

26. Rev. C. I. Blanchett, “An Idol’s Soul,” *The Church Missionary Gleaner* (1 May 1916): 68. In the near future James Robson will be publishing an article on this precise “soul of an idol” which was recently found in the storage room of the British Museum.

27. “Rare Tokens Found Stuffed in a Buddha: Hollow Chest of Oriental God Bought at Auction, Reveals Manuscripts and Stones,” *New York Times*, 23 May 1926, 27.

28. Helen E. Fernald, “A Chinese Buddhistic Statue in Dry Lacquer,” *Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania) 18 (1927): 284–94.

29. Helen E. Fernald, “A Chinese Buddhistic Statue in Dry Lacquer,” 291–92.

noting that they included a work in Tibetan, fragments of an unnamed woodblock printed text, fragments from a collection of Chinese *sūtras* that includes the *Heart Sūtra* and the *Diamond Sūtra*, and two other popular works.

In 1953, Robert B. Hawkins, an art historian at Princeton University, investigated a Chinese gilded wood statue of a seated Guanyin and its contents held by the Princeton University Art Museum.³⁰ In the full research report, Hawkins—who was aware of Fernald’s earlier work since he cites it—also hoped that the contents of the statue would assist him in dating the image. He noted that, “what few reliable dates we have for the sculptures in wood executed after the fall of the T’ang dynasty have come about through the practice of making cavities in the back of the statue, in which magic or symbolic materials were placed. The contents of these cavities might include a record of the making or repairing of the image, or an inscription might be written on the plug of wood which sealed the cavity.”³¹ Hawkins also mentioned a number of other statues in different museums with cavities that included materials inside them, including *sūtra* fragments (such as “a standing *bodhisattva* of 1195 A.D. in Toronto; two examples in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, a standing *bodhisattva* and a seated Kuan-yin of 1282 A.D. and 1385 A.D. respectively; and a seated Kuan-yin in the Victoria and Albert Museum, bearing a repair date of 1374 A.D.”) but he was mainly concerned with how those materials might be used for dating statues and he provided no further analysis of the contents. In 1957, curators at the Seattle Art Museum opened the cavity on the back of a Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) image of a child attendant of Guanyin and discovered “a curious inventory of objects” that included “a bronze mirror, fabric in the shape of various vital organs, charms, seeds, herbs, semi-precious stones, bits of metal, and a metal pendant.”³² The early discussions of materials found in statues were primarily scrutinized for the ways that they might assist curators in dating images, but no systematic analysis was carried out on the array of contents found within the statues. It is now time to reassess all of the extant images and contents that have been discussed in the earlier scholarly literature.

The one field of Buddhist Studies where there has been a substantial amount of specialized scholarship on statues and their contents is within the field of Tibetan Buddhism. One of the earliest articles that discussed the academic and ethical issues surrounding the opening of Tibetan Buddhist images was published by Chandra L. Reedy in 1991, but it was tucked away in a specialized journal for conservators.³³

30. Robert B. Hawkins, “A Statue of Kuan-Yin: A Problem in Sung Sculpture,” *Record of the Art Museum* 12, no. 1 (1953): 2–36.

31. Robert B. Hawkins, “A Statue of Kuan-Yin,” 13.

32. Donald Jenkins, ed., *Masterworks in Wood: China and Japan* (Portland: Portland Art Museum, 1977), 53. Petra Rösch has also briefly discussed the Guanyin image with contents (including cloth viscera) that was acquired by the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History in 1981, in her *Chinese Wood Sculptures of the 11th to 13th Centuries: Images of Water-Moon Guanyin in Northern Chinese Temples and Western Collections* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2007), 236.

33. Chandra L. Reedy, “The Opening of Consecrated Tibetan Bronzes with Interior Contents: Scholarly, Conservation, and Ethical Considerations,” *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 30, no. 1 (1991): 13–34.

Just a few years later, however, Yael Bentor began to publish a series of excellent works on Tibetan image consecration rituals that also included detailed information on the contents of images and *stūpas* and provided a thorough review of previous scholarship on consecration rituals in Tibetan and European languages.³⁴

It may be that the practice of enshrining objects inside of statues in East Asia began with—and is most associated with—the Buddhist tradition, but it did not remain there. As surprising as it may be to some, images of Confucius also had similar objects placed inside of them. Jun Jing has discussed the case of an image of Confucius that was made in north China following the custom that “a statue’s internal parts must approximate the anatomy of a real person in order to activate the deity’s ability to respond to human supplications. Thus, a ruby and artificial pearls were installed in the statue of Confucius to represent his heart and intestines. The spine was a pole fashioned from a pine tree, the arteries were made of red threads, and the kidneys and liver were constructed with silk bags containing twelve traditional medicinal herbs.”³⁵ That this singular example of a Confucius image with objects placed inside of it was described as being made following extant “customs” suggests just how common the practice must have been. In a more dramatic example discussed by Wang Liang, we learn about a statue of Confucius in the Temple of Confucius in Qufu. When Red Guards stormed into the temple in their iconoclastic fervor to destroy the statue, one of them thrust his hand inside and “as he used his strength to make a hollow in Old Kong’s belly, others joined in. From within the hole, they pulled out a bunch of cotton, books, and the lousy guts of Old Kong.”³⁶

In addition to Buddhist and Confucian images having things enshrined within them, there is a large amount of evidence concerning popular images that also had a variety of things inserted in them when they were consecrated.³⁷ Some of these

34. Yael Bentor, “On the Indian Origins of the Tibetan Practice of Depositing Relics and Dhāraṇīs in Stūpas and Images,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115, no. 2 (1995): 248–61; idem, “On The Symbolism of the Mirror in Indo-Tibetan Consecration Rituals,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 23 (1995): 57–71; idem, “The Horseback Consecration” in *Religions of Tibet in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 234–54; idem, “Literature on Consecration (*Rab gnas*),” in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 290–311; and idem, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

35. Jun Jing, *The Temple of Memories: History, Power, and Morality in a Chinese Village* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 152.

36. Wang Liang, “The Confucius Temple Tragedy of the Cultural Revolution,” in *On Sacred Grounds: Culture, Society, Politics, and the Formation of the Cult of Confucius*, ed. Thomas A. Wilson (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 376–98.

37. As far as we are aware there is only one Daoist text that mentions the insertion of things inside of a statue. See Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933), *Daojiao lingyan ji* 道教靈驗記 8, DZ 590, juan 325.1a. For a discussion of this passage see Alain Arrault, “Le corps et les entrailles des dieux: corps vivant, complet et malade,” in *Le battement de la vie: Le corps naturel et ses représentations en Chine*, ed. Brigitte Baptandier (Nanterre: Société d’ethnologie, 2017), 129–30; and Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), 75–78.

popular images are singular examples,³⁸ but others have been found in surprisingly large numbers in particular regions of China. Thousands of small wooden statues from the Hunan region have thus far received the most scholarly attention.³⁹ Those statues, which are primarily representations of well-known national pantheon deities, local deities, ancestors, and ritual masters, were originally found in small shrines or on domestic altars in central Hunan Province. When the statues were consecrated they had various things—including a consecration certificate, talismans, a packet of *materia medica*, coins (both real and paper), and tea leaves (among other things)—inserted into a small cavity in the back of the statue. A relatively small number of these statues are of Guanyin and other well-known figures in the Buddhist pantheon, but the full collection of images should not be classified as Buddhist. The contents of these images may resemble some of the things found in Buddhist images, but in general the contents are rather different. These statues originated in a different religious and cultural context. To our knowledge, no complete (or even fragmentary) Buddhist *sūtras* are found inside of them and they also tend to lack other common things found in Buddhist statues (such as relics and *dhāraṇī* sheets). Nevertheless, these statues are significant to scholars of Chinese religions since their detailed documents give us an intimate glimpse of local and domestic religious practices for one region of China. Similar types of popular religious statues have been identified in Taiwan and Vietnam, though the objects inside differ somewhat from the Hunan statues.⁴⁰

38. John Larson and Rose Kerr, “A Hero Restored: The Conservation of Guan Di,” *Orientalism* 22, no. 7 (1991): 28–34.

39. Keith G. Stevens, “Altar Images from Hunan and Kiangsi,” *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18 (1978): 41–48; idem, “Portraits and Ancestral Images on Chinese Altars,” *Arts of Asia* 19, no. 1 (1989): 135–45; idem, *Chinese Gods: The Unseen World of Spirits and Demons* (London: Collins and Brown, 1997); Alain Arrault, “Analytic Essay on the Domestic Statuary of Central Hunan: The Cult to Divinities, Parents and Masters,” *Journal of Chinese Religions* 36 (2008): 1–53; Alain Arrault and Michela Bussotti, “Statuettes religieuses et certificats de consécration en Chine du Sud (XVII^e–XX^e siècle),” *Arts Asiatiques* 63 (2008): 36–59; Alain Arrault, “Le corps et les entrailles des dieux”; idem, *A History of Cultic Images in China: The Domestic Statuary of Hunan*, trans. Lina Verchery (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2020); Patrice Fava, *Aux portes du ciel: La statuaire taoïste du Hunan; Art et anthropologie de la Chine* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014); James Robson, “The Archive Inside”; idem, “The Buddhist Image Inside-Out”; idem, “Hidden in Plain View”; and idem, “Brushes with Some ‘Dirty Truths.’”

40. On Taiwan see Lin Wei-Ping 林瑋嬪, “Taiwan Hanren de shenxiang: Tan shen ruhe juxiang” 臺灣漢人的神像：談神如何具象, *Taiwan renlei xuekan* 臺灣人類學刊 2 (2003): 115–48; idem, “Conceptualizing Gods through Statues: A Study of Personification and Localization in Taiwan,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 2 (April 2008): 454–77; and idem, *Materializing Magic Power: Chinese Popular Religion in Villages and Cities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015). On Vietnam see the special issue of *Asian Ethnology* 27, no. 2 (2008) on “Popular Religion and the Sacred Life of Material Goods in Contemporary Vietnam.” See, in particular, Nguyễn Văn Huy and Phạm Lan Hương, “The One-Eyed God at the Museum of Ethnology: The Story of a Village Conflict,” *Asian Ethnology* 67, no. 2 (2008): 201–18. Alain Arrault has also mentioned the 19th century account of a Vietnamese statue by le marquis d’Hervey de Saint-Denis (1822–92): “Le compte rendu d’une séance de l’Académie des Inscriptions

Korean *Pokchang* and Its Studies

Having contextualized the practice of enshrining things inside of Buddhist statues across South and East Asia, we are now better prepared to appreciate the Korean *pokchang* tradition, which is perhaps the least known to scholars outside of Korea, but perhaps the best documented of the different traditions. One of the primary goals of the initial conference in Korea—and the publication of this special issue—is to bring greater visibility to the prodigious scholarship on the things inserted in Korean Buddhist statues to scholars who do not read Korean, since there is a very limited amount of that cutting-edge scholarship available in other languages.⁴¹ Nonetheless, it is important to note that prior to the initial academic publications some information on Korean statues with contents had already been published in Western languages, even though those authors seem to have been unfamiliar with the *pokchang* tradition itself. In 2005, for example, the French doctor and artist Rodolphe Gombergh and his team used CAT/CT (Computed Axial Tomography/Computed Tomography) scan technology on a set of 11th–19th century Korean Buddhist images and put them on display in an exhibition and publication entitled “La vie intérieure des Bouddha” (Hidden Treasures: The Inner Life of the Buddhas) at the Musée Guimet in Paris. Those were, to the best of our knowledge, some of the earliest scanned images of Buddhist cultural objects (though X-ray technology had been used on cultural artifacts, such as Egyptian mummies, from as early as the late 19th century).⁴² More recently, museums have utilized a variety of scanning technologies

et Belles-Lettres signale que le marquis d’Hervey de Saint-Denis (1822–1892) a présenté « l’intérieur d’une idole d’un temple de Hue (Cochinchine) », « un morceau d’étoffe de coton, un écheveau de fils de soie, un petit miroir rond, un imprimé bouddhique en langue chinoise », ce dernier étant daté de 1830. Le marquis ajoute que « suivant un ouvrage chinois », le morceau d’étoffe et les fils de soie représentent « la chair, les nerfs et les veines qui doivent compléter l’incarnation de la divinité figurée ». Alain Arrault, “Le corps et les entrailles des dieux,” 131 n. 27. See also Léon d’Hervey de Saint-Denis, “Objets découverts à l’intérieur d’une idole du temple de Hue (Cochinchine),” *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 31, no. 1 (1887): 18–20.

41. Previous publications in English that contain information on the Korean *pokchang/bokjang* tradition include, Henrik H. Sørensen, “A Bibliographical Survey of Buddhist Ritual Texts from Korea,” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 6 (1991–92): 159–200; Lee Seonyong, “History of the *Bokjang* Tradition in Korea,” *Journal of Korean Art and Archaeology* 7 (2013): 60–75; Seunghye Lee, “Framing and Framed: Relics, Reliquaries, and Relic Shrines in Chinese and Korean Buddhist Art from the Tenth to the Fourteenth Centuries” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2013), 226–93; and Sim Yeon-ok and Lee Seonyong, “Colors of the Five Directions Associated with Deposits Enshrined in Buddhist Statues in Korea,” in *Color in Ancient and Medieval East Asia*, ed. Mary M. Dusenbury and Monica Bethe (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, the University of Kansas; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 193–206. Korean scholars have studied the *pokchang* from the 1960s onward and literature on the *pokchang* of Koryō and Chosōn periods in Korean is too vast to cite here. Representative studies are cited in the essays published in this volume. See also Soyeon Kim’s “Annotated Bibliography of *Pokchang* Studies,” which introduces major research reports and exhibition catalogues.

42. Rodolphe Gombergh, *La vie intérieure des Bouddha* (Paris: Nouvel Observateur, 2005).

on statues (and other objects) in their collections. In 2008, for instance, a CAT scan was performed of a 17th century Korean gilt-wooden bodhisattva statue acquired by the University of Florida's Samuel P. Harn Museum of Art.⁴³ New technologies such as these have been used in China and Japan as well. These technologies have been useful in identifying statues with contents, particularly for those statues that scholars are unable to open and whose contents are not readily accessible. The National Museum of Korea purchased a CAT scanner in 2017, and scanned images of the statues began to be included in the report series on the Buddhist statues from the National Museum of Korea's collection.⁴⁴ As a result, some Buddhist statues, which have not received scholarly attention, have been brought to the fore as their contents were examined and contextualized as part of a larger art historical narrative. For example, an image of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in the collection of the National Museum of Korea, which was thought to have been produced in early Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910), was recently dated to the thirteenth century based on a comprehensive examination of its contents, style, and carbon dating done on a piece of wood detached from the inner side of the statue. The statue and its contents were the focus of the “Sacred Dedication: A Korean Buddhist Masterpiece,” a loan exhibition dispatched by the National Museum of Korea to the Freer|Sackler, the Smithsonian's national museum of Asian art, from September 2019 to March 2020.⁴⁵

One of the significant differences in the study of statues in Korea, China, and Japan, which makes the Korean material all the more important, is the astounding amount of material preserved in Korea, the existence of multiple editions of a collection of ritual manuals entitled *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyōng* 造像經), and the willingness of the Korean Buddhist community to support (and even encourage) the study of the *pokchang* tradition. As the essays in this volume attest, scholars in Korea have a large amount of material available to them to carry out specialized research. As will be discussed in this section, Korean museums have made statues in their collections available for study and the Buddhist monastic community has openly discussed the *pokchang* ritual and detailed the contents enshrined in statues. Until recently, however, there was a tendency in Korea of viewing the practice of enshrining objects in statues as “unique” to Korean Buddhism, with seemingly little awareness of similar practices across Asia. There is now much wider knowledge of how the Korean tradition is part of a larger complex

43. “Buddha’ Goes to the Hospital: Medical Scans Reveal Rare Documents inside 17th Century Sculpture,” *Washington Post*, 23 March 2012.

44. Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, ed., *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo* 국립중앙박물관 소장 불교조각 조사보고, 3 vols. (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2014–18). These reports are downloadable in pdf format from the webpage of the National Museum of Korea.

45. For more on this statue and its deposits, Sin So-yŏn 신소연 et al., “Mokcho Kwanūm posal chwasang (Tōksu 953) chosa pogo” 목조관음보살좌상(덕수953) 조사 보고, in *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo*, vol. 1, ed. Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2014), 79–107. An English-language version of this investigation report is available on the webpage of the National Museum of Asian Art. See also Seunghye Lee's essay in this special issue.

of East Asian practices, as the essays collected in this volume demonstrate. It is also true, however, that the *pokchang* tradition in Korea does have certain distinctive features not found in China or Japan.

The objects enshrined in a Buddhist statue, or the act of such enshrinement, is called *pokchang* in Korea, a term in use since the mid-13th century in the Koryŏ 高麗 period (918–1392).⁴⁶ Such objects were installed inside statues through a *pokchang* ritual (*pokchang üisik* 腹藏儀式). Many statues from the Chosŏn period, and some from the Koryŏ period, still retain their *pokchang*. In the early 2000s, scholars began to carefully examine and archive these objects. *Pokchang* that unexpectedly tumbled out of statues in the past century were often sent separately to museums or sold to collectors without scholarly examination. In many cases, contextual data were permanently lost, making it difficult to trace their date, patron, and history. Nowadays, when a monastery needs to open a statue for restoration or re-gilding, the Korean government requires that they file a report with the Cultural Heritage Administration (Munhwajae ch'ŏng 文化財廳), which then dispatches scholars to examine the *pokchang*. Additionally, some monks and scholars are now making efforts to track down missing *pokchang* that were removed from statues decades ago. One example is the discovery of the *pokchang* from the Medicine Buddha statue (1346) of Changgoksa 長谷寺, removed in the 1950s. This *pokchang* set, though some portions remain missing, was rediscovered in 2014 in the storage room of the National Museum of Korea.⁴⁷

As substantial data has been collected from newly discovered *pokchang*, a growing number of scholars in various fields have begun paying greater attention to these artefacts' academic value. Since *pokchang* include Buddhist manuscripts, *sūtras* and *dhāraṇī* prints, textiles and clothing, these items offer precious data not only to Buddhologists but also to philologists and textile historians. Previously unknown Buddhist texts are constantly being discovered from newly opened statues, reshaping the fields of Buddhist studies and philology.⁴⁸ These rare textiles and garments serve as a major resource for studying the textiles of Koryŏ, because they are better preserved in terms of color and condition than those excavated from tombs. While studies of *pokchang* are now promoting interdisciplinary collaboration in the humanities, the most pioneering studies are in the field of art history in Korea. As leading historians of Buddhist art and museum curators broadened their area of research from statues to the objects enshrined inside them at the start of this century, academic papers and monographs began breaking new ground.

As this special issue of *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* has collected representative and innovative studies of *pokchang* from diverse fields of the humanities, it serves as a

46. A well-known text in which the term was used is the *Naksan Kwanŏm pokchang subomun pyŏng song* 洛山觀音腹藏修補文竝頌, written by Yi Kyu-bo 李奎報 (1168–1241) and included in his anthology *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* 東國李相國集 published in 1241. For the original text, see *Han'guk kojŏn chonghap DB* 韓國고전종합DB, <http://db.itkc.or.kr> (accessed 28 August 2019).

47. The discovery resulted in the special issue of *Misulsa yŏn'gu* 美術史研究 volume 29 in the following year.

48. See, for example, Song Il-gie's essay in this special issue.



precious resource for scholars interested in the *pokchang* practice as well as comparable practices in other Buddhist cultures. This issue opens a new avenue of cross-cultural research, as more and more scholars are taking interest in *zōnai nōnyūbin* in Japan and the inner recesses of countless Buddhist statues in China await examination.

Korean *pokchang* practice, while sharing certain common features with other Buddhist cultures, has its own particular characteristics. An essential part of *pokchang* during the Chosŏn period is the throat-bell container (*buryōng t'ong* 喉鈴筒), which plays a key role in transforming a statue into a living icon. The complex contents of the throat-bell container largely conform to the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* compiled and published in at least five editions in Chosŏn between 1575 and 1824. While this text heavily influenced *pokchang* practice in the late Chosŏn, its relationship with earlier practices should be more carefully examined, as papers in this issue suggest. Also notable is that Buddhist paintings were consecrated with appropriate *pokchang* rituals in Korea, as discussed by two papers in this issue. The inclusion of used human clothing—usually jackets—is another Korean practice whose function is discussed herein. Lastly, but perhaps most importantly, the *pokchang* ritual is a living tradition in Korea and is still used to consecrate newly made Buddhist statues.

Pokchang, a Ritual Tradition Still in the Making

Despite its significant role in the production, enshrinement, and worship of Buddha images, the *pokchang* ritual has long been shrouded in mystery for several reasons. First, it is essentially a one-time ritual performed by a group of specially trained monks invited from outside the monastery, unlike other rituals performed by resident monks on a daily or regular basis, making the practice largely unfamiliar to Buddhist and scholarly communities. Furthermore, access to the ritual performance is granted only to a select few, so until recently scholarly research has focused on the ritual's material remains. Viewed in this respect, it is noteworthy that the ritual became known to a wider community of scholars and the public through the efforts of monk practitioners from the early 2010s onward. These efforts were sparked by a shared understanding that the ritual risked extinction due to the aging of masters and decreased training of disciples. The Society for the Preservation of the Traditional Procedures for Enshrining Objects in Buddhist Images and the Eye-dotting Ceremony in Korean Buddhism (Taehan pulgyo chōnt'ong pulbokchang mit chōman üisik pojonhoe 大韓佛教 傳統佛腹藏 및 點眼儀式保存會), established in 2014 by a few *pokchang* practitioners of the Chogye Order 曹溪宗, has brought the ritual into the spotlight through patronage of a symposium and scholarly publications as well as the public performance of the ritual that was recorded and broadcast on television.⁴⁹ In 2018, four *pokchang* practitioners of

49. For documentation of the ritual demonstration conducted in 2014, see Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso 佛教文化財研究所, ed., *Chōnt'ong pulbokchang üisik mit chōman üisik: Chosang kwa jegyōng* 전통 불복장의식 및 점안의식: 造像과 禮敬 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo chōnt'ong pulbokchang mit chōman üisik pojonhoe; Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso, 2014), 24–81.



the Chogye Order and one practitioner of the T'aego Order 太古宗 worked across sectarian boundaries to establish the Society for the Preservation of the Ritual of Enshrining Objects in Buddhist Images, a National Intangible Cultural Property (Kukka muhyōng munhwajae pulbokchang chakpōp pojonhoe 國家無形文化財佛腹藏作法保存會, hereafter the Preservation Society) in an attempt to gain national recognition and support. They appear to have succeeded, given that in April 2019 the Cultural Heritage Administration designated *Pulbokchang chakpōp* 佛腹藏作法 as a National Intangible Cultural Property (Kukka muhyōng munhwajae 國家無形文化財) and appointed the Preservation Society as the responsible organization.

The seed of such efforts had already been planted when five *pokchang* practitioners—the Vens. T'aehō Mugwan 太虛無觀 (b. 1944), Poryun Sōngo 普輪性禧 (b. 1947), Towōl Sujin 道月修真 (b. 1948), Hyōnham Tosōng 現含道成 (b. 1960), and Wōnjo Kyōngam 圓照鏡岩 (b. 1969, also rendered as Gyeongam)—agreed to an interview in 2012, the results of which were published in a report that set the tone for the ensuing campaign.⁵⁰ The interviews provide invaluable resources for examining the forms and lineages of *pokchang* practice. Firstly, the interviews revealed that Paegyangsa 白羊寺, located in Changsōng, South Chōlla Province, was a stronghold of the practice in the southern Korean peninsula during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The practice was said to have been transmitted from Ven. Muktam Sōngu 默潭聲祐 (1896–1981) through Ven. Sujin to Ven. Mugwan, from Ven. Pongha Changjo 峰霞長照 (1887–1978) to Ven. Sōngo, and from Ven. Manam Chonghōn 曼庵宗憲 (1876–1956) through Ven. Susan Chijong 壽山知宗 (1922–2012) to Ven. Tosōng. The case of Ven. Kyōngam is somewhat unique in that he inherited his practice from Ven. Mugwan while receiving instructions on its doctrinal aspects from Ven. Kasan Chigwan 伽山智冠 (1932–2012) in 2005 at Haeinsa 海印寺 in Hapch'ōn, South Kyōngsang Province.

The interviews revealed another crucial aspect of *pokchang* practice not fully represented in scholarly examinations. Previous studies have often compared extant *pokchang* deposits with textual prescriptions in the Yujōmsa 楡岾寺 edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (1824) on an almost one-to-one basis. However, four of the five monks said that they refer to handwritten copies of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* inherited from their masters or transmitted within the temple. Even Ven. Sōngo, who bases his practice primarily on the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, consults a manuscript copy of the *pokchang* manual he inherited from Ven. Changjo. Consequently, the kinds and forms of *pokchang* objects and ritual steps taken to consecrate them vary among practitioners. Furthermore, Vens. Mugwan and Kyōngam transformed the shape of the throat-bell container, the central item of the deposit, based on the two containers produced in 1490 and retrieved in 2005, from the two Vairocana

50. The report is part of a survey series of Buddhist intangible cultural heritage conducted by the Department of Culture under the General Administration Office of the Jogye [Chogye] Order. See Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso, *Pulbokchang ūsik hyōnhwang chosa pogosō* 불복장의식 현황조사보고서 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo Chogyejong ch'ongmuwōn munhwabu, 2012), esp. 76–103, for the interviews.



Buddha statues of Haeinsa.⁵¹ By incorporating the early Chosŏn form into 21st century practice, they deviated from the tradition prescribed in the 19th century ritual manual and reinvented it for the next generation. Such particularities urge us to approach *pokchang* not as a unified entity but as an irregular compound of different lineages of practitioners open to change. The *pokchang* practitioners' own perspectives on the ritual should be viewed as an inherent part of its history, which in turn propelled Buddhist monks to publish different editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* to regulate the ritual procedures. The Preservation Society's effort to draft a modern-day manual for the *pokchang* thus stands in a long tradition of standardization and codification.

The relationship between the prescriptive literature and the actions of living practitioners—as well as that between the ritual manual and *pokchang* objects—is a complex one that presents interpretive problems that defy easy resolution. However, such discrepancies are not to be regarded as abnormal or peripheral. At such junctures, we may find clues that help to explain certain changes (due to innovation or restoration) that extend beyond the *pokchang* tradition, leading to a more expansive understanding of the history of Buddhism in Korea and beyond. The collection of material objects retrieved from the hidden caches of Buddhist images provide unmediated forms of access to ritual traditions and devotional practices. As the opening up of statues has revealed the *realia* of the Buddhist past in Korea, we hope that the sources and methods presented in this volume will open up new opportunities for the study of placing of objects inside Buddhist statues across Asia.

Summary of Articles

The *pokchang* practice began in the Koryŏ period, as the first two articles in this special issue attest, centuries before the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* were codified and circulated in the Chosŏn period. Jeong Eunwoo's article, "The Formation of the Buddhist *Pokchang* Tradition during the Koryŏ Period and Its Significance," suggests that *pokchang* deposits developed when ritual objects were first enshrined in the temple's Buddhist statues, as per the instructions of the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs* (Ch. *Foshuo tuoluoni ji jing* 佛說陀羅尼集經). Examining descriptive texts from the Koryŏ period as well as actual objects discovered from inside Koryŏ period Buddhist statues, alongside esoteric Buddhist *sūtras* from China, Jeong's article explores traits of early *pokchang* deposits, revealing the Koryŏ period adoption and modification of esoteric Buddhist texts from those deposits.

Shifting from the dominant perspective that *pokchang* is uniquely Korean, Seunghye Lee's "Rethinking *Pokchang* as *Pratiṣṭhā*: The Invention of a Ritual of

51. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn'guso, ed., *Chŏnt'ong pulbokchang ūisik mit chŏman ūisik*, 85 and 93. For a report on the Haeinsa finds, see Pŏppo chongch'al Haeinsa 법보종찰 해인사 and Munhwajae ch'ŏng 문화재청, *Haeinsa Taejŏkkwangjŏn Pŏppojŏn pirojanabul pokchang yumul chosa pogosŏ* 海印寺 대적광전 법보전 비로자나불 복장유물 조사보고서 (Hapch'ŏn: Pŏppo chongch'al Haeinsa; Taejŏn: Munhwajae ch'ŏng, 2008).



Image Consecration in Korean Buddhism” situates the practice within the ritual repertoire of esoteric Buddhism more broadly. While engaging in a recent scholarly debate on the origin of *pokchang*, she reconsiders the ritual’s overall structure in light of *pratiṣṭhā*, the ritual of image-installation in Indian esoteric Buddhism, by critically revisiting correspondences among extant late-Koryŏ *pokchang* deposits, a group of esoteric Buddhist scriptures, and *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Her study further suggests that the creation and dissemination of the practice transformed the medieval Korean perception of Buddhist images as well as the practice of image making.

Through an exploration of the objects and texts discovered in Koryŏ and Chosŏn statues, the next two articles illuminate the Buddhist practice and textual tradition of Korea beyond the prescriptions laid out in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Song Il-gie’s article “Recent Discoveries and Significance of Texts from inside Buddhist Statues in Korea” shares an archive of Buddhist texts that had remained hidden inside Buddhist statues for centuries. Song offers a close examination of texts he discovered in statues at Songgwangsa 松廣寺, Haeinsa, Kaeunsa 開運寺, Suguksa 守國寺, Wangnyongsawŏn 王龍寺院, Posŏng Sŏnwŏn 寶聖禪院, and Tonghaksa 東鶴寺. These finds also include copies of quite a few Buddhist texts whose presence and circulation were unknown in Korea prior to his discoveries. By closely examining xylograph copies of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* found inside a Buddha statue at Kaeunsa, the article also sheds new light on the provenance of the earliest xylograph copy of the *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī of Immaculate Pure Light* (*Mugu chŏnggwang tae tarani kyŏng* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經) that was discovered inside the three-storied stone pagoda at Pulguksa 佛國寺.

Youn-mi Kim’s article “Surrogate Body inside the Sacred Body: Used Clothing in Korean Buddhist Statues” explores the little-studied practice of enshrining used clothing, sometimes stained with bodily fluids, in Buddhist statues—a practice not performed in other countries and unmentioned in written texts such as the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Through an examination of actual clothing from inside statues and comparable Buddhist and non-Buddhist practices, the article suggests that the garments were offered to Buddhist deities as a substitute for the donor’s body in the late Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods. Since the garments served as the donor’s “extended body,” used clothing that had been in intimate contact with the person’s body was preferred. The article further elucidates how such garments were used as a medium for prayers and stamped *dhāraṇī*.

The codification, publication, and circulation of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* in the Chosŏn period greatly influenced the unfolding of *pokchang* practice after the Koryŏ period. Richard D. McBride II, in his “Korean *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*: The *Chosang kyŏng* 造像經 and Image Rituals in the Chosŏn Period,” introduces the background and contents of the five woodblock editions of this important ritual manual published in mid to late Chosŏn. Focusing on the Yujŏmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, the most expansive and recent of the extant editions, McBride examines the evolving contents of this ritual corpus and their links to *dhāraṇī* collections and *sūtras* where image rituals known as “procedures for devising images” were first articulated.



Intriguingly, his article concludes by reflecting upon the broad Huayan/Hwaö̃m 華嚴 context that underpins the *pokchang*, which has been widely understood as an esoteric ritual, and its explanations in the Yujö̃msa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

Kang Heejung's article, "Making Buddhist Statues Alive: *Pokchang* as the Buddha-Mother and Maṇḍala in Late Chosön Period Korea," explores the *pokchang* of the late Chosön period when the ritual had a close relationship with the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, whose earliest surviving edition was published in 1575. As Kang points out, this *sūtra* does not cover the physical production of statues but rather lays out instructions for the *pokchang* ritual. Based on the *sūtras'* contents, the article illuminates how the *pokchang* deposits of late Chosön reflect the cosmology of esoteric Buddhism, and the particular *dhāraṇīs* enshrined in the deposits were thought to form "whole-body relics" of the Buddha as well as the Buddha's three bodies. The *pokchang* ritual, this article suggests, was the key to transforming a statue into a living deity.

The Buddhist tradition in Korea, as mentioned above, developed *pokchang* rituals and methods not only for statues but also for paintings, which is the theme of the last two articles in this issue. Lee Yongyun's article, "Changes in the Installation of *Pokchang* and Throat-Bell Containers in Buddhist Paintings of the Late Chosön Period," traces a case in which a change in *pokchang* practice subsequently impacted the contents of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. The mounting of Buddhist paintings shifted in the late 18th century from the hanging scroll format to frames. As Lee Yongyun demonstrates, the location of *pokchang* accordingly shifted from inside a pouch that hung on top of the scroll to the empty space behind the framed painting, which in turn caused a change in the throat-bell container from being cylindrical to square. Instructions to use a square throat-bell container for paintings appear only in the last edition of *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* in 1824, reflecting a change in the *pokchang* tradition.

In her article "The *Pokchang* Ritual for Buddhist Paintings," Lee Seonyong examines the *mantras* and Siddham letters inscribed on banner paintings of the late Chosön period and reveals their relationship with the *pokchang* and eye-dotting rituals. The *mantras* inscribed on the painting's four margins, as her article shows, not only represent those recited during the *pokchang* ritual but also stand in for *pokchang* objects that could not be physically enshrined in the painting. Those inscribed directly on the body of painted Buddhist deities were Siddham letters closely related to the eye-dotting ritual. Inscribing the relevant *mantras* and Siddham letters from the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* on a painting, the article suggests, was a method of endowing the images with life.

Lastly, the "Annotated Bibliography of *Pokchang* Studies," written by Soyeon Kim, offers a useful introduction to major monographs, exhibition catalogues, and reports on *pokchang* published since the 1990s, when *pokchang* studies began to take root in Korea. This annotated bibliography has been prepared for scholars who are new to the field as a useful guide for researching *pokchang* and as an overview of the current state of the field.







THE FORMATION OF THE BUDDHIST *POKCHANG* TRADITION DURING THE KORYŎ PERIOD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE*

JEONG Eunwoo

L'origine de la tradition coréenne de la cache ventrale (pokchang 腹藏) remonte à la période du Koryŏ 高麗 (918-1392). Il subsiste une quinzaine de statues bouddhiques réalisées au cours de cette période. Les centaines d'objets divers insérés dans ces statues, – vœux écrits, soutras, tissus et vêtements –, offrent des sources historiques extrêmement utiles pour notre compréhension des croyances et pratiques bouddhiques durant cette période. Les dépôts dans la cache ventrale suggèrent qu'un protocole spécifique d'insertion avait déjà été établi et que, dans ce rituel, l'accent était mis sur les cinq directions cardinales et leurs couleurs ainsi que sur l'insertion de centaines de formules magiques (dhāraṇīs) et de soutras. Le terme « cache ventrale », les vœux écrits qui révèlent le nom des donateurs et le contenu de ces vœux s'appuyaient tous sur des soutras ésotériques et ont contribué à la formation de ce rituel unique au Koryŏ. En particulier, les objets et les formes de la cache ventrale se sont développés grâce à un processus d'intégration de la tradition antérieure au Koryŏ, qui comprenait les rituels des monastères bouddhiques et le dépôt de reliques dans des pagodes en pierre.

*Le rituel de la cache ventrale, à travers lequel l'image bouddhique en tant que chose matérielle est transformée en objet de culte et en objet sacré, est mystérieux et solennel. Les documents existants montrent que, pendant la période du Koryŏ, le rituel était considéré comme un événement déterminant imprégné de pouvoirs miraculeux. Aujourd'hui, les monastères coréens continuent de pratiquer ce rituel consistant en rites qui commencent par la délimitation de l'espace rituel, des chants et des prières, puis à l'établissement d'une estrade à cinq directions, sur laquelle plus de cent variétés d'objets sont installés**.*

Buddhist Images and *Pokchang* Deposits during the Koryŏ Period

Pokchangmul 腹藏物 refers to a collection of objects inserted within the inner recesses of a Buddhist image. It is suggested that this custom of enshrining objects within Buddhist images originated in India, where the relics (Skt. *śarīra*) of the Buddha were enshrined in the *uṣṇīṣa* of a Buddhist image,¹ and spread through Central Asia and China to Korea and Japan. A well-known example of a statue with enshrined

* Translated into English by Seung Hee Jeon.

** Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.

1. Juhyung Rhi, "Images, Relics, and Jewels: The Assimilation of Images in the Buddhist Relic Cult of Gandhāra—Or Vice Versa," *Artibus Asiae* 65, no. 2 (2005): 169–211.



objects is the standing wooden Buddha image at the Seiryōji 清凉寺 in Kyōto, Japan, which was produced in China during the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127 CE).² As for Korea, the reliquary set known to have been found inside the pedestal of the seated stone statue of the Buddha at Sōngnamamsa 石南巖寺 in Sanch'ōng County 山淸郡, South Kyōngsang Province (dated 766), is sometimes considered the earliest example of a *pokchang* although that deposit is somewhat different from the objects typically enshrined in a statue.

In Korea, the *pokchang* ritual, which begins with demarcating the ritual space (*kyōlgye* 結界), chanting and praying (*yōmsong* 念誦), and then moves on to the establishment of a five-directional altar (*obangdan* 五方壇) and the enshrining of about 100 kinds of objects, has been practiced in secret for a long time in Buddhist monasteries. This ritual dates back to the Koryō 高麗 period (918–1392), and during the Chosōn 朝鮮 period (1393–1910) a group of ritual manuals collectively known as the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyōng* 造像經) was published by compiling the previous protocols and documents.³ During the Koryō period, although various materials, including iron, silver, and stone, were used for making Buddhist sculpture, the *pokchang* deposits from Koryō have been found mainly in images made of wood, bronze, and lacquer—the three most popular materials for making Buddhist images when enshrining *pokchang* first became widespread in Korea during the 13th and the 14th centuries. While we typically use the *pokchang* deposits to understand the culture of the period when the image was created, we also need to acknowledge the fact that not all the objects were enshrined only when the image was created. In fact, new items often replaced the previous ones during the renovation or re-gilding of an image.

To date, fifteen Buddhist images from the Koryō period have been found to have *pokchang* deposits, and most of them are from the 13th and 14th centuries (table 1).⁴ Among them, there are only three cases in which the Buddhist image, its *pokchang* deposits, and the written vows on the construction of the Buddhist image (*chosōng parwōnmun* 造成發願文) survive as a complete set: the seated gilt-bronze image of Avalokiteśvara from Pusōksa 浮石寺 (1330), the seated gilt-bronze image of Bhaiṣajyaguru from Changgoksa 長谷寺 (1346), and the seated silver image of Amitābha Buddha Triad at the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art (1383).⁵

Although the objects enshrined in sculptures have occasionally been found in other East Asian countries, such as China and Japan, Korea stands out for the number

2. For more about cases in China and Japan, see Helmut Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache* (Lawrence: University of Kansas; Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011).

3. For more about the *Chosang kyōng*, see T'aegyōng 泰冥, *Chosang kyōng: Pulbokchang ūi chōlch'a wa kū soje tamgin sasang* 造像經: 佛腹藏의 節次와 그 속에 담긴 思想 (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006). See also the article by McBride in this issue.

4. For a more recent study on the *pokchang* deposits from the Koryō period, see Chōng Ūn-u (Eunwoo Jeong) 정은우 and Sin Ūn-je 신은제, *Koryō ūi sōngmul, pulbokchang* 고려의 성물, 불복장 (Paju: Kyōngin Munhwasa, 2017).

5. Ibid, 151–208, 235–55.

of discovered cases and the variety of items yielded.⁶ In this sense, these *pokchang* artifacts are treasures of Korean Buddhist arts. In addition, hundreds of individual *pokchang* items, including throat-bell containers (*buryöng t'ong* 喉鈴筒), written vows, *sūtras*, fabrics, and clothing, lend themselves to an in-depth understanding of the thoughts and beliefs in Korean Buddhism during the period of enshrinement.

Table 1. Koryö Buddhist Images with *Pokchang*

	Name	Date	Height (cm)	Date Opened	Location
1	Seated lacquered image of Bhaiṣajyaguru at Ch'öngnyangsa 清凉寺	9–10th centuries	92.5	2008	Ponghwa, North Kyöngsang Province
2	Seated wooden image of the Buddha from Suguksa 守國寺	Re-gilded in 1389	106	2006	Seoul
3	Seated wooden image of Avalokiteśvara from Pogwangsa 普光寺	13th century	118	2007	Andong, North Kyöngsang Province
4	Seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha at Kaesimsa 開心寺	repaired in 1280	120.5	Unopened (wooden plug accidentally fallen off in 2004)	Haemi, South Ch'ungch'öng Province
5	Seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha from Kaeunsa 開運寺	repaired in 1274	115.8	1996	Asan, South Ch'ungch'öng Province
6	Seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha from Taesüngsa 大乘寺	1301	87.5	2008	Mun'gyöng, North Kyöngsang Province
7	Seated gilt-bronze image of Avalokiteśvara from Pusöksa 浮石寺	1330	50.5	1951	Sösan, South Ch'ungch'öng Province
8	Seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha from Munsusa 文殊寺	1346	69.0	1970s	Sösan, South Ch'ungch'öng Province
9	Seated gilt-bronze image of Bhaiṣajyaguru from Changgoksa 長谷寺	1346	90.2	1950s	Ch'öngyang, South Ch'ungch'öng Province
10	Seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha from Pongnimsa 鳳林寺	re-gilded in 1346	88.5	1978	Hwasöng, Kyönggi Province

6. For distinctiveness of the Korean *pokchang* practice, see Introduction by James Robson, Youn-mi Kim, and Seunghye Lee written for this special issue of the *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*.

11	Seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha from Chaunsa 紫雲寺	repaired in 1388	85.0	2000	Kwangju, South Chōlla Province
12	Seated silver image of Amitābha Buddha Triad at the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art	1383	15.6 (Central Buddha)	ca. 2010	Unknown
13	Seated gilt-bronze image of the Buddha from Anjōngsa 安靜寺	Koryō	22	2009	T'ongyōng, South Kyōngsang Province
14	Seated wooden image of Avalokiteśvara at the National Museum of Korea	Koryō	67.65	2014	Unknown
15	Seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha from Ch'ōngwōnsa 淸源寺	Koryō	120.0	1973	Ansōng, Kyōnggi Province

The Origin and Characteristics of the *Pokchang* during the Koryō Period

The Origin of the Pokchang in Textual Sources

Documents mentioning the objects inserted within the inner recess of Buddhist images first appeared during Koryō, which corresponds to the dates of the earliest surviving *pokchang* objects. We have only three texts related to *pokchang*: The “Eulogy and Record of the Repairs of the *Pokchang* of the Avalokiteśvara at Naksan” (*Naksan kwanūm pokchang subomun pyōng song* 洛山觀音腹藏修補文竝頌) by Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241);⁷ “Record of the Marvels of the Relics [Enshrined Within] Śākyamuni, the Main Buddha of the Golden Hall of Kukch'ōngsa” (*Kukch'ōngsa kūmdang chubul Sōkka yōrae sari yōng'i ki* 國淸寺金堂主佛釋迦如來舍利靈異記) in the *Tongmunsōn* 東文選 by Min Chi 閔漬 (1248–1326);⁸ and “The *Pokchang* of Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra, the Left and Right Attendant Bodhisattvas of Vairocana Buddha, the Main Icon of Sōgwangsa” (*Sōgwangsa tangju Pirojana chwau poch'ō Munsu Pobyōn pokchang* 釋王寺堂主毗盧遮那左右補處文殊普賢腹藏) in the *Yangch'onjip* 陽村集 by Kwōn Kūn 權近 (1352–1409).⁹

7. *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* 東國李相國集, fasc. 25. For the original text, see *Han'guk kojōn chonghap DB* 한국고전종합DB. http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#dir/node?dataId=ITKC_BT_0004A_0270_030_0020&viewSync=OT. Accessed 16 November 2019.

8. *Tongmunsōn* 東文選, fasc. 68. For the original text, see *Han'guk kojōn chonghap DB*. http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#dir/node?grpId=&itemId=BT&gubun=book&depth=5&cate1=Z&cate2=&dataGubun=%EC%B5%9C%EC%A2%85%EC%A0%95%EB%B3%B4&dataId=ITKC_BT_1365A_0680_010_0050&viewSync=OT. Accessed 16 November 2019.

9. *Yangch'onjip* 陽村集, fasc. 33. For the original text, see *Han'guk kojōn chonghap DB*. http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#dir/node?grpId=&itemId=BT&gubun=book&depth=5&cate1=Z&cate2=&dataGubun=%EC%B5%9C%EC%A2%85%EC%A0%95%EB%B3%B4&dataId=ITKC_BT_0036A_0360_020_0030&viewSync=OT. Accessed 16 November 2019.



These three texts suggest that the *pokchang* ritual was established by the 13th and 14th centuries, if not earlier. In particular, Yi Kyu-bo's text mentions that they reinserted two newly prepared round mind-mirrors (*simwōngyōng* 心圓鏡), five aromatics (*ohyang* 五香), five medicines (*oyak* 五藥), colored threads (*saeksa* 色絲), and silk pouches (*kūmnang* 錦囊) inside the Avalokiteśvara statue at Naksan sa 洛山寺 after foreign invaders had stolen the original objects.¹⁰ The text further records that they obtained the Buddha relics to be enshrined in the Avalokiteśvara statue, encased them in eight-petaled containers, and enshrined them inside the statues of Avalokiteśvara and its attending deities.¹¹ It also mentions the five directional colors: blue, white, black, yellow, and red. In addition, based on a statement about achieving solemnity through the enshrining of the *pokchang*, as well as through the splendor of the Buddhist images, we also know that the ritual was considered to be both solemn and splendid. Explanations of the procedure of enshrinement and enshrined objects are also found in the text. The act of enshrinement as a whole was called *pokchang* 腹藏, and the enshrined objects were *pokchang chemul* 腹藏諸物, while the act of inserting objects was called *chungjang* 中藏. In the “Chapter on Extensive Commentary on Grand Maṇḍala” (Ch. *Da manduoluo guangda yigui pin* 大曼多羅廣大儀軌品) of *Jingang ding yiqie rulai zhenshi she dasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經, translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra (Ch. Bukong 不空, 705–74), the word *pokchang* (Ch. *fuzang* 伏藏), which has the implication of “hiding away” appears many times. For example, the *sūtra* states,

One should visualize in his mind that the form of a *vajra* abides in the cache. Having visualized [this], one will then see hidden treasure lying in the ground. Having visualized the form of a *vajra*, one visualizes it pervasively in the sky; if one sees where it falls, one will then [find] the hidden treasure . . . One should visualize the whole in the form of a *vajra* as himself. If one penetrates and falls onto it, that place is hidden treasury.¹²

金剛形住藏。當於心中觀。觀已住於地。則當見伏藏。金剛形觀已。空中而遍觀。若見隨墮處。彼則是伏藏 . . . 金剛形一切。應當觀自身。遍入落於彼。其處是伏藏。

This terminology suggests that the current term, *pokchang*, could have originated with this homonym in a *sūtra*. Since this homonym, *pokchang* 伏藏, meaning “buried treasures, as a metaphor for the Buddha’s teachings,” suggests that the treasures are hidden inside the body of the Buddha, the word *pok* 伏 (Ch. *fu*) could have evolved into the homonym *pok* 腹, which means abdomen—a place where *pokchang* was usually enshrined inside a Buddha statue. If this hypothesis is correct, this suggests that Koryō was the first country in which the technically correct term, based on a

10. See *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip*, fasc. 25, *chapchō* 雜著, *Naksan Kwanūm pokchang subomun pyōng song* 洛山觀音腹藏修補文竝頌. “. . . 是用挨舊所藏. 謹備心圓鏡二事及五香五藥色絲錦囊等衆緣. 以充其腹. 完而復之. 與昔無損 . . .”

11. See *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip*, fasc. 25, *chapchō*, *Naksan Kwanūm pokchang subomun pyōng song*. “腹藏諸物欲安置一物最難求舍利 . . . 收拾分盛八葉筒. 納安主伴三腹中.”

12. *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshi shedasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* T 865, 18:219a19–26.



sūtra, was used for this practice of enshrining objects within the inner recesses of Buddhist images.¹³

Case Studies of Enshrined Objects and Their Contents

Koryŏ is the period when actual *pokchang* objects as well as their textual accounts began to appear. To date, there are about 15 known finds from Koryŏ. Representative examples from the 14th century include the seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha from Taesūngsa in Mun'gyŏng (1301–2), the seated gilt-bronze image of Avalokiteśvara, originally from Pusŏksa but later housed at Kannonji 觀音寺 in Tsushima 對馬 Island, Japan (1330), the seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha from Munsusa (1346) (fig. 1), and the seated gilt-bronze image of Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha from Changgoksa (1346). In addition, the seated gilt-bronze image of the Buddha from Anjŏngsa in T'ongyŏng City 統營市 (13th–14th century) and the seated silver image of Amitābha Buddha Triad at the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art are well known examples. Among them, only the *pokchang* deposits from the Munsusa and Anjŏngsa images were found intact, while the others had already been opened or damaged. In the case of the *pokchang* found in the Changgoksa image, its surviving items are currently kept at the Central Buddhist Museum in Seoul.

I will now turn to an analysis of a few representative cases. The first example to consider is the important *pokchang* deposit in the collection of the Onyang Folk Museum,¹⁴ whose date has been confirmed by its prayer text composed in 1301 (the fifth year of the Dade 大德 reign), entitled “Written Vows on the Enshrining of Objects Within the Inner Recesses of the Cast Image of Amitābha” (*Chusŏng Mit'a pokchang iban parwŏnmun* 鑄成彌陀腹藏入安發願文) by Ch'angnyŏngdaebuin 昌寧大夫夫人 with the surname Chang 張.¹⁵ Altogether, the 265 enshrined objects found together with this written vow (two items were later lost out of the original 267), can be divided into the following sub-categories: a throat-bell container, vows, *dhāraṇīs*, clothing, textiles, and grains. Among the *dhāraṇīs* was a 1292 reprinted edition (the 29th year of the Zhiyuan 至元 reign) of the *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Seal on the Jewel Casket of the Secret Whole-Body Relic of the Essence of All Tathāgatas* (Ch. *Yiqie rulaixin mimi quanshen sheli baoqieyin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心秘密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經), and a copy of the *Garbhadhatu Maṇḍala* (*T'aejanggye mandara* 胎藏界曼荼羅) dated to the eleventh month of the fifth year of the Dade reign and the name of the carver (Sanin Sogudo 山人小丘刀).

13. For more on this, see Chŏng Ũn-u (Eunwoo Jeong) 정은우, “Koryŏ sidae pulbokchang ūi t'ŭkching kwa hyŏngsŏng paegyŏng” 고려시대 불복장의 특징과 형성배경, *Misulshak yŏn'gu* 미술사학 연구 286 (2015): 34.

14. Unfortunately, the statue has been lost and only parts of its *pokchang* have survived. Hence this *pokchang* is not included in table 1.

15. See Onyang minsok pangmulgwan 溫陽民俗博物館, ed., *1302 nyŏn Amit'a pulbokchangmul ūi chosa yŏn'gu* 1302年 阿彌陀佛腹藏物の 調査研究 (Seoul: Kyemongsa, 1991).



Fig. 1. Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha at Changgoksa, Ch'öngyang, South Ch'ungch'öng Province. Gilt bronze. H 90.2 cm. Koryö, dated 1346. Courtesy of Changgoksa.

The second example is the abovementioned Amitābha from Munsusa in Sōsan. Although this Buddha image was stolen in 1993, the enshrined objects had been found and taken out intact during the inspection of the image in 1973, making it the oldest *pokchang* deposit remaining in complete form. This collection of the *pokchang* deposit includes the “Catalogue of the Objects Enshrined in the Abdominal Cache of Amitābha” (*Mit'a pokchang immul saekki* 彌陀腹藏入物色記), a detailed list of the enshrined items, written in black ink on a piece of traditional Korean paper. This is the only itemized list of *pokchang* objects found inside a statue in Korea until today.¹⁶

The third example concerns the 43 remaining items from the *pokchang* found in the 1960s inside the seated gilt-bronze image of Bhaiṣajyaguru from Changgoksa. Unfortunately, many other items from this *pokchang* deposit were lost. One of the items is a long piece of red silk (947.8 × 1058 cm), that has written on it “Vows for the Accomplishment of Buddhahood” (*Sōngbul wōnmun* 成佛願文) which includes the names of 1,079 donors inscribed in black ink (fig. 2). On another item the time of its completion was written in red ink on a piece of traditional paper with the phrase: “Carefully written on the eighth day of the seventh lunar month, the sixth year *pyōngsul* of the Zhizheng reign (1346)” 至正六年丙戌七月初八日誌謹書.¹⁷

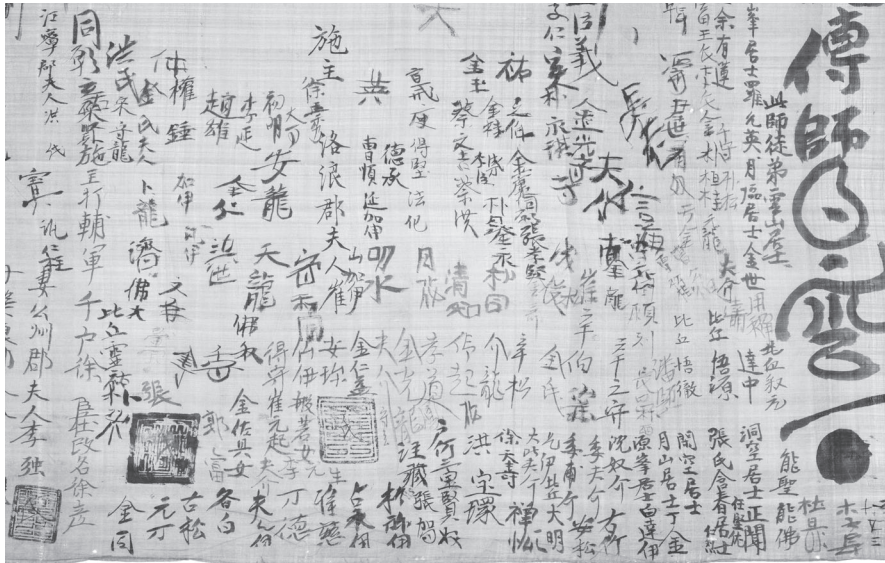


Fig. 2. Written Vows (detail). Discovered inside the seated gilt bronze Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha at Changgoksa, Ch'ōngyang, South Ch'ungch'ōng Province. Ink on red silk. 1,058 × 47.8 cm (entire scroll). Koryō, dated 1348; currently housed in the Central Buddhist Museum, Seoul. Courtesy of Changgoksa.

16. For more about the prayer inscriptions from this statue, see Chōng Ŭn-u and Sin Ŭn-je, *Koryō ūi sōngmul, pulbokchang*, 209–32.

17. For more an analysis of the prayer inscriptions from this statue, see *ibid.*, 164–207.

Another significant collection of *pokchang* is associated with the seated gilt-bronze image of the Buddha from Anjōngsa, which was discovered by a team from the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage during their investigation of Buddhist cultural assets (fig. 3).¹⁸ This 22 centimeter tall Buddha image has an ink inscription on its bottom side that reads: “Huiweidengguang, the 42nd Buddha” 四十二惠威燈光佛.¹⁹ Although relatively small, its *pokchang* is highly significant because the arrangement of the enshrined objects was methodically inspected and accurately recorded. The order in which the enshrined objects were arranged from the bottom are as follows: a wooden bowl wrapped in a bundle of *dhāraṇī* sheets, written vows, textiles, a wooden bowl wrapped in *dhāraṇī* sheets, throat bell wrapped in silk cloth, a wooden bowl, a silver lid, a round mirror in the center, colored threads.²⁰



Fig. 3. Seated gilt-bronze Buddha statue and its *pokchang* deposit at Anjōngsa, T'ongyōng, South Kyōngsang Province. H 22 cm. Koryō, dated 13th–14th centuries. Courtesy of Anjōngsa.

18. See Yi Yong-yun (Lee Yongyun) 李容胤, “Pulsang pongan ūisik ūi chōngsu, pokchang” 불상 봉안의식의 精髓, 腹藏, in *Pulbokchang ūisik byōnhwang chosa pogosō* 불복장의식 현황조사보고서, ed. Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso 불교문화재연구소 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo Chogyejong, 2012), 20–21.

19. Huiweidengguang is one of the 48 Buddha names listed in the 2nd fascicle of the *Linian mituo daochang chanfa* 禮念彌陀道場儀法 (X 1467, 74:85b).

20. For discussions of the statue, see Chōng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo) 정은우, “Koryō chunggi pulgyo chogak e poinūn pukpangjōk yoso” 고려중기 불교조각에 보이는 북방적 요소, *Misulsabak yōn'gu* 美術史學研究 265 (2010), 47–48; Yi Yong-yun, “Pulsang pongan ūisik ūi chōngsu, pokchang,” 20–21.

Characteristics of the Enshrined Objects

Based on the enshrined objects discovered within the inner recesses of Buddhist images made during the Koryŏ period, their characteristics are as follows. First, during the Koryŏ period, when the *pokchang* practice began, the kinds of items to be enshrined and their order of enshrinement were already systematized. The example that reveals most accurately the order is the abovementioned Buddha image from Anjŏngsa, the most recently discovered and opened *pokchang* that was analyzed by the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage. When the team removed the wooden plug sealing the bottom of the Buddha image, there were *dhāraṇī* sheets on the very bottom, and on top of them were placed (in this order), written vows, five-color fabric, a wooden bowl wrapped in traditional paper, and a throat bell. The throat bell was wrapped in fabric and placed at the level of the Buddha image's throat. The wooden bowl, located where the heart would be, was wrapped with a fragment of a *dhāraṇī* sheet. The bowl's surface was decorated with a painting of the eight petals (*p'aryŏp* 八葉) and the *Spells of the Four Directions* (*sabang chu* 四方呪). The wooden bowl contained the five-wheel seed syllables (*oryun chongja* 五輪種字)—each vividly written on pieces of blue square fabric, orange triangular fabric, circular white fabric, and indigo semicircular fabric—and Siddham letters. There was also a round mirror along with five-colored threads and five treasure bottles (*obobyŏng* 五寶瓶) in the bowl. Currently, the colors of the fabrics forming the five treasure bottles have faded significantly. The five treasure bottles have not been unwrapped yet, and grains of rice, which are often inside the bottles, were separately discovered. Since the directions, colors, and arrangement order found here are quite similar to those discovered in the images of the Buddha from Munsusa and Changgoksa, this formula appears to have been established during the Koryŏ period.

Typically, the relic container, holding the five treasure bottles, was installed at the location of the heart. This installation has great significance, since it confers eternal life to the Buddhist image that is transformed into a true image (*chinsang* 真像). This container often included painted and written five-wheel seed syllables and true-mind seed syllables symbolizing the five Buddhas (*chinsim chongja* 真心種字). Also, the five treasure mirrors, in the shape of a square (east), circle (west and center), triangle (south), and half-moon (north), keyed to the five directional colors, were either made of fabric and pasted inside or outside the container or made of metal and put inside the container.

Regarding the items inside the five treasure bottles, a detailed list was found in the abovementioned “Catalogue of the Objects Enshrined in the Abdominal Cache of Amitābha” from the Amitābha Buddha at Munsusa, made in 1346. This catalogue lists the following items in black ink on a piece of traditional paper (fig. 4):

Elecampane (*chŏngmokhyang* 青木香), betony (*kwakhyang* 藿香), aloeswood (*ch'imhyang* 枕向), frankincense (*yubyang* 乳香), cloves (*chŏnghyang* 丁香), monkshood (*puja* 符子), lotus seed (*baja* 荷子), ginseng (*insam* 人蔘), licorice (*kamch'o* 甘草), cinnamon core (*kyesim* 桂心), glass (*yuri* 琉璃), amber (*bobak* 琥珀), pearl (*chinju* 眞珠), unprocessed gold (*saenggŭm* 生金), raw silver (*saengŭn* 生銀), rhubarb (*taehwang* 大黃), small yellow (*sobwang*

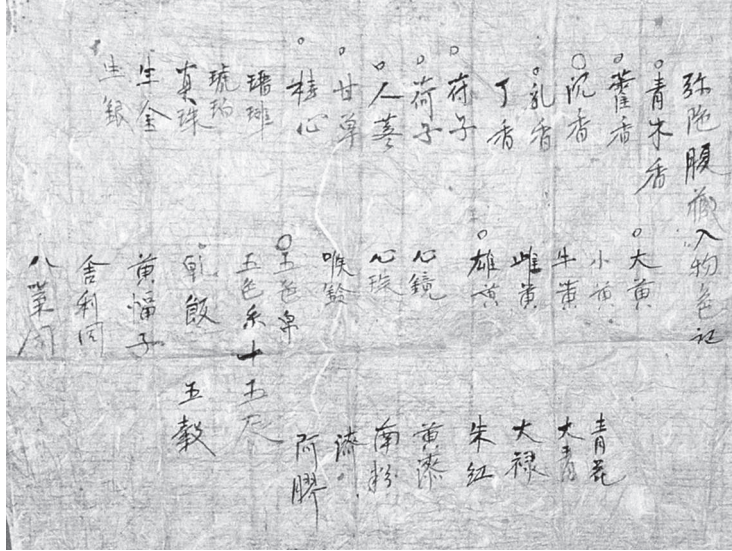


Fig. 4. “Catalogue of the Objects Enshrined in the Abdominal Cache of Amitābha.” Discovered in 1973 from inside the seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha at Munsusa in Sōsan, South Ch’ungch’ōng Province. Ink on paper. 35.1 × 35.9 cm. Koryō, dated 1346; currently housed in the Sudōksa Museum, Yesan, South Ch’ungch’ōng Province. Courtesy of Sudōksa Museum.

小黃,²¹ ox bezoar (*uhwang* 牛黃), gamboge (*chahwang* 雌黃), orpiment (*unghwang* 雄黃), a mind-mirror (*simgyōng* 心鏡), a mind-jewel (*simju* 心珠), a throat bell, five-colored silk, five-colored threads with the length of 15 *ch’ōk*, dried rice (*kōnban* 乾飯), five grains (*ogok* 五穀), yellow cloth (*hwangp’okcha* 黃幅子), a relic container (*saridong* 舍利同), an eight-petaled container (*p’aryōptong* 八葉同), indigo (*ch’ōnghwa* 青花), blue dye (*taech’ōng* 大靑), green dye (*taerok* 大綠), orange dye (*chuhong* 朱紅), yellow lacquer (*hwangch’il* 黃漆), *nam* powder (*nambun* 南粉), lacquer sap (*ch’il* 漆), and glue (*agyo* 阿膠).

This list includes five aromatics (elecampane, betony, aloeswood, frankincense, and cloves); five medicines (monkshood, lotus seed, ginseng, licorice, and cinnamon core); five treasures (glass, amber, pearl, gold, and silver); five yellows (rhubarb, small yellow, ox bezoar, gamboge, and orpiment); dried rice and five grains; a mind-mirror, a mind-jewel, and a throat bell; and five kinds of silk and threads, dye, and glue. An interesting characteristic of this list is that the sets of aromatics, medicines, yellows, treasures, and grains each consist of five variants that are respectively associated with one of the five cardinal directions: east, west, south, north, and center. Given that a *pokchang* deposit of almost identical composition was found inside the seated wooden Buddhist image at the Hūksōksa 黑石寺 from the Chosōn period, this tradition seems to have continued into the Chosōn period (table 2).

21. The meaning of *sobwang* 小黃 is unclear.

Table 2. Comparison of the Enshrined Objects from Koryŏ and Chosŏn

Buddhist image (Date of Production)	Five Aromatics	Five Medicines	Five Cow Products	Five Treasures	Five Grains
Seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha from Munsusa 文殊寺 (1346)	elecampane, betony, aloeswood, frankincense, cloves	monkswood, lotus seed, ginseng, licorice, cinnamon core	rhubarb, small yellow, ox bezoar, gamboge, orpiment	glass, amber, pearl, gold, silver	dried rice, five grains
Seated wooden image of the Bud- dha at Hŭksŏksa 黑石寺 (1458)	elecampane, betony, aloeswood, frankincense, cloves	Monks wood, lotus seed, ginseng, licorice, cinnamon bark (cinnamon core)	rhubarb, gamboge, orpiment	n.a.	five grains
Seated wooden image of Avalokiteśvara at Kwanŭmsa 觀音寺 (1502)	white sandalwood	ginseng	n.a.	glass, crystal	linseed 麻子, rice crop bean 稻穀豆, <i>ch'ŏng'gaeja</i> 清介子

The last items in the “Catalogue of the Objects Enshrined in the Abdominal Cache of Amitābha” are indigo, blue dye, green dye, orange dye, yellow lacquer, *nam* powder, lacquer sap, and glue. These include five directional colors: blue (indigo, blue dye), green (green dye), red (orange dye), white (*nam* powder), yellow (yellow lacquer), and black (lacquer sap). The yellow lacquer mentioned here was used for the yellow color located in the center, and probably used instead of gold.

Notable terms in the same catalogue include a throat bell, eight-petaled container, and a relic container. A throat bell appears only from the late Koryŏ period to the early Chosŏn period (fig. 5). The difference between an eight-petaled container and a relic container is yet to be clarified, although the former is presumed to be a lidded wooden bowl with eight petals, painted in red or carved on the surface. This type of wooden bowl has been found in *pokchang* deposits from the Koryŏ period. As a tube known as a “throat hole” (*hubyŏl* 喉穴) began to appear on the lid of the wooden bowl, the throat bell disappeared from *pokchang* deposits, which suggests that the throat bell was gradually replaced by the throat hole. A throat-bell container, described in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* during the Chosŏn period, has a throat hole in front, while a lotus flower with eight petals is atop a cylindrical box. This appears to have been established as a throat-bell container during the 17th century, together with the appearance of *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

The second characteristic of *pokchang* practice during the Koryŏ period is the emergence of written vows. As Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352–1409) mentioned already in his “Written Vows on the Vairocana Buddha Triad of Sŏgwangsa,” written vows were included since the early times of *pokchang* practice. These vows were usually written on a piece of paper or silk and included vows and the names of each donor. Instead



Fig. 5. Throat bell. Bronze. Discovered in 1973 from inside the seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha at Munsusa in Sōsan, South Ch'ngch'ōng Province. Courtesy of Sudōksa Museum.

of writing their names, though, sometimes they simply wrote their *sugyōl* 手決, or signatures written in modified Chinese characters. While the names of donors were most important in written vows during the Koryō period, the lists of donors and the participants in the *pokchang* ritual became more classified and systematic during the Chosōn period. During this later period, there were separate lists of people arranged according to the nature of their contribution, such as the names of donors accompanied by the contents of their donation, as well as the carvers or painters (known as *hwawōn* 畫員), and the monk(s) who verified the whole procedure (known as *chūngmyōng* 證明).

The third characteristic is the universal enshrining of *dhāraṇīs*. Almost all collections of *pokchang* deposits include numerous *dhāraṇīs* of various kinds. The most common are the *Great Wish-Fulfilment Dhāraṇī* (Ch. *Da suiqiu tuoluoni* 大隨求陀羅尼), *Dhāraṇīs in Siddham Scripts* (*Pōmcha kundarasang* 梵字軍陀羅相), and the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* (Ch. *Baoqieyin tuoluoni* 寶篋印陀羅尼) (fig. 6).

There could be various reasons for including *dhāraṇī* in *pokchang* deposits, but clearly it appears to be based on *sūtras*. For example, according to the *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Seal on the Jewel Casket of the Secret Whole-Body Relic of the Essence of All Tathāgatas*, a *sūtra* about the merit of building a pagoda: “If one enshrines this scripture and its *dhāraṇī* inside a Buddhist pagoda or an image, all the Buddhas of the ten directions will follow and protect where they are enshrined with supernormal faculties and the power of the vows.”²² This sentence not only expresses the spiritual efficacy and merit of the *dhāraṇī*, but also suggests that it could be enshrined “inside a Buddhist pagoda or an image.” In fact, at the beginning of manuscript of the *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Seal on the Jewel Casket* (dated 1007), found inside the seated wooden image of Avalokiteśvara at Pogwangsa in Andong, there is the phrase, “Offered for the inner space of a Buddhist pagoda”

22. *Yiqie rulaixin mimi quanshen sheli baoqieyin tuoluoni jing*, T 1022A, 19:711c.

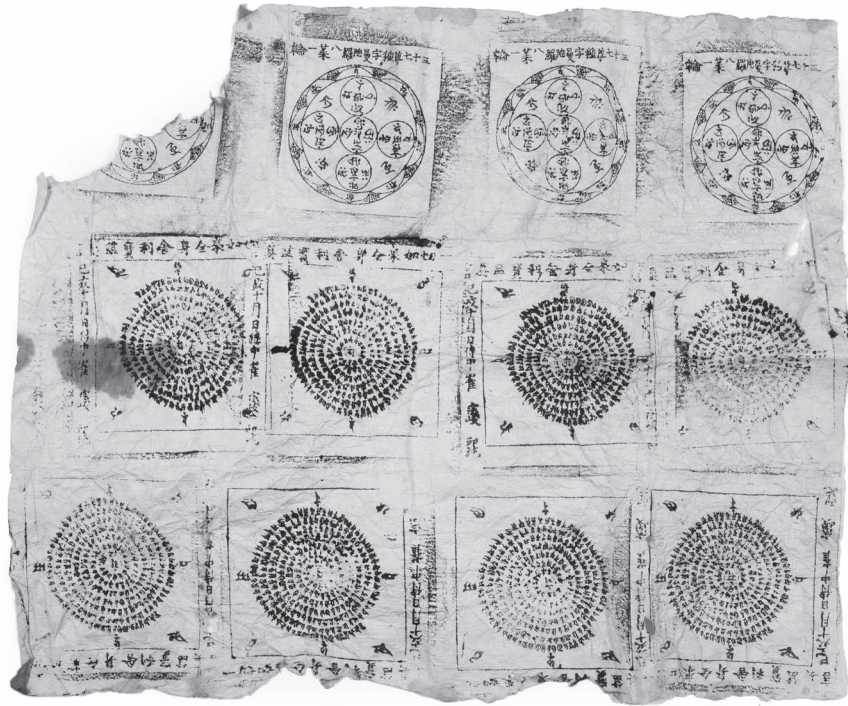


Fig. 6. Mantra of the Jewel Casket of the Secret Whole-Body Relic of the Essence of All Tathāgatas. Discovered in 2008 from inside the seated lacquered image of Bhaiṣajyaguru at Ch'ongnyangsa, Ponghwa, North Kyōngsang Province. Koryō, dated 1239. Courtesy of Ch'ongnyangsa.

佛塔中供養.²³ Indeed, the same kind of *sūtra* was also found inside the pagoda at Wolchōngsa 月精寺 in Kangwōn Province.

As *dhāraṇī* practices were widespread and *dhāraṇīs* were chanted in all kinds of rituals during the Koryō period, it seems natural that *dhāraṇīs* were enshrined inside Buddhist images as well. In the Buddhist tradition, various *dhāraṇīs* were often mentioned in Buddhist scriptures, including esoteric Buddhist scriptures. For example, the *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Torchlight of the Great Law* (Ch. *Da faju tuoluoni jing* 大法炬陀羅尼經) teaches the meaning and merit accrued from *dhāraṇī*. Also, there is much information on *dhāraṇī* in the 12 fascicles and 21 chapters of the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs* (Ch. *Foshuo tuoluoni ji jing* 佛說陀羅尼集經). The first and second fascicles explain *dhāraṇī* related to the Buddha; the third fascicle discusses a *dhāraṇī* preached to Prajñāpāramitā bodhisattva through the *Heart Sutra*; the fourth, fifth, and sixth fascicles discuss *dhāraṇī* about

23. For this particular manuscript from the Avalokiteśvara at Pogwangsa, see Kim Ch'u-yōn 김추연, "Han'guk t'ap nae pongan pulsang yōn'gu" 한국 탑내 봉안 불상 연구 (MA thesis, Hongik Taehakkyo, 2014), 42-44.



Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva; the seventh, eighth, and ninth fascicles discuss *dhāraṇī* about *vajra* spirits; the tenth fascicle discusses *dhāraṇī* about celestials; and the twelfth fascicle discusses the *dhāraṇī* accompanying rituals.

Components of Pokchang Deposits and Their Scriptural Basis

In this section, I will discuss the objects enshrined within the inner recesses of Buddhist images by referencing them with *sūtras*. As the textual and material evidence we have examined above indicate, important *pokchang* items included a throat bell, an eight-petaled container, a relic container, five aromatics, five medicines, five cow products, and five treasure bottles. They are similar to the objects prescribed to be used for the Buddhist monastery rituals in *sūtras*. The “Chapter on the Mantra of the Relevant Equipment for Entering the Maṇḍala” (Ch. *Ru mantuluo juyuan zhenyan pin* 入漫荼羅具緣真言品) in the second fascicle of *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (Ch. *Dari jing* 大日經) describes what to procure and offer at the altar during the seven-day rite (Ch. *qiri zuotanfa* 七日作壇法), which is a ritual practice centering on a maṇḍala.²⁴ The list in that text includes aromatics, such as cloves (Ch. *tuxiang* 塗香), alfalfa (Ch. *muxuxiang* 苜蓿香), agarwood (Ch. *shenshuixiang* 沈水香), pine (Ch. *songxiang* 松香), sandalwood (Ch. *baitanxiang* 白檀香), and sweetgum (Ch. *jiaoxiang* 膠香). It also includes foods, fruits, lantern lights, banners and canopies, and water bottles (Skt. *kalaṣa*, Ch. *jialuoshe* 迦羅奢), that is, the bottle used for making offerings to all deities in the maṇḍala. The chapter further prescribes: “Display the inconceivable color of the Dharma-realm in the center and fill the bottles, made of four treasures, with many medicines and treasures.”²⁵ We can find a similar description in the third fascicle—a fascicle about the method of constructing maṇḍalas and performing rituals—of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (Ch. *Jingang ding jing* 金剛頂經), translated by Vajrabodhi 金剛智 (669–741).²⁶

When we compare these ritual objects with the objects enshrined within the inner recesses of Buddhist images, the center and bottles made of four treasures correspond to the five treasure bottles inside the Buddhist image: in particular, the white crystal bottle (center, white, circle), blue *mayu* bottle (east, blue, square), red coral bottle (west, red), yellow agate bottle (south, yellow, triangle), and green glass bottle (north, green, half circle) described in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Also, the instruction that they should fill the bottles with many medicines and treasures is comparable to the five grains, five aromatics, five treasures, and five medicines found inside the five treasure bottles.

The “Chapter on the Seal at the Site of Enlightenment Where Great *Dhāraṇīs* Spoken by the Buddha Are Gathered” (Ch. *Fo shuo zhufo da tuoluoni doubui daochang yin pin* 佛說諸佛大陀羅尼都會道場印品), the twelfth chapter of the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*,²⁷ describes in detail the ritual procedures and

24. *Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, T 848, 18:9b–13b.

25. *Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing*, T 848, 18:11c.

26. *Jingangding yujia zhong luechu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經, T 866, 18:239b–246c.

27. *Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經, T 901, 18:804c–811c.



items practiced at Buddhist monasteries. The method of wrapping seven treasures and five grains in silk and tying them with five-colored threads in the rite of demarcating a ritual arena is quite similar to the way the throat-bell container is wrapped in a yellow silk wrapper and tied with five-colored threads. The five-colored threads also appear in the aforementioned “Catalogue of the Objects Enshrined in the Abdominal Cache of Amitābha.”

As for the five directional colors (blue, white, black, yellow, and red), which is also mentioned in the abovementioned “Record of the Marvels of the Relics [Enshrined Within] Śākyamuni, the Main Buddha of the Golden Hall of Kukch’ōngsa,” these colors seem to be based on esoteric Buddhist *sūtras*, such as the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs* and the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.²⁸ The third fascicle of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, titled “Chapter on the Practice of Turning the Wheel-Words Maṇḍala” (Ch. *Zhuan zilun mantuluo xing pin* 轉字輪曼荼羅行品),²⁹ describes that the color white refers to Vairocana and this should be followed by red, yellow, blue, and black. Also, while the white is the color of Mahāvairocana, red is the second color and the color that Ratnaketu Buddha illuminated through the enlightened mind. The fascicle describes that the third color is yellow; the fourth is blue which is the color of Amitāyus Buddha, and the fifth is black which is the color of the Buddha of Grain Voice (Ch. Guyinsheng rulai 穀音聲如來). The “Chapter on the Rank Entering into Secret Maṇḍalas” (Ch. *Ru mimi mantuluo wei pin* 入祕密漫荼羅位品) in the fifth fascicle of the same *sūtra* also explains the five directions and colors in terms of the five treasures.³⁰

It appears that this concept of five directions and colors was established during the Koryŏ period, as we find examples of them in royal ceremonial protocols in the same period as well. Regarding the ritual protocol in the auspicious state ceremony, there is the following description: “A sacrificial animal area should be established outside the eastern wall, facing west across the gate. While placing a pale blue sacrificial animal (*ch’angsaeng* 蒼牲) in front, a blue sacrificial animal (*ch’ōngsaeng* 靑牲) should be placed a little away from the north and facing south. Then, a red sacrificial animal (*chōksaeng* 赤牲), a yellow sacrificial animal (*hwangsaeng* 黃牲), a white sacrificial animal (*paeksaeng* 白牲), and a black sacrificial animal (*hyōnsaeng* 玄牲) should be tied in this order. Also, a pale blue sacrificial animal should be placed facing north and a little away from the south.”³¹ In other words, the concepts of color and direction were strictly applied to sacrificial animals used at the auspicious state ceremony, although the concept of colors were not directly associated with the directions. In this context, it is notable that the same set of five colors were respectively matched with the five directions in the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. This *sūtra* instructs that one should “hang a pair of blue banners in the east, a pair of red banners in the south, a pair of white banners in the west, a pair of indigo banners in the north, and four yellow banners in the

28. T’aegyŏng 泰冥, *Chosang kyŏng*, 64–68.

29. *Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing*, T 848, 18:17b–23c.

30. *Ibid.*, T 848, 18:36b–c.

31. *Koryŏsa* 高麗史, *chi* 志 13, *ye* 禮 1, *killye taesa* 吉禮大祀, *wŏn’gu* 園丘, *ch’in che’i* 親祀儀.

center.”³² If we take indigo to be equivalent to black, the colors here correspond with those in the auspicious state ceremonies of the Koryŏ court.

This set of five directional colors is nearly identical to the colors found in the inner recesses of the Buddhist images. For instance, the *pokchang* deposit from the seated gilt-bronze image of the Buddha from Anjŏngsa, an example where the original directional orientations of the objects were preserved until its recent opening, included blue fabric (square), orange fabric (red, triangle), white fabric (circle), and indigo fabric (black, half-moon shape) (fig. 7). This example also exactly coincides with the directions and colors in the silver bowl included in the *pokchang* deposit in the collection of Onyang Folk Museum (fig. 8), the wooden bowl from the seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha from Munsusa, and the silver throat-bell container from the seated wooden image of Vairocana Buddha (1490) from Haeinsa 海印寺 in Hapch’ŏn County 陝川郡, South Kyŏngsang Province.

These facts indicate that during the Koryŏ period people had an accurate understanding of the schemata of the five directions and five colors, and the concept of colors and directions, based on and modified from the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, which was directly applied to the *pokchang* ritual during the Koryŏ period. We can also understand that the application of the five shapes (square, triangle, half moon, and circle, which symbolize five directions)³³ to the five directional mirrors included in *pokchang* was a specifically Korean adaptation.

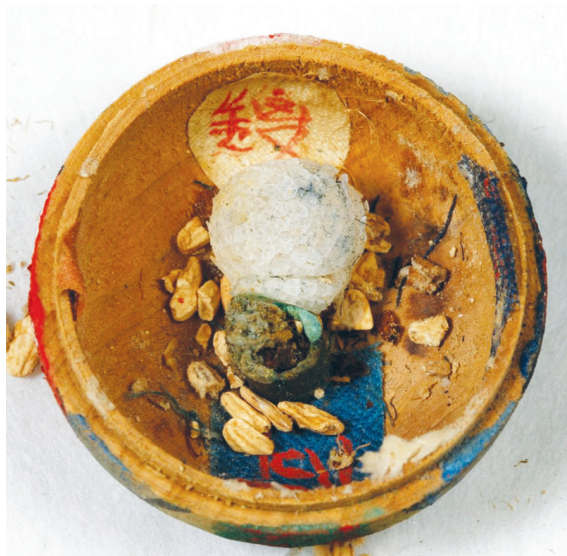


Fig. 7. Container. Discovered in 2009 from inside the seated gilt-bronze Buddha statue at Anjŏngsa, T’ongyŏng, South Kyŏngsang Province. Wood. H 2.1 cm. Koryŏ. Courtesy of Anjŏngsa.

32. *Tuoluoni ji jing*, T 901, 18:887a13–15. “. . . 東懸一雙碧色幡子 南懸一雙緋色幡子 西懸一雙白色幡子 北懸一雙深青幡子 中懸四口黃色幡子。”

33. It is notable that these shapes mostly match the five geometric shapes of the Japanese *gorintō* 五輪塔, which were sometimes enshrined in statues in Japan. Some Korean scholars are currently studying the relationship between the Korean five directional mirrors and the *gorintō*. For more about *gorintō*, see Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred*, 60–63.



Fig. 8. Container.
Silver. H 4.3 cm.
Koryŏ. Onyang Folk
Museum. Courtesy
of the Onyang Folk
Museum.

At the same time, this Koryŏ concept of direction and color reflected in the five treasure bottles is clearly different from that of esoteric *sūtras*, such as the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, and the first fascicle of the *Great King of Tantras of the Triumphant Meditation of Secrets of the Auspicious Equality* (Ch. *Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen da jiaowang jing* 妙吉祥平等秘密最上觀門大教王經; hereafter *Triumphant Meditation*) (table 3). As shown in table 3, these *sūtras* place white in the center, while Koryŏ tradition places yellow in the center and white in the west, probably following the aforementioned *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. The set of five directional colors used in Koryŏ's royal ceremony as well as *pokchang* practice never gained popularity in China and Japan.

As for the eight-petaled container, this name appears only in Koryŏ documents, the "Catalogue of the Objects Enshrined in the Abdominal Cache of Amitābha," and the written *pokchang* vow of the image of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara from 1322. Currently, it is impossible to know exactly what this eight-petaled container was. What appears to be closest to the object this name describes are the wooden bowls discovered inside the aforementioned Buddhist images from Munsusa and Anjŏngsa, where eight-petaled lotus flowers were painted in red with lotus seeds drawn on top.

Interestingly, the "Eight-Petaled Great Lotus King" appears in chapter 2 of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, entitled "Chapter on the Mantra of the Relevant Equipment for Entering the Maṇḍala," and chapter 5, entitled "Chapter on the Rank for Entering

into Secret Maṇḍalas.³⁴ According to these passages, the eight-petaled great lotus with pistils should be depicted beautifully because Mahāvairocana Buddha would be sitting in the center of it. Based on this, we can presume that this eight-petaled great lotus was represented through the eight-petaled container in the *pokchang* deposit during the Koryō period.

Table 3. Comparison of Five Directional Colors (and Five Treasure Mirrors) between *Sūtras* and *Pokchang* Deposits

<i>Sūtras</i> / <i>Pokchang</i> deposits in Buddhist images	Directions				
	East	South	West	North	Center
<i>Mahāvairocana Sūtra</i>	red, Ratnaketu Buddha	yellow, Court of the Lotus Division	blue, Amitāyus Buddha	black, Buddha of Grain Voice	white, Vairocana Buddha
<i>Triumphant Meditation</i> cited in the <i>Korean Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i>	blue, Vajra pāramitā bodhisattva	yellow, Ratnasambhava pāramitā bodhisattva	red, Padma pāramitā bodhisattva	green, Karma pāramitā bodhisattva	white, Fundamental pāramitā bodhisattva
<i>History of Koryō</i> (<i>Koryōsa</i> 高麗史), fascicle 59, “Auspicious Ceremony” (<i>Killye wŏn’gu</i> 吉禮圓丘), “Family Rites” (<i>Ch’insaii</i> 親祀儀)	blue	red	white	black	yellow
<i>Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs</i>	blue	red	white	indigo	yellow
<i>Pokchang</i> deposit at Onyang Folk Museum (1302); and Seated gilt-bronze image of Amitābha Buddha from Munsusa 文殊寺 (1346)	blue (square)	red (triangle)	white (circle)	black (half moon)	yellow (circle)
Seated gilt-bronze image of the Buddha from Anjōngsa 安靜寺 (Koryō period)	blue (square)	red (triangle)	white (circle)	black (half moon)	
Seated wooden Vairocana Buddha image from Haeinsa 海印寺 (1490)	blue (square)	red (triangle)	white (circle)	black (half moon)	yellow (circle)

34. *Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing*, T848, 18:11c22, 36c06. An eight-petaled lotus—with Vairocana at the center and four Buddhas and four bodhisattvas on each petal—is located in the center of the *Womb World Maṇḍala* in Japan. The Japanese maṇḍala’s relationship with the eight-petaled container, however, is unclear.

The Formation and Significance of *Pokchang*

It is difficult to determine the origin and formation of the custom of enshrining objects within the inner recesses of Buddhist images in Korea. However, the same kinds of objects had been used in all rituals in Buddhist monasteries before this custom was established. For example, incense and five grains are included in the *chindan'gu* 鎮壇具, or platform pacifying objects for the land god, at monasteries. Also, incense was mentioned in the record of the ceremony for the copying of the *sūtra* included in the manuscript of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* written between 744–55, now in the collection of the Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art. Similar items were also enshrined in the relic deposits of pagodas. The offerings found inside the pedestal of the Vairocana Buddha image from the Sōngnamamsa, those from the seated stone Vairocana Buddha image from Piroam at Tonghwasa 桐華寺 in Taegu City 大邱市, and the objects enshrined inside pagodas are similar to the *pokchang* items in that they included written vows and objects such as relics, *sūtras*, and grains. Among the objects found in the relic deposit of the pagoda at Pongsō-ri 鳳棲里, Mun'gyōng City 聞慶市, North Gyōngsang Province, there was a crystal bottle with a hole for encasing relics, various kinds of textiles (including indigo and patterned fabrics), and offerings (such as crystal beads, talcum, and fragrant wood).³⁵ In addition, copies of the *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Seal on the Jewel Casket of the Secret Whole-Body Relic of the Essence of All Tathāgatas* were found inside the aforementioned Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva from Pogwangsa in Andong as well as inside the octagonal nine-storied pagoda at Wōlchōngsa dating from the early Koryō period. This *sūtra* is strongly associated with the merit of building and worshipping a pagoda. Based on these, we can presume that the *pokchang* items inside Buddhist images were systemized through the gradual modification of the format and contents of the items enshrined inside a pagoda's relic deposits. The reliquary found inside the pedestal of the Vairocana Buddha image at Sōngnamamsa is an example that clearly shows this modification process. As relics were originally enshrined inside pagodas, this suggests that the ritual space could have moved from pagodas to Buddhist images. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that reliquaries were found less from pagodas after the mid-Koryō period when the practice of enshrining objects inside Buddhist images became more prominent.

It seems that the *pokchang* ritual and the types of *pokchang* objects of Koryō were established through adaptation from and combination with various kinds of monastery rituals performed in Koryō. Detailed descriptions of monastery rituals are found in *sūtras*, such as the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, the *Vajrasekara Sūtra*, and the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. In particular, the *pokchang* ritual and items enshrined inside Buddhist images are the most similar to those described in the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. This *sūtra* was translated in 654 by Atikūṭa (Ch. Adijuduo 阿地瞿多) at Huirisi

35. Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 國立中央博物館, ed., *Pul sari changōm* 佛舍利莊嚴 (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 1991), 79.

惠日寺 in Chang'an 長安 in China. Although it includes explanations on various esoteric rituals, there is little previous scholarship on this *sūtra*³⁶.

The 12th fascicle of the *sūtra*, which is the last fascicle, includes an appendix, “The Method of Adorning the Ritual Space and Preparing Offerings Spoken by the Buddha (Ch. *Foshuo zhuangyan daochang ji gongyangju zhibiao du fa* 佛說莊嚴道場及供養具支料度法).” This appendix is a list of offerings that includes 28 large mirrors, 40 small mirrors, 400 glass beads, five-colored threads that weigh 20 *nyang* 兩, 2-*nyang* gold, 2-*nyang* silver, 2-*nyang* coral, 2-*nyang* amber, 2-*nyang* pearls, rice, lentils, wheat, barley, fruits, and five grains.³⁷ It also emphasizes that these items should be gained through donations rather than purchased. This *sūtra* passage is in line with the list of donors in the written vows for the *pokchang* that included the names of offered items together with the names of their donors. For example, the list of donors written in 1611 for the seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha from Chaunsa includes phrases like: “Confucian scholar Im Tūk-chi (學林得智), Confucian scholar Im Ryun (幼學林倫) . . . white rice 1 *mal*, fabric 2 pieces”; “Im Tūk-sin who obtained the *chinsa* degree (進士 林得信), white silk 1 piece, fabric 5 pieces”; and “A person with the last name Yu (俞氏), fabric 4 pieces, candle 1 pair” (fig. 9).³⁸

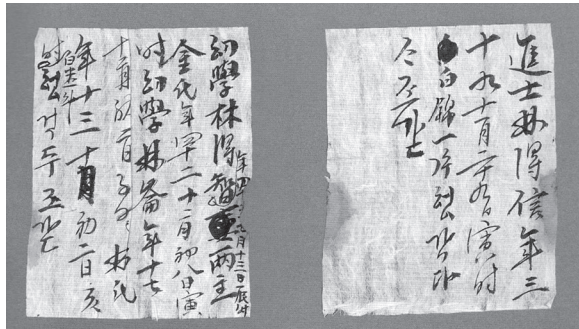


Fig. 9. Donor List for the *Pokchang*. Discovered inside the seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha at Chaunsa, Kwangju, Chōlla Province. Chosŏn, dated 1611. After Sudōksa kūnyōk sōngbogwan ed., *Chisim kwimyōngnye: Han'guk ūi pulbokchang*, 105, figure 1.

Toward the end of the “Chapter on Entering the Ritual Place” in the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, there is a paragraph about making offerings and invocations through mantra chanting for various people, from the emperor down to the *ācārya* and ordinary people:

After finishing all these procedures, in their proper order, offer all articles, including incense and flowers, by burning them for the lord of the country, the emperor and the empress, and recite the full incantation forty-nine times. Then make the same

36. On this topic, see Koichi Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Mandalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), and Koichi Shinohara, “The All-Gathering Maṇḍala Ceremony in Atikūṭa’s Collected Dhāraṇī Scriptures: Reconstructing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Ritual,” *Journal Asiatique* 298, no. 2 (2010): 389–420.

37. *Tuoluoni ji jing*, T 901, 18:893b7–c21.

38. Sudōksa kūnyōk sōngbogwan 修德寺權域聖寶館, *Chisim kwimyōngnye: Han'guk ūi pulbokchang* 至心歸命禮：韓國의 佛腹藏 (Yesan: Sudōksa kūnyōk sōngbogwan, 2004), 105.

offering for the crown prince and the queen and again recite the full incantation forty-nine times. Then make the same offering for the ministers and civil and military officials and recite the incantation forty-nine times fully. Also, after making offerings for all teachers and parents of the past and present and reciting the incantation forty-nine times, make offerings for all officials of courses of karma and recite the incantation forty-nine times. Afterwards, after making offerings for all almsgivers everywhere and reciting the incantation forty-nine times, make offerings for all living beings suffering from the eight kinds of difficulties and eight kinds of sufferings, from six destinies and four kinds of birth in the realm of human experience of extreme emptiness everywhere, and recite the incantation forty-nine times. Then, after making offerings for the *ācārya* himself and reciting the incantation forty-nine times, make offerings for the host of the ritual and his family and recite the incantation twenty-one times again.³⁹

如是次第總周遍竟次為國主皇帝皇后。燒香華等諸物供養。為誦呪滿四十九遍。次為太子諸王妃主。如是供養。亦誦呪滿四十九遍。次為大臣文武百官。如是供養。亦誦呪滿四十九遍。次為歷劫過現諸師一切父母。供養誦呪四十九遍。次為一切業道諸官。供養誦呪四十九遍。次為十方一切施主。供養誦呪四十九遍。次為十方盡空法界六道四生八難八苦一切眾生。供養誦呪四十九遍。次為阿闍梨自身。供養誦呪。滿足二十一遍次為道場處主人合家。

Here, the order and contents of the invocation are similar to the customary phrases in the written vows for the *pokchang* (table 4). For example, in the written vows from the image of the Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara (1322) and those from the abovementioned Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha image from Changgoksa (1346), the invocation was made in the hierarchical order from the emperor to the king to the civil officials. After the Yuan 元 dynasty collapsed in China in 1368, written vows began with a blessing for the Koryō king. It is also noteworthy that the phrases of invocation for ministers and all civil and military officials, such as “*munho paengnyo*” 文虎百僚, “*man’guk munmu chūngch’ōm nogwi*” 滿國文武增添祿位, “*munmu kwallyo*” 文武官僚, and “*yangbu paekkwon*” 兩府百官, appear only during the Koryō period. During the Chosōn period, idiomatic and clichéd phrases, such as “Long Live the King, Long Live the Queen, Long Live the Crown Prince” (主上殿下萬萬歲. 王妃殿下壽萬歲. 世子邸下壽齊年), were universally used.

Table 4. 14th-Century Written Vows with Idiomatic Invocations from Buddhist Images

Year	Image	Written Vow Invocations
1322	Image of Thousand-Handed Avalokiteśvara	Long Live the Emperor, Long Live the King, May All Civil and Military Officials Powerfully Protect the Country 皇帝陛下統御萬年. 大尉王殿下壽千秋. 當今王主上保位天長文虎百僚各疆齡千戈
1322	Seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha from Kaeunsa	Long Live the Emperor 皇帝陛下萬萬歲
1346	Seated gilt-bronze image of Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha from Changgoksa	Long Live the Emperor, Long Live the King, May All Civil and Military Officials Prosper 皇帝萬歲. 國王千秋. 滿國文武增添祿位

39. *Tuoluoni ji jing*, T 901, 18:892a–b.



14th century	Seated wooden image of Amitābha Buddha from Chaunsa	Long Live the King, Long Live the Crown Prince and Princess, May All Civil and Military Officials Loyal-ly Serve the Country 主上殿下壽千秋. 兩大殿下壽無疆. 文武官僚忠貞奉國
Before 1395	Seated lacquered image of Avalokiteśvara-Bodhisattva from Changnyuksa 莊陸寺 (Yongdök County, North Kyöngsang Province)	Long Live the King, Long Live the Queen, Long Live the Crown Prince. May all the Royal Families Be Protected One Thousand Years. May All Civil and Military Officials Enjoy Long Life and Health, Bring Peace in the World, and Have Weapons Take Eternal Rest 主上殿下萬萬歲. 賢妃殿下壽齊年. 世子殿下壽千秋. 諸王家室各保天年. 兩府百官福壽無疆. 干戈永息四海波安

In the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, there are strict instructions concerning the actions to be performed after the rite:

On the day when the ritual ends, the articles laid in the presence of the Buddha hall should be used to assist in the completion of the Buddha image; the items laid in front of the *Prajñāpāramitā* should be used for the copying of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and other *sūtras*, and all the objects laid in front of bodhisattvas should be used for production of the bodhisattva images.⁴⁰

散道場日。其佛前物充作佛用。般若前物寫般若經及諸經等。諸菩薩物作菩薩用。

These instructions suggest that all the objects used for the monastery ritual should be enshrined inside Buddhist images, and that they were forbidden to be used for purposes other than making images. In other words, Buddhist images were consecrated as holy beings through the enshrining of the objects purified and transformed through the monastery ritual comprising *mantras*, chanting, and various rites.

In sum, based on the similarity between the reliquaries in pagodas from the Unified Silla period and later *pokchang* objects, I suggest that the *pokchang* objects most likely originated in the former. It also seems that the *pokchang* tradition was influenced by rituals practiced in Buddhist monasteries. *Dhāraṇīs*, together with *mantras* and chanting, played an important role in the rite of demarcating a ritual arena, and these *dhāraṇīs* became one of the major items in *pokchang* deposits. During the Chosŏn period, the *pokchang* deposits and the ritual of enshrining them were systemized and standardized, developing into a practice unique to Korea, and such ritual practice has continued to be maintained until today.

During the Koryŏ period, the rite for the enshrining of objects within a Buddhist image was important. As a result, not only the grandness of the Buddhist image, but also the benefit from enshrining objects was documented. Although the efficacy of such practices was not detailed in these documents, relevant *sūtras* include passages regarding the great merit gained from making offerings. We find passages such as: “With offerings, you can eliminate disasters from three karmas and acquire constant comfort and annihilate all guilt,” “As all evil guilt will be annihilated, nobody can have [the donor] get retribution for evil karma,” and “If you offer clothing, seven treasures, five grains, or music, this will eliminate all the

40. *Tuoluoni ji jing*, T 901, 18:890a.



donor's disasters from three karmas and bring constant comfort."⁴¹ The written vows from the Koryŏ Buddhist images suggest that a similar belief was widespread during the Koryŏ period. For instance, the written vow for the 1330 seated gilt-bronze image of Avalokiteśvara from Pusŏksa writes, ". . . It is due to our wish to annihilate disasters and invite fortune, and to be born together in the Pure Land in the next life." And the abovementioned *Tongmunsŏn* includes a passage, "There was great spiritual efficacy from enshrining five-colored relics and *pokchang* items inside the Buddha image."⁴² These records testify to the Koryŏ people's objectives and expectations from enshrining objects inside Buddhist images.

As discussed above, although the primary meaning of the term *pokchang* signifies objects enshrined inside a Buddhist image, it is closely related to Buddhist beliefs and practices. It is also clear that this was not a simple or arbitrary custom, but one based on a careful understanding and interpretation of the *sūtras*. The *pokchang* items are transformed into religious and spiritual objects with vitality through the ritual that begins with the rite of demarcating the ritual space, and the recitation of incantations and chanting by the *ācārya* who performed the demarcating rite. Such *pokchang* items are enshrined through strict ritual procedures inside the Buddhist image, and they can be viewed as one of the consummate forms of Buddhist practice in Korea (fig. 10).



Fig. 10. The *pokchang* ceremony. 2006. Pongnyŏngsa 奉寧寺, Suwŏn, Kyŏnggi Province. Photographed by Monk Kyŏngam. Courtesy of Monk Kyŏngam.

41. *Tuoluoni ji jing*, T 901, 18:893c21–23. “將諸衣服及以七寶五穀音樂施用供養。悉除施主三業宿殃常得安樂。”

42. *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選, fasc. 68, *ki* 記, “Kukch’ŏngsa kŭmdang chubul Sŏkka yŏrae sari yŏngi ki” 國清寺金堂主佛釋迦如來舍利靈異記。



RETHINKING *POKCHANG* AS *PRATIṢṬHĀ*:
THE INVENTION OF A RITUAL OF IMAGE CONSECRATION
IN KOREAN BUDDHISM

Seunghye LEE*

Qu'est-ce qui transforme une image de Bouddha en Bouddha? Cette question a été vivement débattue depuis les années 1990. Les études afférentes sont centrées en particulier sur les rituels d'installation d'images bouddhiques dans des contextes ésotériques indo-tibétains et sur les objets que l'intérieur des statues bouddhiques chinoises et japonaises recèle. Il existe peu de preuves textuelles de tels rituels dans les textes religieux chinois et japonais, ce qui rend difficile l'examen des bases scripturaires et les contextes doctrinaux de ces pratiques. En revanche, la tradition coréenne de la « cache ventrale » (pokchang 腹藏), pratique consistant à insérer des objets à l'intérieur des images bouddhiques, est bien documentée à la fois matériellement et textuellement. Nous avons en effet la possibilité de comparer les dépôts dans la cache ventrale des statues bouddhiques des périodes du Koryŏ 高麗 (918-1392) et du Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392-1910) avec un groupe de manuels rituels collectivement désigné sous le nom de Chosang kyŏng 造像經 (Soutra de la production d'images bouddhiques). Le contenu de la cache ventrale, tel qu'il est observé dans les manuels rituels et les objets découverts, a conduit les spécialistes à qualifier cette importante tradition rituelle comme étant une caractéristique du bouddhisme coréen. La plupart des spécialistes coréens la définissent comme une forme de consécration, un rituel permettant d'investir une image matérielle de la présence de la divinité. Ce point de vue correspond au modèle général d'explication en milieu universitaire occidental, qui décrit la consécration comme un outil rituel pour animer, vivifier et légitimer une image artificielle et inerte. L'émergence de cette pratique pendant la période du Koryŏ, que nous appelons une conception rituelle des images bouddhiques, marque un tournant important dans l'histoire des pratiques coréennes de fabrication d'images bouddhiques. Cette idée rituelle, dérivée du bouddhisme ésotérique indien tardif et transmise à la péninsule coréenne par les traductions d'écritures et de manuels rituels chinois des dynasties Song 宋 (960-1279) et Liao 遼 (907-1125), semble avoir joué un rôle essentiel dans la transformation de la perception des images par les bouddhistes coréens, qui a abouti finalement à la création et à la diffusion du rituel de la cache ventrale. Cet article a pour objectif de reconsidérer la structure générale de ce rituel à la lumière de la pratiṣṭhā, un rituel d'installation d'images dans le bouddhisme ésotérique

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indien. Ce rapprochement nous aide à mieux comprendre comment la formation du rituel de la cache ventrale et sa diffusion ont transformé à l'époque médiévale la perception coréenne des images bouddhiques et la pratique de fabrication de ces images”.

What makes a Buddha image into the Buddha? This question has been hotly discussed for a long time, with research centering especially on the consecration ritual of Buddhist images (Skt. *pratiṣṭhā*) in Indo-Tibetan and South Asian Buddhism. The consecration of Buddhist images is generally understood as a process that transforms a material image into the divinity. Previous studies have examined the procedures of such rituals prescribed in extant ritual manuals, while also recording and analyzing their practice across Buddhist Asia today.¹ Meanwhile, past scholarship on East Asian Buddhist practices of image consecration has mainly concerned objects retrieved from the inner recesses of Buddhist images rather than the procedures or structures of the rituals used to transform an image into the Buddha.² Although the rite of eye-opening or eye-dotting, the *grand finale* of the long process of the consecration ritual, has received some scholarly attention, the overall picture of image consecration rituals has yet to be drawn.³

Abundant textual and visual evidence indicates that image consecration was widely performed in Korea during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Koryŏ 高麗 period (918–1392).⁴ Known as *pokchang* 腹藏, the Korean practice of consecrating

** Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.

1. See Richard F. Gombrich, “The Consecration of a Buddhist Image,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1966): 23–36; Yael Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996); Donald K. Swearer, *Becoming the Buddha: The Ritual of Image Consecration in Thailand* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); István Keul, ed., *Consecration Rituals in South Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

2. A notable exception is Michel Strickmann’s chapter titled “L’icône animée,” which examines animated images and consecration rituals from a broad cross-cultural perspective. See his *Mantras et mandarins: Le bouddhisme tantrique en Chine* (Paris: Gallimard, 1996), 165–211. For recent scholarship that has examined the Chinese practice of enshrining ritual objects inside icons, see Helmut Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011), 3–50, and James Robson, “The Buddhist Image Inside-Out: On the Placing of Objects inside Statues in East Asia,” in *Buddhism Across Asia: Networks of Material, Intellectual, and Cultural Exchange*, vol. 1, ed. Tansen Sen (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2014), 291–307.

3. For discussions of Chinese and Japanese cases of the eye-dotting rite, see John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 59–63; Michelle C. Wang, “Early Chinese Buddhist Sculptures as Animate Bodies and Living Presences,” *Ars Orientalis* 46 (2016): 14–17; Towao Sakaehara, “The Prayers of the Retired Emperor Shomu: Performing Arts and Politics of Todaiji Temple in the 8th Century,” *Urban Culture Research* 1 (2003): 13–22.

4. Chŏng Ũn-u (Jeong Eunwoo) 鄭恩雨, “Koryŏ hugi pulsang ūi pokchangmul kwa huwŏnja” 고려후기 불상의 복장물과 후원자, in *Koryŏ hugi pulgyo chogak yŏn’gu* 高麗後期 佛教彫刻 研究 (Seoul: Munye ch’ulp’ansa, 2007), 55–56.

Buddhist images centers on the procedures involved in inserting objects inside Buddhist images. Extant evidence provides us the rare opportunity to compare a Chosŏn (1392–1910) cycle of ritual manuals, collectively known as the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyŏng* 造像經), with extant *pokchang* objects recovered from the interiors of Koryŏ and Chosŏn Buddhist images.⁵ The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* appears to have been compiled in the Chosŏn, but the esoteric Buddhist texts that form the core of this ritual corpus were actually translated and circulated in the Sinitic Buddhist world much earlier. Distinctive features of the Korean consecration ritual—from the very appellation *pokchang* to the specific terms for the actual objects inserted and the complex composition of individual objects—differentiate this ritual from similar looking practices in other parts of East Asia. This has led scholars to characterize this important ritual tradition as a unique product of Korean Buddhism, while simultaneously seeing it as a type of consecration practiced more broadly throughout Buddhist Asia. *Pokchang* has thus been defined as “a ritual of investing Buddhist images with the sacred [so that they can function] as the object of religious worship,”⁶ “a ritual completing a piece of sculpture as the divine Buddha,”⁷ a ritual that invests a Buddha statue with the eternal life force and transforms it into the “true image,”⁸ or “a ritual that establishes correspondence between the icon (microcosm) and the Buddha (macrocosm).”⁹ Although specific expressions vary, scholars agree that this ritual is a necessary step for converting a material image into a divinity. This understanding parallels a widespread explanatory model in Western scholarship that describes consecration as a ritual tool to animate, enliven, or empower a material image and that regards an image as an empty receptacle that can be filled with the divine presence.¹⁰

The emergence of this view during Koryŏ, which I call an esoteric perception of Buddhist images, marks a significant turning point in the history of Korean Buddhist image-making practices. Admittedly, some conception of “consecration” existed across Buddhist Asia well before the advent of esoteric Buddhism. For example,

5. The correlation between the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* and extant *pokchang* deposits was noted from the very beginning. See Min Yŏng-gyu 閔泳珪, “Changgoksa Koryŏ ch’ŏlbul pokchang yumul” 長谷寺 高麗鐵佛 腹藏遺物, *Inmun kwabak* 人文科學 14–15 (1966): 237–47. For a discussion of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* see the article by Richard D. McBride II in this issue.

6. Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong) 이선용, “Uri nara pulbokchang ūi t’ŭkching” 우리나라 불복장의 특징, *Misulsabak yŏn’gu* 美術史學研究 289 (2016): 93.

7. Kang Hŭi-jŏng (Kang Heejung) 강희정, “17-segi ihu pulsang ūi pokchang ūirye: Pŏpkye ūi kuhyŏn” 17세기 이후 불상의 腹藏 의례: 法界의 구현, *Misulsa wa sigak munhwa* 미술사와 시각문화 18 (2016): 40.

8. Chŏng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo), “Koryŏ sidae pulbokchang ūi t’ŭkching kwa hyŏngsŏng paegyŏng” 고려시대 불복장의 특징과 형성배경, *Misulsabak yŏn’gu* 286 (2015): 39.

9. Yi Sŏng-hye (Lee Seunghye) 이승혜, “Koryŏ sidae pulbokchang ūi hyŏngsŏng kwa ūimi” 高麗時代 佛腹藏의 形成과 意味, *Misulsabak yŏn’gu* 285 (2015): 91.

10. See Yael Bentor, *Consecration of Images and Stūpas in Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism*, 4–6, and Helmut Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred*, 7 and passim. For a critique of this view, see Robert H. Sharf, “Review of Helmut Brinker *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache*,” *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 1 (2013): 166–67.



Gandhāran Buddhists seem to have installed a relic inside the *uṣṇīṣa* of a Buddha image in an attempt to transform the latter into a legitimate object of worship.¹¹ In Korean Buddhism, the pre-established practice of placing the Buddha relics inside pagodas may have paved the way for the later development of *pokchang* practice during Koryŏ.¹² However, the notion of pentad groupings, so characteristic of the Koryŏ and Chosŏn *pokchang* deposits, is markedly absent in extant relic deposits from Korean pagodas and hardly found in the interior deposits of earlier Chinese Buddhist images.

The idea of consecrating an icon, which was rooted in Vedic rites, developed in early Buddhism and later in esoteric Buddhism in India.¹³ This ritual idea appears to have transmitted to Koryŏ through the Chinese translations of esoteric Buddhist texts during the Song 宋 (960–1279) and Liao 遼 (907–1125) periods. I argue that this idea played a vital role in the invention of *pokchang* practice and, by extension, transformation of Korean Buddhists' perception of Buddhist images. There are a number of similarities between the ritual sequences of the *pokchang* and *pratiṣṭhā*, from the construction of the *maṇḍalas* and the preparation of bottles with pentad groupings of materials for the *abhiṣeka* (*kwanjŏng*, Ch. *guanding* 灌頂), to the ceremonial opening of the eyes. The relation between esoteric Buddhism and the *pokchang* ritual, as well the more general esoteric nature of the *pokchang* practice, has not been brought to the fore until recent years, probably due to the prominent Mahāyāna nature of Korean Buddhism and Buddhist art in general. However, the last two decades have witnessed a vigorous search for the origin and development of the *pokchang* ritual in relation to a group of Buddhist texts conventionally classified as “esoteric Buddhist scriptures.” Through meticulous comparisons between scriptural prescriptions and extant objects, Korean art historians have proposed diverse interpretations regarding the doctrinal backgrounds of individual objects and their symbolic meanings. Such attempts, however, have sometimes failed to address crucial questions, such as when the scriptures in concern were transmitted to the Korean peninsula, who received them, and how they were put into practice. Consequently, it is vital to examine the historical context in which *pokchang*, a complex ritual consisting of myriad steps and components, was formulated. Given the structural similarities between *pratiṣṭhā* and *pokchang*, we need to also ask whether a common ritual idea and structure may have played a key role in the formulation of the latter.

This essay thus seeks to reconsider the overall structure of the *pokchang* ritual in light of *pratiṣṭhā* by critically revisiting correspondences found among extant late-Koryŏ *pokchang* deposits, a group of esoteric Buddhist scriptures, and the *Sūtras on*

11. See Juhung Rhi, “Images, Relics, and Jewels: The Assimilation of Images in the Buddhist Relic Cult of Gandhāra—Or Vice Versa,” *Artibus Asiae* 65, no. 2 (2005): 169–211.

12. See Henrik H. Sørensen, “Early Esoteric Buddhism in Korea: Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla (CA. 600–918),” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 592; Chŏng Ŭn-u (Jeong Eunwoo), “Koryŏ sidae pulbokchang ūi t'ŭkching kwa hyŏngsŏng paegyŏng,” 47–48.

13. See István Keul, “Consecration Rituals in South Asia: An Introduction,” in *Consecration Rituals in South Asia*, 1–16. I will return to discuss this issue later in this essay.



the Production of Buddhist Images. This line of inquiry sheds new light on how the creation and spread of *pokchang* transformed both the medieval Korean perception of Buddhist images and the practice of making images.

The Composition of Koryŏ *Pokchang* Deposits

The oldest and most frequently discussed text concerning *pokchang* deposits is a dedicatory inscription composed by the renowned literatus Yi Kyu-bo 李奎報 (1168–1241). Included among Yi Kyu-bo's collected writings, the “Eulogy and Record of the Repairs of the *Pokchang* of the Avalokiteśvara at Naksan” (*Naksan Kwanūm pokchang subomun pyŏng song* 洛山觀音腹藏修補文竝頌) commemorates the repairs to the deposits within a famous sculpted image of Avalokiteśvara at Naksansa 洛山寺 after its partial destruction during the Mongol invasion of Koryŏ, probably in 1235.¹⁴ The “treasures concealed in the belly” (*pok chung chi chinjang* 腹中之珍藏) are, according to Yi Kyu-bo, items that should be properly prepared and repaired when the icon's body is emptied. The text also lists several elements distinctive to Koryŏ, such as “two heart-circle mirrors, five kinds of incense, five medicines, colored threads, silk pouches, and more” (*simwŏn'gyŏng isa kūp ohyang oyak saeksa kŭmnang tŭng* 心圓鏡二事及五香五藥色絲錦囊等). The listed objects demonstrate the notion of pentad groupings, which is characteristic of Korean *pokchang* deposits and is markedly absent in the interior deposits of the famous Śākyamuni image at Seiryōji 清涼寺 in Kyōto, Japan, and similar Chinese examples. The cache of the Seiryōji Śākyamuni image included relic installments, a set of silk replicas of human organs, a bronze bell, xylographs and manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures, woodblock prints of Buddhist icons, cloth fragments, personal jewelry, bronze coinage, and documents.¹⁵ Although earlier studies misinterpreted the silk pouches mentioned in Yi Kyu-bo's text as representations of the five viscera,¹⁶ they appear to correlate with the “five treasure bottles” (*o pobyŏng* 五寶瓶) made of textiles, which themselves

14. *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* 東國李相國集, 25. For the original text, see *Han'guk kojŏn chonghap DB* 한국고전종합 DB (consulted on <http://db.itkc.or.kr>; accessed 16 March 2018). The thirteenth-century *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* (*Samguk Yusa* 三國遺事) dates the founding of the temple and production of the Avalokiteśvara image to the eighth century. However, there is no evidence confirming whether the image in Yi Kyu-bo's text corresponds to the legendary Avalokiteśvara image or when the original *pokchang* deposit was dedicated.

15. For discussions of these objects, see Gregory Henderson and Leon Hurvitz, “The Buddha of Seiryōji: New Finds and New Theory,” *Artibus Asiae* 19, no. 1 (1956): 4–55; Nagaoka Ryūsaku 長岡龍作, “Seiryōji Shaka nyōrai zō to Hokusō no shakai” 清涼寺釈迦如来像と北宋の社会, *Kokka* 國華 1269 (2001): 11–24; and Oku Takeo 奥健夫, “Seiryōji Shaka nyōrai zō” 清涼寺釈迦如来像, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本美術 513 (2009): 42–49.

16. This view is first presented by Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, “Tsushima, Iki no Chōsen kei chōkoku” 対馬・壹岐の朝鮮系彫刻, *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 95 (1974): 24 and 29.

contained various pentads of objects and which have been found in a variety of other images and texts. I will examine these bottles in detail below.

Another important textual account of *pokchang* practice is found in the “Record of the Marvels of the Relics [Enshrined within] Śākyamuni, the Main Buddha of the Golden Hall of Kukch’ōngsa” (*Kukch’ōngsa kūmdang chubul Sōkka yōrae sari yōngi ki* 國清寺金堂主佛釋迦如來舍利靈異記).¹⁷ This early fourteenth-century miracle tale, composed by Min Chi 閔漬 (1248–1326), deserves particular attention not only for its reference to the term “eight-petaled container” (*p’aryōp t’ong* 八葉筒), a key component of Koryō *pokchang* deposits, but also for the richness of the relic lore that it records. According to this account, in 1313 the patrons of the Śākyamuni Triad at Kukch’ōngsa wished to enshrine the various objects necessary for making of a *pokchang*, among which only the relics were difficult to obtain. Relic grains, however, appeared when the major patron paid respect to a painting of the White-Robed Avalokiteśvara. The manifested relics were presumably divided into three shares and encased inside eight-petaled containers. Each container was then enshrined in the bellies of the Buddha and two attendant bodhisattvas (*susūp punsōng p’aryōp t’ong naban chu pan sambok chung* 收拾分盛八葉筒 納安主伴三腹中).¹⁸

When cross-checked with material evidence, neither Yi Kyu-bo’s nor Min Chi’s texts provides a complete list of deposited items, which typically include woodblock prints of *dhāraṇīs* and seed-syllable *maṇḍalas*, Buddhist scriptures, clothes previously worn by donors, and so on.¹⁹ However, the types of objects listed by the two authors are invariably found in extant *pokchang* contents from the late Koryō and correspond closely to those prescribed in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, which will be discussed in detail below. Currently, more than a dozen such deposits originally inserted in Buddhist images during the latter half of Koryō are known,²⁰ and the list of Buddhist images with deposits is growing by the day as more statues are X-rayed, CT-scanned, and examined by experts. Investigations of surviving Koryō *pokchang* deposits reveal that the order and placement of individual items, the form of the eight-petaled container, and the kinds and positions of seed syllables were systemized by the late Koryō. The entire deposit was usually inserted through a hole at the bottom of a statue and then concealed with a wooden plug. A bronze bell, known as the “throat-bell” (*buryōng* 喉鈴), which is usually wrapped in sheets of *dhāraṇī* or blank paper, was first inserted up to the throat level of the statue (fig. 1). A lidded container, covered in a yellow textile wrapper and holding a wide variety of objects, was placed at the chest level of the statue. Documents

17. *Tongmunsōn* 東文選, 68. For the original text, see *Han’guk kojōn chonghap DB* (consulted on <http://db.itkc.or.kr>; accessed 16 March 2018).

18. The eight-petaled container also appears in the “Inventory of Objects” (*Kō’an* 學女) compiled for an image of the Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara of 1322. The document is discussed and transcribed in its entirety in Hō Hūng-sik 許興植, “1322 nyōn saeroūn pulbokchang” 1322年 새로운 佛腹藏, in *Han’guk ūi komunsō* 韓國의 古文書 (Seoul: Minūmsa, 1988), 128–44.

19. For more on Buddhist texts and clothes found inside Korean Buddhist images see the articles by Song Il-gie and Youn-mi Kim in this issue.

20. A survey of important finds is found in Chōng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo) and Sin Ūn-je 신은제, *Koryō ūi sōngmul, pulbokchang* 고려의 聖物, 佛腹藏 (Seoul: Kyōngin munhwasa, 2017), 65–263.



Fig. 1. Throat bell. Bronze. D 7 cm. Koryŏ, ca. 1346. Discovered inside the Amitābha Buddha of Munsusa at Sŏsan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province in 1973. Sudŏksa Museum, Yesan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. After Sudŏksa kŭnyŏk sŏngbogwan, *Chisim kwimyŏng nye: Han'guk ũi pulbokchang* (Yesan: Sudŏksa kŭnyŏk sŏngbogwan, 2004), 33, figure 25.



Fig. 2. Eight-petaled container. Wood. H 7 cm. Koryŏ, ca. 1346. Discovered inside the Amitābha Buddha of Munsusa. Sudŏksa Museum, Yesan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province. After Sudŏksa kŭnyŏk sŏngbogwan, *Chisim kwimyŏng nye*, 18, figure 4.

(mostly dedicatory inscriptions) and copies of Buddhist scriptures were inserted at the upper level of the belly underneath the container. Pieces of clothes previously worn by donors were sometimes put inside the lowest part of the statue.

Of the individual objects enshrined, the eight-petaled lidded containers demonstrate the most complex composition and symbolism. Although they are made of different materials such as wood or silver, most are adorned with imagery of a lotus flower with eight petals, hence the name (fig. 2). Another unique feature is seen in



Fig. 3. (Left) Imagery of an eight-petaled lotus flower painted on the body of the eight petaled container; (right) inscription of the “true-mind seed syllables” on the inner side of a lid from the Amitābha Buddha of Munsusa. Koryŏ, ca. 1346. Sudōksa Museum, Yesan, South Ch’ungch’ōng Province. After Sudōksa künyŏk sŏngbogwan, *Chisim kwim’yŏng nye*, 18, figure 4.

two sets of seed syllables inscribed on various parts of the container. A group of five *Siddham* characters reading *hūm-trāḥ-brīḥ-aḥ-vām* are inscribed either on the top or inner side of the lid (fig. 3). Another group of five *Siddham* characters—*am-vām-rām-hām-khām*—occasionally appears inscribed on the inside of the container’s body. The first group is consistently referred to as the “true-mind seed syllables” (*chinsim chongja* 真心種子), while the second is called the “five-wheel seed syllables” (*oryun chongja* 五輪種子) in all known editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. A clear example of the “five-wheel seed syllables” is found in the wooden container recovered from a gilt-bronze Buddha statue at Anjōngsa 安靜寺 dating from the late Koryŏ.²¹ Textile patches affixed to the inner wall of the container bear inscriptions of the five-wheel seed syllables in Chinese transliteration. The patches, fashioned in accordance with the directions they represent, are dyed in different colors and are cut into distinctive shapes (fig. 4).²²

21. The initial report of the Anjōngsa finds is found in Yi Yong-yun (Lee Yongyun) 李容胤, “Pulsang pong’an ūisik ūi chōngsu, pokchang” 佛像奉安儀式的 精髓, 腹藏, in *Pulbokchang ūisik byŏnhwang chosa pogosŏ* 불복장의식 현황조사보고서, ed. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn’guso 불교문화재연구소 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo Chogyejong ch’ongmuwŏn munhwabu, 2012), 20–21.

22. A detailed explanation regarding the correlations among the five shapes, five characters, five colors, five wisdoms, and five divisions embodied in the five-wheel seed syllables is given in “An Explanation of the Interpretations and Classifications of All the Objects Enshrined in the *Pokchang* of Buddhist Images in Two Courses” (*Pokchang chemul haesŏk punje igwa sŏl* 腹藏諸物解釋分齊二科說) part under “The Ritual of the *Pokchang* Altar for All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” (*Che pulbosal pokchangdan ūisik* 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式) section in the Yujōmsa 楡岾寺 edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Such correlations have been interpreted as a feature based on a group of three esoteric texts (*T* 905, *T* 906, *T* 907), traditionally



Fig. 4. Inscription of the “five-wheel seed syllables” on the interior of the body of a lidded wooden container. Koryŏ, ca. late 14th century. Discovered inside the Buddha image at Anjŏngsa, T’ongyŏng, South Kyŏngsang Province. Copyright Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage.



Fig. 5. Pokchang deposit. Koryŏ, ca. late 14th century. Discovered inside the Buddha image at Anjŏngsa, T’ongyŏng, South Kyŏngsang Province. Copyright Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage.

Extant eight-petaled containers have typically yielded a round mirror,²³ dried rice, a rock-crystal ball without a hole, relics and their container, and five textile pouches containing incenses, grains, medicines, and precious stones or metals among other substances (fig. 5). The specific objects held in the five textile pouches found among the *pokchang* contents of a gilt-bronze Amitābha image dedicated at Munsusa 文殊寺 can be reconstructed on the basis of the “Catalogue of the Objects Inserted

attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha and referred to as the three Siddhis texts in modern scholarship. See Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong), “Uri nara pulbokchang ūi t’ŭkching,” 99–105.

23. There is a discrepancy in the number of mirrors. While Yi Kyu-bo mentions “two heart-circle mirrors” among the newly made *pokchang* deposit of the Avalokiteśvara image, extant late-Koryŏ deposits usually have yielded a single mirror, or more precisely a round metal plate, both of whose sides are polished in order to function like mirrors.

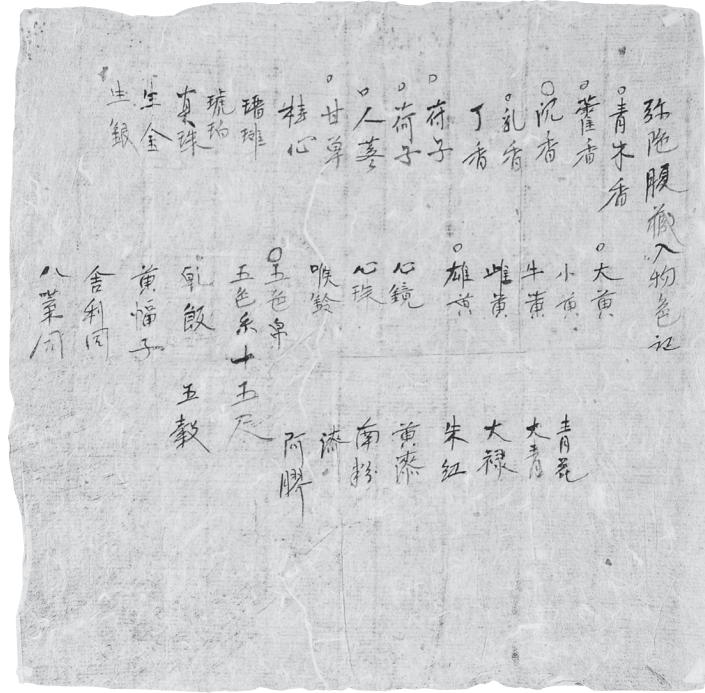


Fig. 6. “Catalogue of the Objects Inserted in the *Pokchang* of Amitābha.” Ink on paper. 35.1 × 35.9 cm. Koryŏ, dated 1346. Discovered inside the Amitābha Buddha of Munsusa. Sudōksa Museum, Yesan, South Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. After Sudōksa kūnyōk sŏngbogwan, *Chisim kwimyōng nye*, 17, figure 3.

in the *Pokchang* of Amitābha” (*Mi’ta pokchang ip mulsaek ki 彌陀腹藏入物色記*) (fig. 6).²⁴ The catalogue provides a complete list of twenty kinds of objects inserted into the textile pouches of five colors of this Buddha image and of other *pokchang* items. Each group of objects is identified as follows: (1) the five kinds of incense (*ohyang* 五香), (2) the five medicines (*oyak* 五藥), (3) the five precious things (*obo* 五寶), (4) the five yellow substances (*ohwang* 五黃), (5) the eight-petaled container and its contents, including silks of five colors (*osaek paek* 五色帛), threads in five colors with a length of five meters (*osaek sa sibo ch’ŏk* 五色糸十五尺), a yellow cloth wrapper, and reliquary (*sari dong* 舍利同), with the exception of the throat-bell, (6) pigments and other mediums used in decoration and inscription, and (7) the five different types of grain (*ogok* 五穀).²⁵ The objects listed in the catalogue accord

24. For a survey report of the finds, see Kang In-gu 姜仁求, “Sŏsan Munsusa kūmdong yōrae chwasang pokchang yumul” 瑞山文殊寺 金銅如來坐像腹藏遺物, *Misul charyo* 美術資料 18 (1975): 1–18.

25. The identification, numeration, and subdivisions are mine and not found in the original list. The objects listed here largely correspond with those listed in the “Inventory of Objects” dated to 1322. For the latter, see Hō Hūng-sik, “1322 nyŏn saeroūn pulbokchang,” 131, 135–41.

well with representative late Koryŏ *pokchang* deposits, including those from a now lost Amitābha image of 1302,²⁶ a gilt-bronze Avalokiteśvara image dated 1330,²⁷ a gilt-bronze Bhaiṣajyaguru image of Changgoksa 長谷寺 dated 1346,²⁸ and the Anjōngsa Buddha image.

The textual and visual evidence examined above demonstrates a considerable degree of standardization in the contents and placement of the *pokchang* deposits by the late Koryŏ. Comparative analysis of late Koryŏ and Chosŏn *pokchang* deposits has shown that there are continuities and discontinuities in the history of this ritual tradition: the five textile pouches and their contents and the two sets of seed-syllables form the core of Koryŏ and Chosŏn *pokchang* deposits alike, whereas the throat-bell and eight-petaled container disappeared in the early Chosŏn period.²⁹ What might be the textual basis of objects whose use is traceable back to Koryŏ prior to the compilation of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*?

Scriptural Bases for the *Pokchang* Ritual and the “Esoteric Turn” in Recent Scholarship

The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* are composite works drawn from various Buddhist scriptures and writings deemed important in Korean Buddhism. Extant editions of this apocryphal Korean collection, which all date from the late sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, give clear prescriptions for the preparation and enshrinement of deposits inside images.³⁰ The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* include excerpts or citations from the following four texts: the *Collection of the Great Canon in One Glance* (Ch. *Dazang yilan ji* 大藏一覽集), compiled by Chen Shi 陳實 (d.u.) of the Southern Song in 1157³¹; the *Sūtra on the King of*

26. Onyang minsok pangmulgwan 溫陽民俗博物館, ed., *1302 nyŏn Amit'abul pokchangmul ūi chosa yŏn'gu* 1302年阿彌陀佛腹藏物の調査研究 (Onyang: Onyang minsok pangmulgwan, 1991).

27. See Kikutake Jun'ichi, “Tsushima, Iki no Chōsen kei chōkoku,” 24 and 29.

28. The earliest discussion of the Changgoksa *pokchang* deposit is found in Min Yōng-gyu, “Changgoksa Koryŏ ch'olbul pokchang yumul.” For a recent re-examination of the *pokchang* deposit, see Chōng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo), “Changgoksa kŭmdong Yaksa yŏrae chwasang kwa pokchang yumul ūi naeryŏk kwa t'ŭkch'ing” 장곡사 금동약사여래좌상과 복장유물의 내력과 특징, *Misulsa yŏn'gu* 美術史研究 29 (2015): 7–28.

29. See Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong), “Pulbokchangmul kusōng hyōngsik e kwanhan yŏn'gu” 佛腹藏物 구성형식에 관한 연구, *Misulabak yŏn'gu* 261 (2009): 96–98; Yi Yong-yun (Lee Yongyun), “Pulsang pong'an ūisik ūi chōngsu, pokchang,” 22–28.

30. Five different printed editions are presently known: the Yongch'ōnsa 龍泉寺 edition (1575), the Nūnggasa 楞伽寺 edition (1677), the Hwajangsa 華藏寺 edition (1720), the Kimnyongsa 金龍寺 edition (1746), and the Yujōmsa edition (1824). There are also manuscript copies and a modern bilingual edition. The Yongch'ōnsa and Yujōmsa editions are reproduced with a brief introduction in T'aegyōng 泰兪, *Pulbokchang e saegyōjin ūimi* 佛腹藏에 새겨진意味 (Seoul: Yangsajae, 2008). For the modern bilingual edition, see *Che pulbosal pokchangdan ūisik* 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式 (Pusan: Pulgyo chōnsigwan, 1992).

31. The compilation of the text was previously attributed to Chen Shi of the Ming on the basis of the Qing dynasty *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書. For a new dating to the Southern Song, see

the Great Teaching of Visualization Methods Which Are Auspicious, Universal, Secret, and Superlative (Ch. *Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen dajiaowang jing* 妙吉祥平等秘密最上觀門大教王經; hereafter the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious*), translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Maitrībhadra (Ch. Cixian 慈賢, fl. 11th century) in the 1060s under the Liao; the *Manual of Mantras of the Three Siddhis out of the Secret Results of the Three Bodies for the Destruction of Hell, the Transformation of Karmic Hindrances, and the Liberation from the Three Conditioned Worlds* (Ch. *Foding zunsheng xin podiyu zhuan yezhang chu sanjie mimi sanshen fogue sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界秘密三身佛果三種悉地真言儀軌; hereafter *Manual of Mantras of the Three Siddhis*), whose translation is traditionally attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha (Ch. Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735) of the Tang; and the *Manual of the Great Bright Visualization of the Perfection of Wisdom of the Buddha-Mother* (Ch. *Fomu bore poluomiduo daming guanxiang yigui* 佛母般若波羅蜜多大明觀想儀軌; hereafter *Great Bright Visualization Manual*), translated into Chinese by Dānapāla (Ch. Shihu 施護, ?–1017) in 980 under the Northern Song.³² The five extant editions are almost identical in terms of the texts they contain, even though they are titled differently and show slight variations in their contents. Previous studies have examined when the individual texts cited or compiled in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* were composed, translated into Chinese, and transmitted to the Korean peninsula.³³ Considering the dates of the compilation or translation of the individual texts, the *pokchang* deposits based on these texts could theoretically have been made as early as the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.³⁴ Indeed, much of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* is closely related to the major *pokchang* items included in Koryō images.

None of the *pokchang* items are directly related to the *Collection of the Great Canon in One Glance*. The excerpts from the “Chapter on the Production of Images” (Ch. *Zaoxiang pin* 造像品) of the *Collection of the Great Canon in One Glance*, may have been added as an introduction to the entire manual, giving a standard sūtra-like structure to this apocryphon while also providing explanations regarding the merit accumulated from the making of images. Secondly, the composition and ritualized empowerment of the five treasure bottles, which correspond to the five textile pouches yielded from Koryō and Chosōn statues, seem to have been based on the first fascicle of the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious*. The entire fascicle is cited in all five editions of the *Sūtras on the*

Ch'oe Yōng-ho 최영호, “Haeinsa sojang pon *Taejang illam chip kaksōng sigi ūi chaegōm'to wa p'an'gak ūi hyōnsilgwan*” 海印寺 所藏本『大藏一覽集』刻成時期的 戒검토와 판각의 현실관, *Han'guk chungsesa yōn'gu* 한국중세사연구 6 (1999): 212–46.

32. This text is only included in the Nūnggasa and Kimnyongsa editions.

33. See T'aegyōng sūnim 泰貳스님, *Chosang kyōng: Pulbokchang ūi chōlch'a wa kū soje tamgin sasang* 造像經: 佛腹藏의 節次와 그 속에 담긴 思想 (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006), 42–75.

34. Mun Myōng-dae 문명대, “Indo, Chungguk pulbokchang ūi kiwōn kwa Han'guk pulbokchang ūi chōn'gae” 인도·중국 불복장의 기원과 한국 불복장의 전개, *Kangjwa misulsa* 講座美術史 44 (2015): 296.

Production of Buddhist Images. Thirdly, the five-wheel seed syllables are grounded in the *Manual of Mantras of the Three Siddhis*.³⁵

What guided the selection of texts for the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*? Besides the *Collection of the Great Canon in One Glance*, the four texts included in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* represent different stages of development in the history of Indian esoteric Buddhism and the diverse routes through which esoteric Buddhist texts were transmitted to East Asia. On the one hand, the *Manual of Mantras of the Three Siddhis* has been conventionally portrayed as representative of the ninth-century Chinese understanding of the middle phase of Indian esoteric Buddhism. The manual, along with two other texts (*T 905* and *T 907*) also attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha, not only shows a mixing of ritual elements from the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* (hereafter *MVS*, *T 848*) and *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (hereafter *STTS*, *T 865*) but also demonstrates borrowings from traditional Chinese religious ideologies and practices.³⁶ On the other hand, the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious* represents the late phase in the historical development of Indian esoteric Buddhist scriptures. The *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious*, a scripture belonging to the *STTS* corpus, was translated under imperial patronage in Liao and provided the scriptural basis for icons depicted on several Liao pagodas.³⁷ The scripture appears in the Fangshan Stone Canon, yet it was not included in the Liao Canon, a copy of which the Koryō court received circa 1063. Furthermore, there are few textual references to this scripture prior to the publication of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. The extensive citation of the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious* in this ritual corpus thus raises a question about the text's initial transmission to the Korean peninsula.³⁸ This brief overview of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* thus presents us with

35. *T 906*, 18:912c17–22. The true-mind seed syllables represent the Five Wisdom Buddhas of the Vajradhātu (Ch. *wuzhi rulai* 五智如來). The *Manual of Mantras of the Three Siddhis* only mentions that the Five Wisdom Buddhas are all born from the letter *ā* without enumerating each of their seed syllables. See *T 906*, 18:914b10.

36. Japanese scholars traditionally identified the three Siddhis texts as mid-ninth century Chinese productions, yet Jinhua Chen has argued for ninth-century Japanese authorship for all three texts. See Jinhua Chen, “The Construction of Early Tendai Esoteric Buddhism: The Japanese Provenance of Saichō’s Transmission Documents and Three Esoteric Buddhist Apocrypha Attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 21 (1998): 21–76.

37. See Hang Kan 杭侃, “Liao Zhongjing Damingta shang de mizong tuxiang” 遼中京大明塔上的密宗圖像, in *Su Bai xiansheng bazhi huadan jinian wenji* 宿白先生八秩華誕紀念文集 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002), 2:591–92; and Fujiwara Takato 藤原崇人, “Sōkai no Bukkyō ōkoku: Sekkoku buttō bunbutsu ni miru Kittan no bukkyō” 草海の仏教王国: 石刻・仏塔文物に見る契丹の仏教, *Ajia yūgaku* アジア遊学 160 (2013): 95–96.

38. For more on the reception of this text in Koryō, see Yi Sūng-hye (Lee Seunghye), “Koryō sidae pulbokchang ūi hyōngsōng kwa ūimi,” 85–86. A revised and abridged English version of this article will be published as “Consecrating the Buddha: The Formation of the *Bokjang* Ritual during the Goryeo Period,” *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* 14 (forthcoming).

a convoluted history of the composition, transmission, and reception of esoteric Buddhist texts across East Asia, an issue that deserves further inquiry.

Recent studies have attempted to identify the textual bases of the *pokchang* practice prior to the creation and dissemination of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. One notable strain of scholarship finds the textual bases of the *pokchang* ritual in Buddhist scriptures associated with the early and middle phases of Chinese esoteric Buddhism, departing from the texts forming the cores of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Although the rationale behind this scholarly move is not entirely clear, scholars seem to have focused on these texts in an attempt to identify the earliest scriptural authorities that may explain the *pokchang* ritual's setting and ritual paraphernalia, which themselves are reconstructed from the extant Koryŏ *pokchang* deposits and the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. A few scholars have suggested that the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Collection of Dhāraṇīs* (Ch. *Foshuo tuoluoni ji jing* 佛說陀羅尼集經; abbr. *Collection of Dhāraṇīs*), translated into Chinese by Atikūṭa (Ch. Adijuduo 阿地瞿多, d.u.) in 654, may have provided prescriptions for what to include in the eight-petaled container and how to install the five treasure bottles within it.

On the one hand, T'aegyŏng points out that the major components of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*—including the five treasure bottles, five types of grain, mustard seeds, the five ritual masters in charge of the five directional altars, and even the shapes associated with the five-wheel seed syllables—are found in fascicle 1 of the *Collection of Dhāraṇīs*.³⁹ The *Collection of Dhāraṇīs* typically prescribes that rituals be performed within arenas demarcated by threads of five colors in monasteries, and that use should be made of the five treasure bottles and other ritual implements in accordance with the five directions. According to T'aegyŏng, the diverse ritual implements may have come to be placed within the five treasure bottles as the ritual arena changed from spacious temple grounds to the extremely limited inner recesses of images. She also suggests the possibility that Koryŏ Buddhists created the *pokchang* ritual by combining similar elements prescribed in the *Collection of Dhāraṇīs* and the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious*.⁴⁰

On the other hand, Jeong Eunwoo argues that the five bottles, five types of grain, seven treasures, and cords of five colors listed in fascicle 12 of the *Collection of Dhāraṇīs* correspond closely to those inserted in the *pokchang* of Korean Buddhist images. She further claims that the five colors prescribed in the scripture accord with those actually used in the threads of five colors and five treasure bottles recovered from Koryŏ Buddhist images.⁴¹ According to Jeong, Koryŏ Buddhists inserted the ritual implements inside Buddha images because they took the textual prescription

39. For relevant passages, see *T* 901, 18:787a15–23, 787b3–7, 786a25–b2, and 786c24–28.

40. T'aegyŏng sūnim, *Chosang kyŏng*, 94–99.

41. Chŏng Ŭn-u (Jeong Eunwoo), "Koryŏ sidae pulbokchang ūi t'ŭkching kwa hyŏngsŏng paegyŏng," 43–45. For the passages she discusses in support of her argument, see *T* 901, 18:787a18–19, 886c15–25, 814b19–20, 888b1–6. For more detailed discussion see the article by Jeong Eunwoo in this issue.

literally: “On the day of disbanding the assembly, all the objects put in front of the Buddha during the ritual should be used in the production of the Buddha.”⁴²

Meanwhile, Mun Myōng-dae also finds a textual basis for the Koryō *pokchang* ritual in the *Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. What draws his attention is the method of adorning the altar during the installation ceremony for an image of Śākyamuni prescribed in fascicle 1 of the *Collection of Dhāraṇīs*. The four corners of the altar, where the image is to be installed upon a jeweled seat of seven treasures, should be adorned with banners, flowers, bells, ornaments, mirrors, five treasure bottles (filled with a mixture of eight kinds of incense, five types of grain, and orpiment), white mustard seeds, and pebbles, while offerings of *dhāraṇīs*, flowers, and incense are made.⁴³ The ritual implements installed around the Buddha image accord largely with those prepared for the *pokchang* ritual. Mun also asserts that the eight-petaled container was derived from a *maṇḍala* or the hidden altar (*miltan* 密壇) of the middle phase of esoteric Buddhism in China. Because middle-phase esoteric Buddhism was not well received in Korea, the hidden altar was intentionally adopted in Buddhist rituals performed in secret, such as *pokchang*, so as not to reveal the existence of the altar.⁴⁴

A slightly different line of research has been taken by Lee Seonyong in her recent study, which revisits the symbolic meaning and doctrinal background of the eight-petaled container in light of the *MVS* and *STTS*. The *MVS* and *STTS* are inarguably the two most important esoteric Buddhist scriptures in East Asian Buddhism, yet they are not directly cited in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Lee Seonyong singles out the eight-petaled container, the throat-bell container (*buryōng t'ong* 喉鈴筒), and the emphasis on the five directions as the salient features of the Korean *pokchang* tradition, and she attempts to find their textual bases in the *MVS*, *STTS*, and the three Siddhis texts. She argues that the “five directional mirrors” (*obang kyōng* 五方鏡), five-wheel seed syllables, and true-mind seed syllables visually embody the “five wisdoms” (*oji* 五智) and “five Buddhas” (*obul* 五佛), “five characters” (*oja* 五字), and “five shapes” (*obyōng* 五形) respectively, and that they were installed within the inner recesses of Buddhist images as the wisdom of the five Buddhas. The distinctive method of encasing the five treasure bottles within the eight-petaled container represents the union of the eight petals and the five Buddhas. This understanding has led her to interpret the eight-petaled container with the five treasure bottles as a representation of the Court of the Eight-Petaled Lotus (*chungdae p'aryōp wōn*, Ch. *zhongtai baye yuan* 中臺八葉院) in the middle of the Garbhadhātu *maṇḍala*, where Vairocana sits at center and four Buddhas and

42. T 901, 18:890a14. Chōng Ŭn-u (Jeong Eunwoo), “Koryō sidae pulbokchang ūi t'ükching kwa hyōngsōng paegyōng,” 51–52. I have provided an English translation of Jeong Eunwoo’s reading of the passage. The passage in concern (其佛前物充作佛用) might mean “the objects in front of the Buddha should be treated as being for the Buddha’s use.” I am grateful to Phillip E. Bloom for this point.

43. T 901, 18:785b8–c26.

44. See Mun Myōng-dae, “Indo, Chungguk pulbokchang ūi kiwōn kwa Han’guk pulbokchang ūi chōn’gae,” 291, and 293–94.

four bodhisattvas sit on the eight petals. The five Buddhas of the Garbhadhātu maṇḍala were, according to Lee Seonyong, replaced with the five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* under the doctrinal influence of the *MVS* or the *Secret Dhāraṇī Method of the Three Siddhis That Destroy Hell and Reverse Karmic Hindrances in the Three Worlds* (Ch. *Sanzhong xidi podiyu zhuān yezhang chu sanjie mimi tuoluoni fa* 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界祕密陀羅尼法).⁴⁵ In addition, she finds in the Vajradhātu maṇḍala based on the *STTS* cycle a textual basis for the meaning and function of the throat-bell, which disappeared from the early Chosŏn onward. In Lee Seonyong's view, the throat-bell of Koryŏ and the pipe-like *hubyŏl* 喉穴 on the lid of a throat-bell container from Chosŏn represent an expression of the universe in the sounds of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala.⁴⁶

The scriptures that have received intense scholarly attention in recent years represent the early and middle phases of the Chinese esoteric Buddhist tradition. Although these esoteric Buddhist scriptures were transmitted to the Korean peninsula and may have served as scriptural bases for several Buddhist images and ritual practices,⁴⁷ there was a considerable temporal gap between the initial reception of these texts in the Unified Silla and the beginning of the *pokchang* practice in the Koryŏ. Consequently, it is necessary to ask what propelled Koryŏ Buddhists to incorporate injunctions in these long-available earlier texts into the new context of image consecration. What was the major factor leading Koryŏ Buddhists to put prescriptions in these texts into practice?

Rethinking the Logic of *Pokchang* in Light of *Pratiṣṭhā*

The correspondences between the various components of the *pokchang* deposits and a host of esoteric Buddhist texts have led scholars to identify *pokchang* as an esoteric Buddhist ritual to empower a Buddhist icon. Nevertheless, they have failed to reach a complete consensus about the precise scriptural basis of them. Ultimately, it may prove more productive to consider the place of *pokchang* within the broader ritual repertoire of esoteric Buddhism. In other words, rather than narrowing down the doctrinal bases of the *pokchang* to one or two scriptural authorities, we may want to examine the invention of *pokchang* within the loose network of metaphors and

45. T 905, 18:911C10–23.

46. Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong), “Uri nara pulbokchang ūi t’ŭkching,” 99–113.

47. For instance, the iconography of Brahma and Indra images at Sŏkkuram 石窟庵, constructed in the mid-eighth century, accords with the descriptions found in fascicle 3 of the *Collection of Dhāraṇīs*, see T 901, 18:805b20–c2; Hŏ Hyŏng-uk 허형욱, “Sŏkkuram Pŏmch’ŏn, Chesŏkch’ŏn sang tosang ūi kiwŏn kwa sŏngnip” 석굴암 梵天·帝釋天像 도상의 기원과 성립, *Misulsabak yŏn’gu* 246–47 (2005): 16–26. Printed copies of Garbhadhātu and Vajradhātu maṇḍalas in which the deities are symbolized by their seed syllables written in *Siddham* characters have been found in the inner recesses of late Koryŏ Buddhist images; see Onyang minsok pangmulgwan, ed., *1302 nyŏn Amit’abul pokchangmul ūi chosa yŏn’gu*, 295–96; Nam Kwŏn-hŭi 南權熙, *Koryŏ sidae kirok munhwa yŏn’gu* 高麗時代 記錄文化 研究 (Ch’ŏngju: Ch’ŏngju koinswae pangmulgwan, 2002), 279–340.

symbolic meanings inscribed in esoteric Buddhist rituals performed across multiple regions.⁴⁸

One of the prominent notions in *pokchang* practice is “installation” or “establishment” (*allip*, Ch. *anli* 安立). The term appears repeatedly in the *Sūtras on the Production of Images* at points where the texts prescribe that individual items be installed within the five treasure bottles, the throat-bell container, or the inner recess of the image. The Sinitic term is an equivalent of the Sanskrit word *pratiṣṭhā*. *Pratiṣṭhā* originally referred to the building (*köllip*, Ch. *jianli* 建立) of an image or a stūpa, yet it came to connote establishing the sacred presence within them; by extension, the term signified the ritual itself. Like other esoteric Buddhist rituals including the consecration of a practitioner and fire offering (*boma*, Ch. *humo* 護摩, Skt. *boma*), among others, the *pratiṣṭhā* of a divine image was developed from Vedic rites. The *pratiṣṭhā* for Buddhist images seems to have been practiced in India by the sixth century, although the specific procedures of these early practices remain unknown due to a lack of supporting evidence. Past scholarship has proposed that the Buddhist practice of *pratiṣṭhā*, like its Hindu counterpart, might have involved two principal acts: the invitation of the divine into the ritual arena (Skt. *adbivāsana*) and the installation of the divine within an image (Skt. *pratiṣṭhā*).⁴⁹ The fundamental aim of *pratiṣṭhā* is to make the divine reside eternally within the ritual vessel; however, the specific methods or procedures of *pratiṣṭhā* vary depending on the region where the ritual manuals were established. In this regard, *pratiṣṭhā* includes both the physical act of installing a material image inside a worship hall and the symbolic act of establishing within an image the divine who is invited into the ritual arena.

As a rule, *pratiṣṭhā* consists of various ritual steps including the establishment of a *maṇḍala*, the visualization of deities, the recitation of mantras, the *abhiṣeka* of the image, and *boma*—all of which were deemed essential in late Indian esoteric Buddhism. A glimpse of this ritual scenario is found in the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Samādhi of All the Tathāgatas for the Installation of Images* (Ch. *Foshuo yiqie rulai anxiang sanmei yigui jing* 佛說一切如來安像三昧儀軌經; hereafter *Sūtra on the Installation of Images*), translated into Chinese by Dānapāla around 980 under Northern Song imperial patronage. The text is the earliest consecration manual included in the Chinese canon and circulated in the Sinitic cultural sphere.⁵⁰ As such, it holds significance for our understanding of the structure and symbolism of Indian *pratiṣṭhā* practices that came to be known in East Asia.

The opening part of the manual succinctly states the goal of any *pratiṣṭhā*: “If one asks an *ācārya* to invite the Buddha in accordance with the manual of mantras and

48. I take my cues from Bernard Faure, “Buddhism’s Black Holes: From Ontology to Hauntology,” *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 27, no. 2 (2017): esp. 97–98, 106–8.

49. Masahide Mori, “The Installation Ceremony in Tantric Buddhism,” in *From Material to Deity: Indian Rituals of Consecration*, ed. Shingo Einoo and Jun Takashima (Delhi: Manohar, 2005), 200–201.

50. This manual has been discussed in the following studies, see Michel Strickmann, *Mantras et mandarins*, 198–202; John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture*, 61; James Robson, “The Buddhist Image Inside-Out,” 295–96.

to carry out the joyous ceremony of installation, the Buddha and sages will descend and be delighted, and therefore one will achieve merit.”⁵¹ The synopsis of the entire manual runs as follows: To build a *maṇḍala* for the installation of an image, one first selects an auspicious day, defines an area for the ritual performance, and then places offerings of parasols, banners, incense and flowers, fruits, and lamps. Next, one establishes the *maṇḍala* by binding ropes of five colors around the upper and lower parts of the demarcated zone. The *ācārya* moves on to invite the Buddhas of the five families, bodhisattvas, and their retinue. The *ācārya* and his disciple(s) then enter the worship hall to install the image properly. They visualize the form of the Buddha, pay respect to him with their hands clasped, look up at the holy visage, and then make offerings to the image. Next, the *ācārya* recites a spell three times and then utters the following sentence: “Just as the Buddhas abide in the Tuṣita Heaven, and just as Śākyamuni was in the womb of Queen Maya, we pray that the Buddha will, out of compassion, abide here. May the Buddha always reside with the disciple so-and-so for the sake of making [the disciple] arouse the mind of intention to achieve enlightenment, and receive this offering of incense and flowers.”⁵² The “here” in the quoted passage refers to the image, the vessel of the installation ritual that will subsequently house the presence of the Buddha. Having been installed with the divine presence, the ontological transformation of the image is seen in the passage that immediately follows: “Having already invited [the deity into] the Buddha image, the *ācārya* gives precepts to the donor and disciple.”⁵³ The manual then instructs the *ācārya* to install the image facing east, cover it with yellow cloth, practice visualization, recite mantras, and throw white mustard seeds. The *ācārya* should place the three seed syllables of *om*, *a*, and *hūm* on the crown of the head, mouth, and heart of the icon’s body, and make offerings.

The manual goes on to instruct how to bathe the Buddha image. The *ācārya* uses five or eight bottles of virtue (*hyōnbyōng*, Ch. *xianping* 賢瓶, Skt. *bhadra-kumbha*), which are coated with white sandalwood paste, filled with perfumed water, and then empowered by the *ācārya*. The *ācārya* binds the empowered bottles with threads of five colors woven by young girls; puts the five treasures, five medicines, five flowers, and five fruits in them; and empowers the bottles by reciting mantras. Notably, the disciples and congregation are then prescribed to entertain the Buddha image with offerings of verses and music as in the *abhiṣeka* ritual.⁵⁴ The bathing of the Buddha image equates to the first bathing of Śākyamuni, so the *ācārya* bathes the

51. T 1418, 21:933b17–19, “令前知法阿闍梨, 依真言儀軌, 請佛安像供養慶讚, 即得如來賢聖降臨隨喜, 成就功德。” In esoteric Buddhist traditions the term *ācārya* (*asari*, Ch. *asbeli* 阿闍梨), originally meaning a teacher or preceptor in Indian Buddhism, came to designate a Buddhist monk who has received a consecration ritual and can therefore practice as a ritual specialist.

52. T 1418, 21:933c15–18, “如一切佛安住觀史陀天, 亦如佛在摩邪夫人胎藏, 願佛慈悲住此亦然。願佛恒住弟子某甲, 為發菩提心, 受此香花供養。”

53. T 1418, 21:933c18–19, “請佛像已, 復與施主弟子受戒。”

54. T 1418, 21:934a16–18. For more on the *abhiṣeka* ritual, see Mori Masahide 森雅秀, “Kanjo girei” 灌頂儀禮, in *Indo mikkyō* インド密教, ed. Tachikawa Musashi 立川武藏 and Yoritomo Motohiro 頼富本宏 (Tōkyō: Shunjūsha, 1999), 194–208; Ronald M. Davidson, “Abhiṣeka,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 71–75.

Buddha image with the purest water and again recites the *mantra* of *abhiṣeka*. The manual additionally prescribes the *ācārya* to recite the *mantra* of *abhiṣeka* or to recite *mantras* in front of the image after entering the *maṇḍala* in accordance with the *abhiṣeka* ritual.⁵⁵ It further directs the *ācārya* to open the eyes of the Buddha image (i.e., to dot in the eyes) and to perform *abhiṣeka* for the donor and disciples who have entered the *maṇḍala*. The ritual manual orders the donor to give the offerings used in the *maṇḍala* to the *ācārya*. When the installation ceremony is finished, the *ācārya* is to collect the ritual implements, discharge the five-colored powders in the river, and purify the altar space with pure water. The manual ends with a promise that merit will be achieved if the ritual has been performed in accordance with the method prescribed.⁵⁶

Given that the *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* is included in the second edition of the Korean Buddhist canon,⁵⁷ Koryō Buddhists might have been aware of the consecration ritual prescribed in this manual. However, I do not intend to argue that this particular ritual manual served as the basis for the *pokchang* ritual in Koryō. After all, the ritual manual is not cited in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*,⁵⁸ and the specific instructions given in this manual do not directly correspond to the ritual steps inferred from extant late Koryō *pokchang* deposits. Furthermore, the *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* does not provide explanations for groups of seed syllables or the symbolic meaning of eight petals and the throat-bell. Nevertheless, the major steps of *pratiṣṭhā* in this manual largely correspond with those of the *pokchang* ritual as inferred from extant Koryō *pokchang* deposits and prescribed in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. The steps might be compared as follows: constructing a *maṇḍala* for the proper installation of an image vs. constructing a *maṇḍala* for the installation of the *pokchang* items within an image; placing the three seed syllables of *om*, *a*, and *hūm* on the surface of the image vs. placing groups of five seed syllables on the eight-petaled container; preparing the five bottles and performing *abhiṣeka* for the image vs. preparing the five treasure bottles and installing them within the eight-petaled container; and the dotting of eyes vs. the dotting of eyes with a brush. These structural similarities suggest that the *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* or a text of a similar nature could have served as a ritual template when Koryō Buddhists invented their own *pratiṣṭhā*. Koryō Buddhists may have found ritual practices closely corresponding to those prescribed in the *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* or similar texts in a group of esoteric Buddhist texts including the *MVS*, *STTS*, and the three Siddhis texts, which had been well received and considered important in Korean Buddhism. The invention of Korean *pratiṣṭhā*, I suggest, only became possible after the

55. *T* 1418, 21:934a21–23.

56. *T* 1418, 21:935b27–c2.

57. *K* 1146.

58. A part of this manual is cited in the chapter entitled “The Ritual of the *Pokchang* Altar for All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*; however, the cited passages do not have a direct relation to specific prescriptions for the ritual. For the cited passage, see Taegyōng sūnim, *Chosang kyōng*, 167.

transmission of the idea that the image must be properly consecrated through a ritual technology of an esoteric sort.

Another important aspect of *pratiṣṭhā* that deserves our attention is its affinities with *abhiṣeka*, particularly since fascicle 1 of the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious*, cited in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, is devoted to the method of *abhiṣeka* with the five bottles representing the wisdom of the five Buddhas (*obyōng kwanjōng*, Ch. *wuping guanding* 五瓶灌頂).⁵⁹ The practices of *pratiṣṭhā* and *abhiṣeka*, both translated as “consecration” in English, are focused on the idea of installing a deity in a person or an image. The *pratiṣṭhā* of a Buddhist image is essentially identical with the *abhiṣeka* of a human practitioner in that both rituals aim to unite the object of the ritual with a deity. The two rituals in the *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* are especially close to those in the *Vajrāvalī*, a ritual compendium by the renowned Buddhist monk and scholar Abhayākaragupta (fl. 11th–12th century).⁶⁰ The *Vajrāvalī* is one of the largest extant works of Indian esoteric Buddhism and treats various rituals and ceremonies to be performed within a monastic compound. The majority of rituals gathered in this compendium are classified into three major categories: the construction of *maṇḍala*, installation (*pratiṣṭhā*), and consecration (*abhiṣeka*). The beginning parts of the chapters on *pratiṣṭhā* notably prescribe that the *ācārya* “carries out also the installation of an image etc., like the installation of a disciple.”⁶¹ The “installation of the disciple” most likely refers to the consecration of a disciple as explained in the latter part of *Vajrāvalī*. The most salient correspondence might be found in the five bottles empowered by the *ācārya* and used in the ritualized bathing of the recipient, be it an image or a practitioner. The *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* instructs the *ācārya* to bathe an image with the contents of five or eight bottles of virtue. The *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* and other *pratiṣṭhā* manuals of Indo-Tibetan esoteric Buddhism indicate that the first bathing that Śākyamuni received immediately following his birth on earth is repeated through this act in the ritual of installing a Buddha image. In this regard, the bathing of the image during the installation ritual should not be considered as purification but as empowerment (*kaji*, Ch. *jiachi* 加持, Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*).⁶² More importantly, it is the essential step that unites a ritual recipient with the divine in both *pratiṣṭhā* and *abhiṣeka*.

The *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious* devotes its first fascicle to the preparation of the five treasure bottles with which the *ācārya* gives the human practitioner a symbolic bathing.⁶³ The long, repetitive, and even laborious procedure of making and empowering the five bottles in the *Sūtra on*

59. T 1192, 20:905a8–910c13.

60. For a critical study of the text, see Masahide Mori, *Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta: Edition of Sanskrit and Tibetan Versions* (Tring: Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2009).

61. Masahide Mori, “The Installation Ceremony in Tantric Buddhism,” 200–203, esp. 203 for a cited passage.

62. Masahide Mori, “The Installation Ceremony in Tantric Buddhism,” 235.

63. An earlier version of this part of the essay appeared in Yi Sūng-hye (Lee Seunghye), “Koryō sidae pulbokchang ūi hyōngsōng kwa ūimi,” 86–91; idem, “Consecrating the Buddha.”



Fig. 7. Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. Wood. H 67.65 cm. Koryŏ, 13th century. National Museum of Korea. After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, ed., *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2014), 14, figure 1-1.



Fig. 8. Five treasure bottles yielded by the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. After *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo*, vol. 1, 79, figure I-25.

the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious illustrates the ritual significance invested in them. However, the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious* gives little explanation regarding the eventual disposal of the five treasure bottles that are now fully empowered by the mantric power of the *ācārya*. In a similar vein, the *Sūtra on the Installation of Images* does not give detailed instruction concerning the bottles used in the bathing of the Buddha image. As discussed above, the manual simply instructs the *ācārya* to collect the ritual implements after the installation ceremony. The ritual implements, including the five or eight bottles, seem to have been collected and stored somewhere awaiting for the next use. In other words, the most distinctive feature of Korean *pokchang* practice, the permanent installation of the bottles inside the image being consecrated, resides at the juncture in ritual practice where scriptures and manuals cease to give clear instructions. I would argue, then, that the union of the ritual recipient with the divine, the common goal of any consecration ritual, was actualized through the installation of empowered objects rather than through the use of similarly empowered objects to engage in the ritualized bathing of the recipient. The



Fig. 9. Treasure bottle symbolizing the center. Wood. H 4.2 cm. Koryŏ, 13th century. Yielded by the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. After *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo*, vol. 1, 106, figure I-51.

symbolic step of sprinkling water is completely substituted with the enshrinement of the five treasure bottles. The *pokchang* deposits included in a thirteenth-century Avalokiteśvara image in the collection of the National Museum of Korea support this interpretation (fig. 7). Some of the contents of the lower belly, though they were found in a disturbed condition, appear to have been originally made in the mid-Koryŏ and re-inserted in the early Chosŏn.⁶⁴ The five treasure bottles, made of wood, faithfully represent the shape and function of bottles, unlike other late Koryŏ examples that are, in fact, textile pouches (figs. 8–9). Through comparison with the five bottles used as tools for ritualized bathing in Indian *pratiṣṭhā*, the function and meaning of the five treasure bottles enshrined within the inner body of an image has become clear.

The five miniature bottles suggest that newly translated esoteric Buddhist texts, such as the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious*, affected the formation of Korean *pokchang* practice during the Koryŏ period. Because

64. Sin So-yŏn 신소연 et al., “Mokcho Kwanŭm posal chwasang (Tŏksu 953) chosa pogo” 목조관음보살좌상(덕수953) 조사 보고, in *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo* 국립중앙박물관 소장 불교조각 조사보고, vol. 1, ed. Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관 (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2014), 79–107.

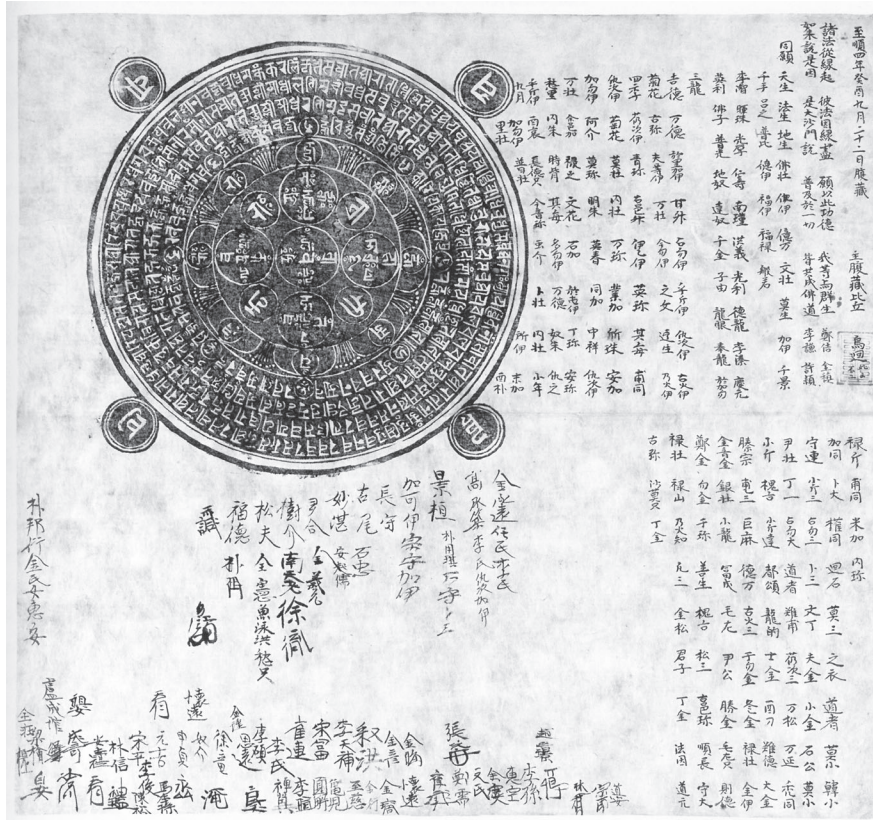


Fig. 10. Dedicatory inscription. Ink on paper. 56.7 × 60.3 cm. Koryŏ, dated 1333. Yielded by the Amitābha Buddha Triad in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, ed., *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2016), 131, figure 1-119.

such texts have long been considered to have had little impact on post-Tang Buddhism, the significance of Koryŏ's reception of these texts goes beyond the history of Korean Buddhism. Who could have received these newly translated Buddhist texts and created the *pokchang* ritual based upon them? Textual and material evidence currently at our disposal is too limited to answer this question adequately. The majority of Buddhist rituals recorded by name in the *History of Koryŏ* (*Koryŏsa* 高麗史), the official history of the kingdom compiled by Chŏng In-ji 鄭麟趾 (1396–1478) and others in 1451 under the Chosŏn, seem to have been esoteric Buddhist rituals. However, the *History of Koryŏ* is reticent about who officiated at these rituals and how they were performed. This may have been related to the nature of those rituals. They were essentially public rituals sponsored by the state, not private rituals aimed at accumulating merit for particular individuals. The votive inscriptions accompanying a number of Koryŏ Buddhist statues or their *pokchang* deposits do not provide an answer to this question, either. The votive inscriptions were typically composed

on behalf of participants, including both laity and monastics, under the leadership of a monastic overseer (*yōnhwa* 緣化). As a result, it is difficult to reconstruct the names, doctrinal backgrounds, and monastic affiliations of *ācāryas* who might have invented or performed the *pokchang* ritual for a specific image. Moreover, unlike their Chosŏn counterparts, the documents yielded by the late-Koryŏ Buddhist statues do not specify the official duties of monastic participants.⁶⁵ Monastic participants are mostly listed as donors, fundraisers (*kōnhwa* 勸化, *kwōnsōn* 勸善, *hwaju* 化主), or sculptors (*chobul* 造佛). Perhaps the most relevant expression that has been found thus far is the phrase reading: “Oho, the monk who supervised the *pokchang*” (*chu pokchang pigu* Oho 主腹藏比丘烏迺) in a dedicatory inscription composed for the gilt-bronze Amitābha Triad of 1333 in the collection of the National Museum of Korea (fig. 10).⁶⁶ However, it remains unclear whether this monk performed the *pokchang* ritual or simply exhorted others to establish a connection with these particular Buddha images by participating in the dedication of the *pokchang* deposits.

As examined above, *pratiṣṭhā* is analogous to *abhiṣeka* in many respects. The *abhiṣeka*, unlike the *pokchang*, was one of the public Buddhist rituals performed and sponsored by the state. Although infrequently performed, it held great significance during this time. In particular, the *abhiṣeka* rituals performed in the first year of King Kangjong’s 康宗 (r. 1211–13) reign (1212) and the first year of King Ch’ungsŏn’s 忠宣王 (r. 1298, 1308–13) second reign (1308) seem to have been enthronement ceremonies.⁶⁷ Earlier scholarship has noted that some Koryŏ Buddhist monks received an esoteric consecration ritual (*chōnpōp kwanjōng*, Ch. *chuanfa guanding* 傳法灌頂). A group of esoteric Buddhist ritualists thus appears to have been active in

65. The official duties of monastic participants listed in the Chosŏn-period documents have been examined in Yu Kūn-ja 유근자, *Chosŏn sidae pulsang ūi pokchang kirok yŏn’gu* 조선시대 불상의 복장기록 연구 (Seoul: Pulgwang ch’ulp’ansa, 2017), 114–78. Nonetheless, the official duties in these documents are largely limited to those of residents of the given temple (*sanjung chil* 山中秩), fundraisers and administrative posts (*yōnhwa chil* 緣化秩), and sculptors (*hwawŏn chil* 畫圓秩) without providing information regarding ritual master(s).

66. See Sin So-yŏn, “Kūmdong Amit’a samjon pulsang ūi pokchangmul hyōnhwang” 금동아미타삼존불상의 복장물 현황, in *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo* 국립중앙박물관 소장 불교조각 조사보고, vol. 2, ed. Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan (Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan, 2016), 130–35.

67. See *Koryōsa* 21, *sega* 世家 21, Kangjong 1st year, first month, *ūlmyo* 乙卯 and *Koryōsa* 33, *sega* 33, Ch’ungsŏnwang 1st year, eighth month, *kabin* 甲寅. For the original texts, see *Koryō sidae saryo Database* 고려시대 史料 Database (consulted on <http://db.history.go.kr>; accessed 16 March 2018). Previous studies have presented different views regarding the number and nature of *abhiṣeka* rituals held by the Koryŏ state. One scholar argues that the Koryŏ kings held seven *abhiṣeka* rituals altogether. See Kim Myōng-jōng 金明正, “Kwanjōng sinang e taehan yŏn’gu: Koryō sidae rŭl chungsim ūro” 灌頂信仰에 대한 研究: 高麗時代를 中心으로, *Sōngnim* 釋林 11 (1977): 234. In contrast, Kim Su-yŏn 김수연 claims that there were six *abhiṣeka* rituals during the period in concern. She further identifies four performances as esoteric Buddhist rituals for averting calamities based on the *Consecration Sutra* (Ch. *Guanding jing* 灌頂經) and two as enthronement ceremonies. See her “Koryŏ hugi Kwanjōng toryang ūi sasangjōk paegyōng kwa t’ūkch’ing” 高麗後期 灌頂道場의 사상적 배경과 특징, *Han’guk sasangabak* 韓國思想史學 42 (2012): 105–34. See also Sŏ Yun-gil 서운길, *Han’guk milgyo sasangsa* 한국미술사상사 (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006), 313–15.



the royal court by the late Koryŏ.⁶⁸ A dearth of evidence prevents us from identifying their names or lineages, but these monks who had a close connection to the royal court might have played a leading role in both the performance of *abhiṣeka* and the creation of the Korean *pratiṣṭhā* ritual. That the extant textual and material evidence related to the *pokchang* ritual all dates from the mid-Koryŏ lends credibility to this supposition.

Concluding Remarks

In this essay, I have attempted to trace neglected aspects of *pokchang* practice and situate its formation in the religious visual culture of Koryŏ. The Korean practice of making Buddhist images traces back to the fifth–sixth century, however there is very little textual and material evidence indicating that the *pokchang* ritual, as understood today, was practiced prior to the mid-Koryŏ. In other words, there is a more than six-hundred year gap between the beginning of image-making practice and that of *pokchang* practice, a highly structured ritual that integrates key features of *pratiṣṭhā*. Ritual elements like mantra, *maṇḍala*, visualization, *abhiṣeka*, and *homa*—the hallmarks of the esoteric Buddhist tradition—were already present in the scriptures and ritual manuals that had been transmitted to the Korean peninsula well before the beginning of *pokchang* practice. However, it is hard to locate evidence of these rituals being put into practice in the context of consecrating Buddhist images prior to the mid-Koryŏ. The present study argues that the core of *pokchang* practice, which persists to the present day, was formulated in the mid-Koryŏ period under the influence of late esoteric Buddhist texts connected with the ideas of *pratiṣṭhā* and *abhiṣeka* that were transmitted from Song and Liao China to Korea. I would also like to suggest that the transmission of these late esoteric Buddhist texts may have inspired Koryŏ Buddhists to revisit earlier esoteric texts and to appropriate certain aspects in the creation of *pokchang* practice in Korea.

Keywords: *pokchang*, Buddhist images, consecration ritual, *abhiṣeka*, *pratiṣṭhā*, esoteric Buddhism, Korean Buddhism, Koryŏ, *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyŏng*).

68. Kim Su-yŏn, “Koryŏ hugi Kwanjŏng toryang ūi sasangjŏk paegyŏng kwa t’ŭkching,” 123; Kim Su-yŏn, “Koryŏ hugi Ch’ongji chong ūi hwaltong kwa sasangjŏk ūimi” 高麗後期 摠持宗의 활동과 사상사적 의미, *Hoedang hakpo* 회당학보 16 (2011): 253–65.





RECENT DISCOVERIES AND SIGNIFICANCE OF TEXTS FROM INSIDE BUDDHIST STATUES IN KOREA*

SONG Il-gie

*Cet article examine les textes provenant de l'intérieur des statues bouddhiques en Corée, qui ont été découverts au cours de la dernière décennie. L'auteur replace ces écrits dans le contexte de l'histoire des livres bouddhiques et de l'impression en Asie Orientale. Plusieurs commentaires sur les écritures bouddhiques, importants pour l'histoire des textes bouddhiques, ont été trouvés à l'intérieur de statues dans les monastères Songgwang 松廣寺 et Haein 海印寺. En datant les copies de l'Avatamsaka sūtra 華嚴經 (Soutra de l'ornementation fleurie) issues d'une statue de Bouddha du monastère Kaeun 開運寺 entre le IX^e et le X^e siècle, l'auteur conclut qu'elles sont des exemples des premières étapes des techniques d'impression. Cette découverte confirme que la copie xylographique du Mugu chōnggwang tae tarani kyōng 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (Soutra du Grand Dhāraṇī de la lumière pure immaculée), qui a été découverte à l'intérieur de la pagode de Śākyamuni (Sōkkt'ap 釋迦塔) en Corée, est bien une production coréenne de la première moitié du VIII^e siècle**.*



Introduction

Since the introduction of Buddhism to Korea during the Three Kingdoms period (57 BCE–660 CE), numerous Buddhist monasteries were established in towns and mountains across the country. In traditional Korean monasteries the main Buddha halls and stone pagodas are typically located at the center of the monastery complex. The main Buddha hall enshrines a triad of buddhas of the three worlds on the main altar as the primary object of worship. Such statues would have been produced continuously following the introduction of Buddhism. An essential part of the consecration of Buddhist statues is the ceremony of enshrining objects within the inner recesses of Buddhist statues. Such enshrined objects usually include relics of the Buddha (Skt. *śarīra*) and a throat-bell container (*buryōng t'ong* 喉鈴筒) filled with ritual items. As the number of true-body relics of Śākyamuni Buddha is limited, Korean Buddhist have often offered the relics of the dharma-body (Skt. *dharmā-śarīra*), which is to say Buddhist scriptures, *dhāraṇīs*, etc., as substitutes.

How many Buddhist statues may have been created since the Three Kingdoms period? How many Buddhist scriptures may have been enshrined inside Buddhist statues? If all the copies of Buddhist scriptures enshrined inside Buddhist statues

* Translated into English by Sinae Kim.

** Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.



could somehow be collected, they would likely fill the National Library of Korea.¹ Buddhist statues were created for many reasons and many of them served as time capsules preserving Buddhist scriptures. As time passed, the statues began to show inevitable signs of aging, such as the formation of cracks and the flaking of paint. In the course of restoring or re-gilding the statues many of the enshrined Buddhist documents came to be discovered.

Despite many recent discoveries, researchers in the field continue to face many problems. Since these items have been neglected for so long, for example, there is no system in place to collect the relevant statistics. In a previous article I introduced some Buddhist scriptures produced between the ninth and the tenth centuries that were recently discovered inside Buddhist statues.² However, I am doubtful whether these texts and objects have been properly managed. From now on, the contents and quantity of these objects must be systematically recorded and organized in order to provide future researchers with better resources for conservation and analysis.

Another important issue facing researchers is the difficulty of identifying the texts that are found inside of the statues. Many of the texts were intentionally damaged in order to fit them into the small cavities of the statues. Often the front cover is missing, and in some cases the entire binding has been removed, leaving only loose pages. Given these conditions, it takes considerable time and effort to identify the texts. For an inexperienced researcher the proper identification of the texts is almost impossible. To understand the gravity of this situation, consider that there are over 170 editions of the *Lotus Sūtra* alone discovered in Korea, which was the most common Buddhist scripture inserted inside statues.³

On the basis of the data that I have accumulated by studying and cataloguing Korean Buddhist documents for the past few decades, I became more confident in offering relatively reliable estimates of the date and significance of Buddhist texts. I have also recently carried out various research projects aimed at accumulating data about the bibliographical characteristics of documents inserted in Buddhist statues and offering further detailed analysis of especially rare and valuable examples among these documents.

This paper discusses seven exemplary cases of texts from inside of statues that were recently designated as Treasures by the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea. In addition to describing the details of their discovery, I also examine the historical, bibliographical, and cultural significance of these materials.

1. I have estimated the number of Buddhist texts published by monasteries statewide during the Chosŏn period at around four million, and that among those only four thousand have been preserved to date. Song Il-gie (Song Il-gie) 宋日基, “Sach'al: Ch'ulp'an ūi pogo ija tosŏ kanhaeng ūi chŏnch'o kiji” 사찰: 출판의 寶庫이자 도서 간행의 전초기지, *Pulgyo sinmun* 불교신문, May 22, 2010.

2. Song Il-gie (Song Il-gie), “Kaeunsa Amit'abul pokchang pon *Hwaŏm kyŏng yŏn'gu*” 開運寺阿彌陀佛 腹藏本『華嚴經』研究, *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 書誌學研究 47 (2010): 23–56; Song Il-gie (Song Il-gie), “Yŏnggwang Pulgapsa pokchang pon *Myŏbŏp yŏnhwa kyŏng kwŏn 3 ūi kannyŏn munje*” 靈光 佛甲寺 腹藏本『妙法蓮華經』卷3의 刊年問題, *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 48 (2011): 83–130.

3. Chŏng Wang-gŭn 鄭王根, “Chosŏn sidae *Myŏbŏp yŏnhwa kyŏng ūi p'anbon yŏn'gu*” 朝鮮時代『妙法蓮華經』의 板本 研究 (PhD diss., Chung-Ang University, 2012).

Recent Discoveries of Texts Inserted in Buddhist Statues

In 2004, I examined copies of texts belonging to the *Commentarial Canon* (*Kyojang* 教藏) inside the statues of the Four Heavenly Kings at Songgwangsa 松廣寺 in Sunch'ŏn City 順天市, which in 2006 was designated as Treasure No. 1468. Texts inside Buddhist statues at Posŏng Sŏnwŏn 寶聖禪院 in Taegu City 大邱市 were also designated as Treasure No. 1802 in 2013. The information about these two discoveries, along with five other major discoveries, is described in the following table (table 1).

Table 1. Texts Enshrined Inside Buddhist Statues Recently Designated as National Treasures⁴

Monastery	Buddhist Statue	Designated Date	Designated Number	Number of Enshrined Texts	Number of Texts Designated as Treasures
Songgwangsa 松廣寺 in Sunch'ŏn	Statues of the Four Heavenly Kings	Apr. 2006	Treasure No. 1468	12 items (<i>chŏm</i> 點)	Collectively designated
Suguksa 守國寺 in Seoul	Seated Statue of Amitābha Buddha	Dec. 2008	Treasure No. 1580	24 items	Affiliated with the statue
Wangnyongsawŏn 王龍寺院 in Kyŏngju	Seated Statues of Śākyamuni Buddha Triad	Apr. 2009	Treasure No. 1615	16 items	Affiliated with the statue
Kaeunsa 開運寺 in Seoul	Seated Statue of Amitābha Buddha	Apr. 2010	Treasure No. 1650	28 items	21 sets (<i>kŏn</i> 件)
Tonghaksa 東鶴寺 in Taejŏn	Seated Statues of Śākyamuni Buddha Triad	Sept. 2011	Treasure No. 1720	55 items	7 sets
Haeinsa 海印寺 in Hapch'ŏn	Seated Statue of Vairocana Buddha at the Vairocana Hall (Taejŏkkwangjŏn 大寂光殿)	Oct. 2012	Treasure No. 1780	59 items	8 sets
	Seated Statue of Vairocana Buddha at the Hall of Dharma Treasure (Pŏppojŏn 法寶殿)	Oct. 2012	Treasure No. 1778	3 items	2 sets
Posŏng Sŏnwŏn 寶聖禪院 in Taegu	Seated Statues of Śākyamuni Buddha Triad	Apr. 2013	Treasure No. 1802	73 items	4 sets

4. Guest Editors' Note: *Kŏn* is a unit of measurement for the quantity of art objects in a single set including books and manuscripts. One *kŏn* of Treasure or National Treasure can be composed of one or several *chŏm*, a smaller unit of quantity for specific items.

Texts Enshrined Inside the Four Heavenly Kings Statues at Songgwangsa

In 2004, Venerable Kogyōng 古鏡, the director of Songgwangsa Museum, and I retrieved texts from inside the statues of the Four Heavenly Kings at the monastery at the request of the museum. Most of the texts are commentaries printed at the Directorate of Buddhist Publications (Kan'gyōng togam 刊經都監) by the order of King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–68) of Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910). Most of them appear to either have been printed by repairing the original woodblocks of the *Commentarial Canon* produced by the monk Ŭich'ŏn 義天 (1055–1101) during the reign of King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–83) of Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) or have been printed by using newly carved woodblocks that replicated this Koryŏ *Commentarial Canon*.

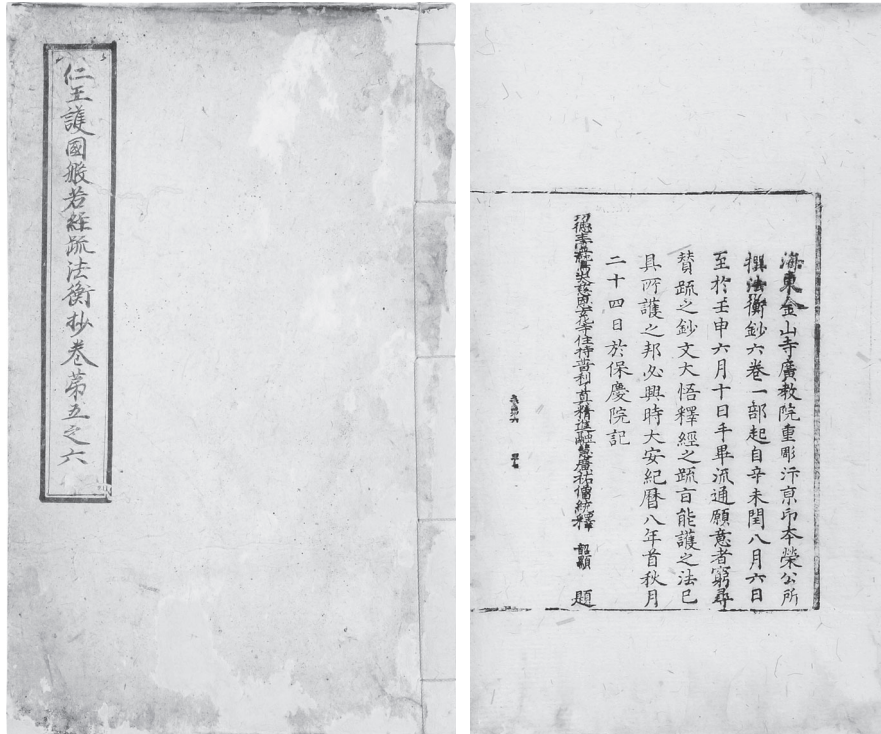
The *Commentarial Canon*, unlike the main canon (*chōngjang* 正藏) that contains the teachings of the Buddha, is a compilation of commentaries by many generations of monastic writers who studied Buddhist scriptures. After the completion of the first edition of the *Korean Buddhist Canon* (*Ch'ŏjo taejang kyōng* 初雕大藏經), Ŭich'ŏn collected commentaries from Korea, China, and Japan and published the *Newly Compiled Comprehensive Catalogue of the Commentarial Canon of Various Schools* (*Sinp'yŏn chejong kyōjang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄) in order to engrave the woodblocks of the *Supplement to the Canon* (*Sokchang kyōng* 續藏經). However, judging from the rarity of surviving copies of the texts compiled in the *Commentarial Canon*, scholars generally believe that only some of the five-thousand volumes of commentaries listed in Ŭich'ŏn's catalogue would have been printed.⁵

Since copies of the *Commentarial Canon* published in the Koryŏ period were so rare, King Sejo ordered the Directorate of Buddhist Publications to publish a new edition. This was carried out either by repairing the original woodblocks or by engraving new ones. This restoration project is documented at the end of chapter 14 of the *Explicatory Excerpts of the Commentaries on the Diamond Sūtra* (*Kūmgang panya kyōng so Kaehyŏn ch'o* 金剛般若經疏開玄抄), currently housed at Songgwangsa, which reads: “In the fifth year of the Tianshun reign (1461), a *sinsa* 辛巳 year, the Directorate of Buddhist Publications of the Chosŏn Kingdom published the *Commentarial Canon* by repairing the [Koryŏ] Woodblocks” 天順五年辛巳歲朝鮮國刊經都監奉教重修. Five documents that were printed with these repaired woodblocks were discovered during the Japanese colonial period (1910–45). They were designated as Treasures and are now housed at Songgwangsa.

In February 2004, in the process of repairing the statues of the Four Heavenly Kings, I discovered twelve additional copies from the *Commentarial Canon* that had been printed by the Directorate of Buddhist Publications with repaired woodblocks. Eleven of them have so far not been discussed in the scholarly literature. Chapter 6 of the *Judicious Excerpts of the Commentaries on the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Benevolent Kings Protecting Their Countries* (*Inwang hoguk panya kyōng so pŏp'yŏng ch'o* 仁王護國般若經疏法衡抄, X 519) has received special scholarly attention because

5. See O Yong-sŏp 오용섭, “Kyojang ũi kanhaeng pangsik kwa mangsil” 교장의 간행방식과 망실, *Sŏjibak yŏn'gu* 54 (2013): 147–48.

its postscript provides new information about the production of the *Commentarial Canon* during the Koryŏ period (figs. 1a–b).⁶



Figs. 1a–b. *Judicious Excerpts of the Commentaries on the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Benevolent Kings Protecting Their Countries*, chapters 5 and 6 (parts of the *Commentarial Canon*), discovered inside the Four Heavenly Kings statues at Songgwangsa. Woodblock print. 38.8 × 24.0 cm. 1455–68, Chosŏn. Photograph by Song Il-gie. Courtesy of Songgwangsa.

These newly discovered copies of the *Commentarial Canon* were collectively designated as Treasure No. 1468 in 2006.

Currently there are only two surviving titles from the original print of the *Commentarial Canon*, both of which have been transmitted in Japan. Five titles from the *Commentarial Canon* printed with the repaired woodblocks that had been discovered at Songgwangsa during the Japanese colonial period were later designated as Treasures. Considering the rarity of extant copies, it is significant in terms of the history of Korean Buddhist bibliography and the history of print culture that twelve copies were simultaneously discovered inside the statues of the Four Heavenly Kings at Songgwangsa.⁷

6. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), *Songgwangsa sŏngbo pangmulgwan pulsŏ chŏnsi torok* 松廣寺 聖寶博物館 佛書 展示圖錄 (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 2004), 60–79.

7. See Kang Sun-ae 강순애, “Sunch'ŏn Songgwangsa Sach'ŏnwangsang ūi pokchang chŏnjŏk ko” 順天 松廣寺 四天王像의 腹藏典籍考, *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 27 (2004): 27–61.

Texts Enshrined Inside the Seated Amitābha Buddha Statue at Suguksa

Suguksa 守國寺, originally called Chōnginsa 正因寺, was founded by King Sejo in honor of his deceased first son (posthumously titled King Tōkchong 德宗, 1438–57) in order to wish for his son’s rebirth in the Pure Land. The monastery acquired its current name during the restoration in the late Chosōn period. An analysis of the placement of the texts and the printing dates of *dhāraṇī* copies yielded from the statue tells us that the statue was originally made in 1239 at Simwōnsa 深源寺 on Mount Pogae 寶盖山 in Ch’ōrwōn County 鐵原郡, Kangwōn Province and was re-gilded three or four times since its creation. The Amitābha statue was originally made along with statues of the two bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta to form a triad, but the two bodhisattva statues were destroyed by fire in the second year of King T’aejo’s 太祖 (r. 1392–98) reign during the Chosōn period. The Amitābha statue was relocated to Suguksa after Simwōnsa in Ch’ōrwōn was burnt down during the Korean War (1950–53).

Most of documents inside the Suguksa Amitābha statue are Buddhist scriptures including xylograph copies produced during the Koryō and Chosōn periods and copies from the Chinese Buddhist canon printed in the Yuan 元 dynasty (1271–1368). There are in total 24 items that contain 16 different titles: 7 accordion-style books that contain 6 different titles printed during the Koryō period; 11 fascicles (*ch’aek* 冊) that contain 9 different titles printed during the Chosōn period; and 6 accordion-style books of one title printed at Puningsi 普寧寺 during the Yuan dynasty. In terms of printing method, besides one title that was printed with metal movable type, the rest were printed with woodblocks. A recent study provides a detailed description of the bibliographical characteristics of these Buddhist texts, dividing them according to the date of publication.⁸

Texts Enshrined Inside the Buddha Triad Statues at Wangnyongsawōn

Important documents were also discovered in another set of three Buddha statues enshrined at Wangnyongsawōn 王龍寺院 in Kyōngju City 慶州市. According to the dedicatory records retrieved from the inside of these statues in 2006, the Amitābha statue was made in 1467 and the statues of Śākyamuni and Bhaiṣajyaguru were created together in 1579. The three statues were repaired together in 1716. At the time of discovery in 2006, 16 items of important Buddhist texts—including Yuan copies of Buddhist scriptures—were retrieved from inside the statues. Elsewhere I have discussed the texts discovered inside these statues in detail.⁹

The 16 items included an illustrated copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* published under the Yuan in 1338. This copy is similar to a Korean edition of the same text

8. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), “Suguksa mokcho Amit’abul chwasang ūi pokchang chōnjōk yōn’gu” 守國寺 木造阿彌陀佛坐像의 腹藏典籍 研究, *Sōjihak yōn’gu* 58 (2014): 119–46.

9. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), “Wangnyongsawōn ūi samjon pulsang ūi pokchang chōnjōk e kwanhan yōn’gu” 王龍寺院의 三尊佛像의 腹藏典籍에 관한 研究, *Han’guk munhōnjōngbobak’oe chi* 한국문헌정보학회지 42, no. 2 (2008): 407–9.



that was based on the Yuan edition.¹⁰ Also, discovered among the 16 items was a Korean copy of the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha That Ensures Longevity, Erases Karmic Seeds, and Protects All Children* (Ch. *Foshuo changshou miezui hu zhu tongzi tuoluoni jing* 佛說長壽滅罪護諸童子陀羅尼經, Abbr. the *Longevity Sūtra* 長壽經, X 17) published in 1378. The Wangnyongsawön find and another copy, designated as Treasure No. 1092, appear to have been printed with the same woodblocks, but the former is in much better condition. Additionally, all three fascicles of the *Lotus Sūtra Samādhi Repentance Ritual Manual* (*Myōbōp yōnhwa kyōng sammae ch'ambōp* 妙法蓮華經三昧懺法) were discovered in three accordion-style books. This text, which discusses the method for worshipping the Buddha, reciting the *sūtra*, and carrying out confession, was compiled by the missionary monk San'gūng 山亘 (d.u.) of the Ch'ōnt'ae (Ch. Tiantai 天台) in order to assist with the practice of the *Lotus Sūtra* samādhi ritual. It is a meaningful discovery in that this three-chapters text gives details of the date and place of publication that have remained a mystery thus far. However, the value of this text has not been widely recognized because it was not designated as a National Treasure or Treasure.

Texts Enshrined Inside the Amitābha Buddha Statue at Kaeunsa

In 1995, several objects including Buddhist texts were discovered inside a seated wooden statue of Amitābha Buddha enshrined at the Hall of Judgment (Myōngbujōn 冥府殿) of Kaeunsa 開運寺 in Anam-dong 安岩洞, Seoul. According to Mun Myōng-dae, who was in charge of retrieving the objects at that time, about half of the objects from within the statues of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings at the Hall of Judgment were already missing. The main statue's throat-bell container holding a reliquary was also missing, and the cavity through which objects were inserted was left open.¹¹

Upon further investigation, I identified 28 books and 13 miscellaneous documents among the retrieved objects from the Kaeunsa Amitābha statue. The different production dates of these objects indicate that the statue was repaired at least four times after its initial production. The 28 books include six fascicles containing four titles printed with woodblocks during the Chosōn period and 22 scriptures that were printed or handwritten roughly between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. Among these 22 scriptures, 20 are partial copies of the three editions of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, which makes this *sūtra* the text with the most numerous copies discovered

10. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), "Wangnyongsawōn ūi samjon pulsang ūi pokchang chōnjōk e kwanhan yōn'gu," 400–402. Guest Editors' Note: Two copies of the edition, carved in 1363, are currently known. One is in the collection of Sōng'am Archives of Classical Literature (Sōng'am kosō pangmulgwan 誠庵古書博物館), while the other is housed at the Samseong Museum of Publishing (Samsōng ch'ulp'an pangmulgwan 三省出版博物館). The author contends that the Sōng'am copy, designated as Treasure No. 696, is not a reprint of the Yuan edition, but a Koryō edition that seems to have been newly made by Korean scribe and painter on the basis of Yuan edition.

11. Mun Myōng-dae 文明大, "Koryō 13-segi chogak yangsik kwa Kaeunsa chang Ch'wibongsa mok Amit'abulsang ūi yōn'gu" 高麗 13世紀 彫刻樣式과 開運寺藏 鷲峯寺木阿彌陀佛像의 研究, *Kwangjwa misulsa* 강좌미술사 8 (1996): 37–57.



in a single statue: six are manuscript copies and 14 are xylograph copies. Two of the manuscript copies are from the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (T 278) and four are from the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (T 279). Four of the printed copies are from the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, seven are from the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, and the remaining three are from the 40-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (T 293).¹²

Texts Enshrined Inside the Statues of the Śākyamuni Buddha Triad at Tonghaksa

The documents collected from the statues of the Śākyamuni triad at Tonghaksa 東鶴寺 on Mount Kyeryong 鷄龍山 in South Ch'ungch'ōng Province in 2010 are described in the following table (table 2).

Table 2. Texts Enshrined Inside the Statues of the Śākyamuni Triad at Tonghaksa, Taejŏn

Buddhist Statue	Śākyamuni Buddha	Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha	Amitābha Buddha	Total
Woodblock printing	11 fascicles	17 fascicles	22 fascicles	50 fascicles
Movable-type printing	1 fascicle	1 fascicle	1 fascicle	3 fascicles
Manuscript	-	2 fascicles	-	2 fascicles
Total	12 fascicles	20 fascicles	23 fascicles	55 fascicles

Examination of those texts reveals that the statues of the Śākyamuni triad were filled with 55 fascicles containing 93 chapters. Eight out of the 55 fascicles were collectively designated as Treasure No. 1720. In a previous study I have examined the significance of the texts yielded from each of these three statues.¹³ Buddhist texts collected from the Śākyamuni statue include a total of 12 fascicles containing 22 chapters of texts. The finds include a printed copy of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (Ch. *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經, T 842) in one chapter in one fascicle; 10 fascicles for 20 chapters of the *Lotus Sūtra*; and a copy of the *Longevity Sūtra* in one accordion-style book. In terms of printing method, the copy of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* was printed with the Ūrhae metal type (Ūrhae cha 乙亥字, produced in 1455) and eight titles for the total of 11 fascicles were printed by woodblocks. Among them, the most valuable are the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* and the *Longevity Sūtra* bound as an accordion-style book.

Buddhist scriptures retrieved from the Bhaiṣajyaguru statue total 20 fascicles for the total of 37 chapters. One fascicle of one title was printed with metal movable

12. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), “Kaeunsa Amit’abul pokchang pon *Hwaōm kyōng* yŏn’gu,” 23–56.

13. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), “Tonghaksa Taeungjŏn samsebulsang ūi pokchang chŏnjŏk” 동학사 대웅전 삼세불상의 복장전적, in *Tonghaksa Taeungjŏn samsebulsang* 동학사 대웅전 삼세불상, ed. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn’guso 佛教文化財研究所 (Kongju: Tonghaksa, 2012), 136–57.

type; 10 fascicles of 14 titles were printed with woodblocks; and two titles are in manuscript. Among them, the most valuable finds are the copy of the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* printed with the Ūrhæ metal type, the gold-ink handwritten copy of the *Lotus Sūtra* bound as an accordion-style book, and the accordion-style *Longevity Sūtra*.

Lastly, Buddhist scriptures collected from the Amitābha statue total 23 fascicles for 34 chapters. In terms of printing method, one fascicle of one title was printed with wooden movable type and the remaining 20 titles in 22 fascicles were printed with woodblocks. The *Golden Light Sūtra* (Ch. *Jin guangming jing* 金光明經) in one accordion-style book, the *Longevity Sūtra* in two accordian-style books, the *Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* (Ch. *Dizang jing* 地藏經, T 412) in one accordian-style book, and the *Collation of Various Sūtras* (*Che kyōng happu* 諸經合部) in one fascicle are of great value, although many of them are not in intact condition. Of particular note is the *Collation of Various Sūtras*, which is the only surviving copy of this text and includes a preface written by Prince Anp'yōng 安平大君 (1418–53). In addition, the *Diamond Sūtra Commented on by the Elder Chuan* (Ch. *Chuan lao jie Jin'gang jing* 川老解金剛經) in one side-stitched binding book, and the *Śūraṃgama Sūtra* (Ch. *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經) in one side-stitched binding book, which was printed with woodblocks by the Directorate of Buddhist Publications, the small-character edition of the *Lotus Sūtra* in one side-stitched book, the *Lotus Sūtra* in one side-stitched book patronized by the royal concubine Myōngbin née Kim-ssi 明嬪金氏 (d. 1479), and the *Collation of Two Sūtras* (*I kyōng happu* 二經合部) in one side-stitched binding book with a preface by Chōng An 鄭晏 (d. 1251).

Texts Enshrined Inside the Vairocana Buddha Statues at Haeinsa

In 2005, 305 items of texts were retrieved from the inner recesses of the two seated statues of Vairocana Buddha at Haeinsa 海印寺 in Hapch'ōn County 陝川郡, South Kyōngsang Province. Nineteen titles in 249 items were discovered inside the Vairocana statue enshrined in the Vairocana Hall, and 12 titles in 56 items were discovered inside the Vairocana statue in the Hall of Dharma Treasure.¹⁴ These finds include scriptures, *dhāraṇī* and prayer texts, and date from the mid-Koryō to the early Chosōn. The texts discovered inside the Vairocana statue of the Vairocana Hall consists of 11 titles in 59 items, six items of *dhāraṇī*, and two votive texts compiled for the repairs of the statue. Of these finds, only eight titles were relatively complete and the remaining three titles had only one page each. For this reason, only the set that contains the eight complete texts were designated as Treasure No. 1780.

The texts that were originally inside the Vairocana statue at the Hall of Dharma Treasure consist of seven titles of Buddhist texts, three items of *dhāraṇī*, and two votive texts compiled for the repairs of the statue. Of the seven titles of Buddhist texts that I have examined, only three texts remain relatively intact and the rest

14. See Haeinsa sōngbo pangmulgwan 海印寺聖寶博物館, *Haeinsa Pirojanabul pokchang yumul t'ūkpyōlchōn: Sōwōn* 해인사 비로자나불 복장유물 특별전: 서원 (Hapch'ōn: Haeinsa sōngbo pangmulgwan, 2008).

have only one page. For this reason, only the two documents in good condition were designated as Treasure No. 1778.¹⁵

Most notable among the scriptures are the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* and the 40-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, which seem to have been printed using the woodblocks that were recarved on the basis of the Khitan edition 契丹本 (Kōran pon) and bound in the butterfly binding format (*hojōp chang* 蝴蝶裝). The manuscript of the *Commentary on the Amitābha Sūtra* (*Amit'a kyōng so* 阿彌陀經疏) that was written in running and cursive script was likely transcribed in the late Silla period (780–935).

Texts Enshrined Inside the Śākyamuni Buddha Triad Statues at Posōng Sōnwōn, Taegu

In 2010, various objects including ritual paraphernalia for the production of Buddhist statues were discovered within the inner recesses of the Śākyamuni triad statues in the main Buddha hall of Posōng Sōnwōn in Taegu.¹⁶ These Buddhist statues are known to have been produced at Kyōnamsa 見巖寺 immediately after the Japanese Invasion of Korea (1592–98) but before 1647. They were transferred to Posōng Sōnwōn and are now enshrined in the main Buddha hall. A total of 73 fascicles were discovered inside the statues. The information about the finds is given in the following table (table 3).

Table 3. Texts Enshrined Inside the Śākyamuni Triad Statues at Posōng Sōnwōn, Taegu

Buddhist Statue	Śākyamuni Buddha	Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva	Samantabhadra Bodhisattva	Total
Woodblock printing	35 fascicles	17 fascicles	18 fascicles	70 fascicles
Movable-type printing	1 fascicle	-	-	1 fascicles
Manuscript	1 fascicle	1 fascicle	-	2 fascicles
Total	37 fascicles	18 fascicles	18 fascicles	73 fascicles

Thus, 37 fascicles were discovered in the Śākyamuni statue, 18 from the Mañjuśrī statue, and 18 from the Samantabhadra statue. The two bodhisattva statues are of the same size, but the Śākyamuni statue is 10 cm higher than the other two, which enabled it to contain twice as many texts as the other two statues. Besides one text

15. Munhwajae ch'ōng 文化財廳, “2011 nyōndo tongsan munhwajae wiwōnhoe che 3-ch'a hoeüi pogosō” 2011년도 동산문화재위원회 제3차회의보고서 (report, Taejōn, 2011).

16. See Mun Myōng-dae, “Taegu Posōng Sōnwōn pongan Kyōnamsa Hyōnuk p'a Sōkka samjon pulsang üi tosang t'ükching kwa pokchang yōn'gu” 대구 보성선원 봉안 見巖寺 玄旭派 釋迦三尊佛像의 도상특징과 腹藏 연구, *Kangjwa misulsa* 35 (2010): 390–423.

printed with movable type and one manuscript found in the Śākyamuni statue, and one manuscript found in the Mañjuśrī statue, the remaining 70 fascicles were printed with woodblocks. In a previous article, I discussed these 73 texts in more detail.¹⁷

The lack of colophons in half of the 37 fascicles retrieved in the Śākyamuni statue—35 fascicles printed with woodblocks, one printed with movable type, and one manuscript—made it difficult to know anything about the circumstances of their production. The wood-block prints, 35 in total, were identified as copies of 22 titles. All texts were without covers, which might have been removed in the process of enshrining them inside the statues.

The most notable *sūtras*, which I identified, include chapter 5 of the *Vernacular Korean Translation of the Śūraṅgama Sūtra* (*Nūng'ōm kyōng ōnhae* 楞嚴經諺解), which was printed in 1461 with the movable Han'gūl metal type and large, medium, and small versions of the Ūrhae metal type, and the large-character edition *Lotus Sūtra*, whose production in 1470 was commissioned by Queen Chōnghūi 貞熹王后 (1418–83) and sponsored by the royal house. The quality of the paper and the color of the ink tell us that the large-character edition *Lotus Sūtra* was one of the copies produced during the first use of the woodblock. Several other copies of this first print run are already designated as Treasures. The *Anthology of Commentaries on the Outline of the Four Teachings of Tiantai* (Ch. *Tiantai si jiaoyi jijie* 天台四教儀集解) printed by the Directorate of Buddhist Publications, which was also identified in this cache, is the first example of its kind known to date.

Next, the 18 fascicles—17 printed from woodblocks and one handwritten—discovered inside the Mañjuśrī statue contain 15 titles, but 11 of these texts lack colophons. The *Eyes of Humans and Gods* (Ch. *Rentian yanmu* 人天眼目) is one of the only copies whose colophon is intact. According to its colophon, it was printed under the supervision of the monk Muhak 無學 (1327–1405) at Hoeamsa 檜巖寺 in Kyōnggi Province in 1395, using the woodblocks carved after the Yuan edition that was commissioned by Kang Kūmgang 姜金剛 (d.u.). The Mañjuśrī cache also includes a manuscript with inscriptions of chapter 58 of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* on white paper. This manuscript is exceedingly rare and no previous examples of this kind have ever been found in Korea.

Finally, a total of 18 fascicles printed with woodblocks were found inside the Samantabhadra statue. These fascicles contain 14 titles, but only 5 of them have colophons. Among the texts with colophons, the chapters 6 and 7 of the *Lotus Sūtra* in one fascicle printed at Tonghwasa 桐華寺 in Kyōngsang Province in 1436 under the sponsorship of Prince Hyoryōng 孝寧大君 (1396–1486) is especially noteworthy. Several copies of the same edition printed at Tonghwasa and Hoeamsa have already been designated as Treasures for their great value.

17. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), “Posōng Sōnwōn samjonbul ūi pokchang chōnjōk yōn'gu” 보성선원 三尊佛의 腹藏典籍 研究, *Han'guk munbōnjōngbobak'oe chi* 43, no. 4 (2012): 271–95.

The Significance of Recent Discoveries of Texts Enshrined Inside Statues

Significance for Print Culture

The following table lists Buddhist *sūtras* of great value among the recent finds from inside Buddhist statues at several Korean monasteries including Haeinsa and Kaeunsa. The examples listed here are of special significance for the history of printing culture since they are the first examples of their kind found in Korea (see table 4).

Table 4. The Only Known Copies of Buddhist Texts in Print in Existence

Monastery	Title	Quantity (Number of sheets or pages used)	Printing Type	Date	Notes
Kaeunsa 開運寺	Chapter 33 of the 60-chapter <i>Avataṃsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (19 sheets)	Woodblock printing	9th– 10th c.	Manuscript style; yellow paper made from mulberry bark fiber; handscroll format
	Chapter 44 of the 60-chapter <i>Avataṃsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (number of sheets unknown)	Woodblock printing	9th– 10th c.	Manuscript style; handscroll format
	Chapter 63 of the 80-chapter <i>Avataṃsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (8 sheets)	Woodblock printing	9th– 10th c.	Manuscript style; Chinese characters of Empress Wu Zetian or the Zetian characters; handscroll format
	Chapter 78 of the 80-chapter <i>Avataṃsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (19 sheets)	Woodblock printing	9th– 10th c.	Manuscript style; yellow paper made from mulberry bark fiber; the Zetian characters; handscroll format
	Chapter 16 of the 40-chapter <i>Avataṃsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (15 sheets)	Woodblock printing	10th– 11th c.	Manuscript style; handscroll format
	Chapter 20 of the 40-chapter <i>Avataṃsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (12 sheets)	Woodblock printing	11th– 12th c.	Manuscript style; handscroll format

Monastery	Title	Quantity (Number of sheets or pages used)	Printing Type	Date	Notes
Haeinsa 海印寺	Chapters 16–20, and chapters 51–57 of the 60-chapter <i>Avatamsaka Sūtra</i>	2 butterfly binding books	Woodblock printing	12th c.	Recarved on the basis of the Liao edition (<i>Yobon pokkak</i> 遼本 覆刻); butterfly binding
	Chapters 1–10 of the 40-chapter <i>Avatamsaka Sūtra</i>	1 butterfly binding book (66 pages)	Woodblock printing	12th c.	Recarved on the basis of the Liao edition; butterfly binding
	Chapter 3 of the <i>Golden Light Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (17 sheets)	Woodblock printing	12th c.	Handscroll format
	<i>The Sūtra of Original Vows of the Medicine-Master Tathāgata of Lapis Light</i> (Ch. <i>Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing</i> 藥師琉璃光如來本願 功德經)	1 scroll (15 sheets)	Woodblock printing	12th c.	Frontispiece; hand- scroll format
Suguksa 守國寺	Chapter 6 of the <i>Lotus Sūtra</i>	1 accordion- style book	Woodblock printing	12th c.	Song printing style; 42 columns and 17 characters per one column; indigo dye cover paper; paste binding (<i>ch'ölch'öpchang</i> 折帖裝)
	Chapter 9 of the <i>Canon of Esoteric Teachings</i> (<i>Milgyo taejang</i> 密教大藏)	1 wrapped- back bind- ing book	Woodblock printing	13th c.	Indigo dyed cover paper; wrapped-back binding (<i>p'obae chang</i> 包背裝)
	<i>The Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Dhāraṇī of Maricī Bodhisattva</i> (Ch. <i>Fosbuo Molizhi tian pusa tuoluoni jing</i> 佛說摩利支天菩薩 陀羅尼經)	2 accordion- style books	Woodblock printing	13th c.	Indigo dyed cover paper with the title on a label; paste binding

Monastery	Title	Quantity (Number of sheets or pages used)	Printing Type	Date	Notes
	<i>The Longevity Sūtra</i>	1 accordion- style book	Woodblock printing	13th c.	Yellow cover paper with the title on a label; frontispiece; paste binding
	<i>The Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī on Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva with the Buddha's Supreme Mind</i> (Ch. <i>Foding xin Guanshiyin pusa da tuoluoni jing</i> 佛頂心觀世音菩薩 大陀羅尼經)	1 accordion- style book	Woodblock printing	13th c.	Yellow cover paper with the title on a label; frontispiece; paste binding
	Chapter 2 of the <i>Diamond Sūtra</i>	1 side- stitched binding book	Movable metal type printing	1457	Thread binding (<i>sōnjang</i> 線裝); the Chōngch'uk metal type (Chōngch'uk cha 丁丑字) used to print large characters; the Kabin metal type (Kabin cha 甲寅字) used to print medium characters; imprint of a seal reading the "treasure of dharma- donation" (<i>pōp si chi po</i> 法施之寶); postscript composed by King Sejo ¹⁸
Wangnyong- sawōn 王龍寺院	<i>The Diamond Sūtra</i>	1 accordion- style book	Woodblock printing	1338	The Yuan edition; a frontispiece and illus- trations; transcribed cover; paste binding
	<i>Lotus Sūtra Samādhi Repentance Ritual Manual</i>	3 accordion- style books (complete)	Woodblock printing	1326	Woodblocks newly carved at Wōlsansa 月山社; paste binding; engravers named Sinyōn 信淵, Kyōngnyōn 敬蓮, and Hyōnhae 玄解
	<i>The Longevity Sūtra</i>	1 accordion- style book	Woodblock printing	1378	Recarved in the <i>mu'o</i> 戊午 year; a frontis- piece and illustra- tions; paste binding

Monastery	Title	Quantity (Number of sheets or pages used)	Printing Type	Date	Notes
Tonghaksa 東鶴寺	<i>The Longevity Sūtra</i>	2 accordion- style books	Woodblock printing	1378	Postscript by Wŏnjae 圓齋 (d.u.); paste binding
	<i>The Longevity Sūtra</i>	1 accordion- style book	Woodblock printing	1415	The 13th year of the Yongle 永樂 era; paste binding, engravers named Sinhyŏn 信玄 and Haemyŏng 海明
	Chapter 1 of the <i>Golden Light Sūtra</i>	1 accordion- style book	Woodblock printing	14th c.	Paste binding, engraver named Ton'gyŏm 敦謙
	<i>The Collation of Two Sūtras</i> (The <i>Diamond Sūtra</i> and the Chapter on the Vows of Samantabhadra in the <i>Avatamsaka Sūtra</i>)	1 side- stitched binding book	Woodblock printing	1245	Recorded (<i>chi</i> 誌) by Chŏng An in the <i>ŭlsa</i> 乙巳 year (1245)
Posŏng Sŏnwŏn 寶聖禪院	Chapter 2 of the <i>Anthology of Com- mentaries on the Outline of the Four Teachings of Tiantai</i>	1 side- stitched binding book	Woodblock printing	1464	Published by the Directorate of Bud- dhist Publications; calligraphy by Cho Kŭn 趙瑾 (1417–75)

A total of 28 *sūtras* and 13 miscellaneous documents were found inside the Amitābha statue at Kaeunsa in Seoul. Besides four titles in six fascicles that were printed with woodblocks in the Chosŏn period, the 22 other scriptures were produced roughly between the 9th and 13th centuries. Among these 22 *sūtras*, 20 are copies of the three editions of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, which makes that *sūtra* the text with the most numerous copies discovered in a single statue. The 20 copies of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* consist of six manuscript copies and 14 printed copies. The manuscripts are further subdivided into two copies of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* and four copies of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. The prints are subdivided into four copies of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, seven copies of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, and three copies of the 40-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Among these, only three titles, the manuscript of chapter 24 of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, the xylograph copy of chapter 33 of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, and the xylograph copy of chapter 16 of the 40-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, remain in perfect shape without any damage to the beginning or end of the scrolls. What is most noteworthy is that the manuscript copy of chapter 24 of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* and the xylograph copy of chapter 33 of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* has

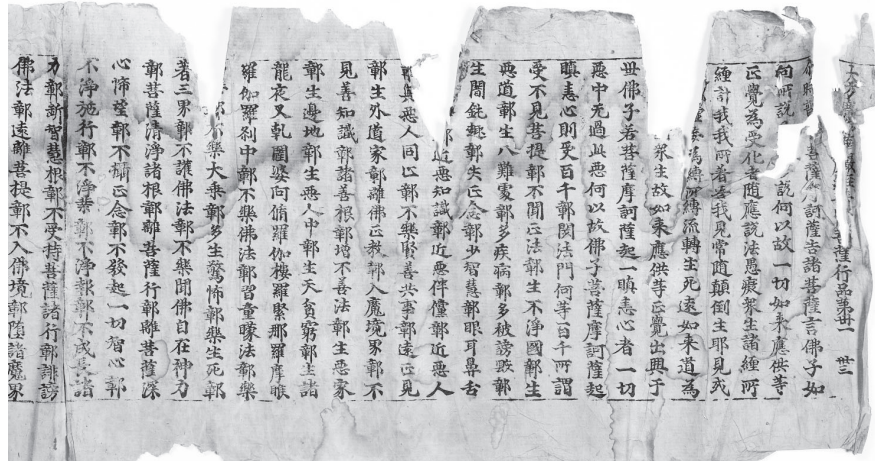


Fig. 2. 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, chapter 33, discovered inside the Amitābha statue at Kaeunsa. Woodblock print. 900 × 27.5 cm. 9th–10th century, Silla. Photograph by Song Il-gie. Courtesy of Kaeunsa.

the title of the *sūtra*, the title of the chapter, the number of the chapter, the number of the fascicle, and the translator's information included in a single column at the beginning of the *sūtra*, whereas other examples that have been designated as National Treasures or Treasures divide this information into three separate columns (fig. 2).

The manuscript copy of chapter 24 of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* and the xylograph copy of chapter 33 of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* have 17 characters per column, a feature shared by other extant copies of the *sūtras*, but they have 26 columns per sheet. In the case of Buddhist scriptures mounted in handscroll format, if the heading appears in a single column, if each sheet has 26 columns, and if the characters are written in manuscript style, then it is possible to date the production to sometime between the ninth and tenth centuries. Chapter 33 of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, for instance, was produced in handscroll form with 19 sheets of paper and, excluding the heading and ending, each sheet has 26 columns. This is different from the Koryŏ copies of *sūtras*, which instead have 24 columns per sheet. Also, the headings (*kwŏnsu che* 卷首題) of the Koryŏ copies postdating the end of the 10th century do not record the title of the *sūtra* and the chapter in a single column. Furthermore, the characters of the xylograph copy of chapter 33 of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* are carved in manuscript calligraphic style. Comparing nine characters chosen from the xylograph copy of chapter 33 of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* with the characters of Dunhuang manuscripts suggests that the nine characters show affinities with those appearing in the manuscripts produced in China during the Sui or Tang dynasties and in Silla Korea.¹⁸

18. Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), “Kaeunsa pon Chin pon *Hwaŏm kyŏng kwŏn* 33 ūi sŏjjŏk yŏn'gu” 開運寺本 晉本『華嚴經』卷33의 書誌의 研究, *Sŏjŏhak yŏn'gu* 51 (2012): 359–85.

Thus, at least 4 copies of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* discovered among the Kaeunsa finds were likely produced during the late Silla period and can be considered as valuable as National Treasures. The other 13 documents are presumed to be produced in the early Koryŏ period. Meanwhile, this discovery also pertains to the question of the provenance of the xylograph copy of the *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī on Immaculately Pure Light* (*Mugu chŏnggwang tae tarani kyŏng*, Ch. *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經, *T* 1024). This copy was discovered inside the Śākyamuni Pagoda (Sŏkka t'ap 釋迦塔) at Pulguksa 佛國寺 in Kyŏngju City 慶州市 in 1966 and is believed to have been printed in the 8th century, which makes it the oldest extant xylograph document in Korea. Although Korean scholars generally think that this document was printed in Korea during the middle Silla period (654–780), Chinese scholars argue for the Tang origin of this xylograph copy based on the usage of Chinese characters introduced by Empress Wu Zetian 則天武后 (r. 690–705) and the lack of a colophon.¹⁹ But the four copies of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* discovered in the Kaeunsa statue support the views of Korean scholars insofar as they serve as evidence that woodblock printing was widespread in Korea during the Silla period.

As mentioned previously, the two Vairocana statues at Haeinsa have yielded 305 items of texts in total; 19 titles contained in 249 items were discovered in the Vairocana statue of the Vairocana Hall and 12 titles contained in 56 items were discovered in the Vairocana statue of the Hall of Dharma Treasure. They include scriptures, *dhāraṇīs*, and votive texts dating from the mid-Koryŏ to the early Chosŏn. The texts found in the statue of the Vairocana Hall include xylograph copies of several Buddhist scriptures such as the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, the *Golden Light Sūtra*, and the *Medicine Master Sūtra* (Ch. *Yaosbi jing* 藥師經, *T* 450), which were printed roughly between the 12th and 13th centuries.²⁰

The copies of the small-character edition *Avatamsaka Sūtra* seem to have been printed with the woodblocks carved after the Khitan prototype (the 34-character

19. This claim, first made by Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei 錢存訓 (1910–2015), has been repeated in scholarly literature published in China. Arguing against the Korean origin of the Śākyamuni Pagoda copy, Tsien wrote that “this specimen must have been printed in the Tang China and brought to Korea for ceremonial use no later than +751, when the stupa was built. Furthermore, there is no other record indicating that printing was done in Korea until some 300 years later.” Joseph Needham and Tsien Tsuen-Hsuei, *Science and Civilization in China*, vol. 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, pt. 1, *Paper and Printing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; repr., Taipei: Caves Books, 1986), 322. Counter arguments that have been widely published in Korean academia are extensively documented in Kim Sŏng-su 金聖洙, *Mugu chŏnggwang tae tarani kyŏng ūi yŏn'gu* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經의 研究 (Ch'ŏngju: Ch'ŏngju ko inswae pangmulgwan, 2000) and Ch'ŏn Hye-bong 錢혜봉, *Silla kanbaeng ūi Mugu chŏnggwang tae tarani kyŏng kwa Koryŏ ūi chungsu munsŏ ūi yŏn'gu* 新羅 刊行의 『無垢淨光大陀羅尼經』과 高麗의 重修文書의 研究 (Seoul: Pŏmusa, 2013). Consequently, the Śākyamuni Pagoda copy has not been inscribed on the Memory of the World Register administered by the UNESCO due to this scholarly dispute. The xylograph materials newly discovered from the inner recesses of Korean Buddhist statues in recent years hold importance as a corrective to Tsien's claim that there were no traces of xylography for almost three hundred years after the printing of the Śākyamuni Pagoda copy.

20. For more on the Haeinsa finds, see Haeinsa sŏngbo pangmulgwan, *Haeinsa Pirojanabul pokchang yumul t'ŭkpyŏlchŏn*.

edition), which was known for its use of “thin paper and dense characters” (*chi pak cha mil* 紙薄字密).²¹ Given that there are no traces of stitching in the margin, these copies were most likely bound in the butterfly binding format. For these two reasons, the two copies of the 60-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, which respectively contain chapter 16–20 and chapter 51–57, are valuable material for the study of interregional exchange of Buddhist texts. This edition has been known as the root text for the woodblocks recarved at Pusōksa 浮石寺 in Yōngju City 榮州市, North Kyōngsang Province, but very few copies presently remain. In the case of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, xylograph copies of this text were discovered among the documents retrieved from Buddhist statues at Kirimsa 祇林寺 and Tonghaksa, but the Haeinsa version seems to have been printed with different woodblocks since the heading styles are different. As for the *Medicine Master Sūtra*, a copy from the first edition of the *Korean Buddhist Canon* and a copy that was separately printed at an unidentified monastery were both discovered. The unidentified copy has some illustrations and shows the calligraphy style of Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–72), which makes this document the only surviving copy of its kind in Korea.

Several objects were discovered inside the Amitābha statue enshrined in the main Buddha hall of Suguksa in Ŭnp’yōng-gu, Seoul. The Buddha statue and enshrined objects were collectively designated as Treasure No. 1580. The statue yielded 16 titles of Buddhist texts in 24 items and 20 printed copies of *dhāraṇī* texts.²² The scriptures include six titles in seven accordion-style books that were printed with woodblocks during the Koryō period, one text printed with metal movable type and 8 texts printed with woodblocks during the Chosōn period, and one title in six accordion-style books belonging to the *Puning Canon* (Ch. *Puning zang* 普寧藏) that were printed at Puningsi in Yuan China. The copies of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, first printed in the 11th century at an unidentified temple, appears to have served as the root text when woodblocks were carved for printing the second edition of the *Korean Buddhist Canon*. The *Lotus Sūtra* was printed with woodblocks carved after the Song edition. There are also texts classified as esoteric Buddhist texts, such as the *Canon of Esoteric Teachings*, the *Sūtra Spoken by the Buddha on the Dhāraṇī of Marīcī Bodhisattva* (T 1255), and the *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī on Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva with the Buddha’s Supreme Mind*. These Koryō copies are significant in the history of print culture in that each of them is the only example of its kind discovered in Korea thus far. Notably, the *Canon of Esoteric Teachings*, although only one copy was found, holds foremost significance. This is the first known example of the text that was printed with the woodblocks produced prior to the reign of the Koryō king Ch’ungsuk 忠肅王 (r. 1313–30, 1332–39). The woodblocks of the *Canon of Esoteric Teachings*, together with copies of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, were given to the Japanese envoy

21. Guest Editors’ Note: The phrase, reading “thin paper and dense characters,” is found in the “Commentary on the Khitan Canon” (*Tan pon taejang kyōng ch’an so* 丹本大藏經讀疏) composed by a renowned monk Pogam 宓庵 (1226–93), better known by his dharma name Ch’ungji 冲止.

22. A comprehensive research report of the Suguksa finds has been published recently. See *Seoul Suguksa mokcho Amit’a yōrae chwasang pokchang yumul* 서울 수국사 목조아미타여래좌상 복장유물 (Seoul: Suguksa pokchang yumul chonghap haksul chosa wiwōnhoe, 2018).

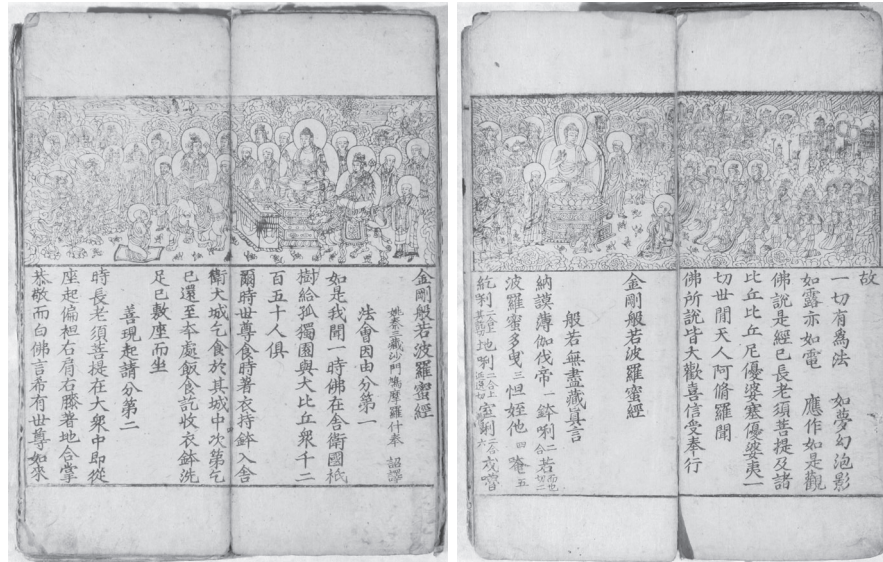


Fig. 3a–b. *Diamond Sūtra*, discovered inside the Śākyamuni statue at Wangnyongsawōn. Woodblock print. 38.8 × 11 cm. Dated 1338, Yuan. Photograph by Song Il-gie. Courtesy of Wangnyongsawōn.

during the reign of the Chosŏn King Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–50) but unfortunately were later destroyed by fire.

The Suguksa finds also includes one copy of chapter 2 of the *Five Masters' Interpretation of the Diamond Sūtra* (*Kūmgang kyōng oga hae* 金剛經五家解), which was printed with Chŏngch'uk metal type. The metal type was cast after a calligraphic template that was executed by King Sejo in memory of the deceased crown prince. The beginning part of this book bears an imprint of a seal identifying it as a royal gift (*naesa in* 內賜印), reading “the treasure of dharma-donation.” A royal postscript that contains the printing details was also appended to the text. The copy of the *Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* included in the cache was jointly commissioned by princes Hyoryōng and Anp'yōng and is the only surviving copy.

In October of 2006, research on the Buddha triad at Wangnyongsawōn in Kyōngju yielded eight titles in 16 items, 10 miscellaneous documents, and 16 pieces of other objects. They include five documents recording the initial creation and later repairs of the statues. The scriptures include a copy of the 1338 Yuan edition of the *Diamond Sūtra* with a frontispiece and illustrations in the text proper. This is the first example of that text found in Korea and in fact differs from the surviving copies in China (figs. 3a–b).

There is, however, a similar surviving copy that was printed with recarved woodblocks in Namwŏn Prefecture 南原縣 of Chŏlla Province in 1363. The Koryŏ copies were printed with newly designed and carved woodblocks rather than simply following the design of the Yuan prototype. Furthermore, a complete set of the *Lotus Sūtra Samādhi Repentance Ritual Manual*, three chapters in three fascicles,

was discovered. Previously, only two copies of chapter 1 and one copy of chapter 3 of this text had been found in Korea. This discovery thus sheds new light on the content of chapter 2. The colophon remaining at the end of fascicle 3 reveals that it was printed with newly carved woodblocks at Wölsansa in 1326.

The statues of Śākyamuni triad at Posöng Sönwön in Taegu were originally created at Kyönamsa in Köch'ang County 居昌郡, South Kyöngsang Province prior to 1647. A total of 13 titles in 73 fascicles were discovered; 37 fascicles from the Śākyamuni statue, 18 fascicles from the Mañjuśrī statue, and 18 fascicles from the Samantabhadra statue. Notably, this discovery yielded three texts that were previously unknown in Korea. For example, the copy of the *Anthology of Commentaries on the Outline of the Four Teachings of Tiantai* found at Posöng Sönwön is the first example of this text that was printed by the Directorate of Buddhist Publications during King Sejo's reign. The *Outline of the Four Teachings of Tiantai* (*Chönt'ae sagyo üi* 天台四教儀) was compiled by the Koryö monk Ch'egwan 諦觀 (d. 971) as a comprehensive outline of the Tiantai teachings, and the Song monk Congyi 從義 (1042–91) later collected the commentarial works on this text into the *Anthology of Commentaries on the Outline of the Four Teachings of Tiantai*.

Lastly, in 2010, the inner recesses of the Śākyamuni triad statues at Tonghaksa were opened during the re-gilding of the statues. These three statues of Śākyamuni, Bhaiṣajyaguru, and Amitābha stand as signposts in the study of Buddhist sculpture from the mid- to the late Chosön period thanks to dedicatory inscriptions yielded from them. The dedicatory inscriptions reveal the exact date of production (1606) and the names of sculptors and patrons.²³ The statues yielded a total of 16 titles in 55 fascicles (for the total of 93 chapters). These books contain seven unique texts, six of which were printed with woodblocks and one with wooden movable type.

The *Golden Light Sūtra*, together with the *Benevolent Kings Sūtra* (Ch. *Renwang jing* 仁王經), and the *Lotus Sūtra*, was considered to be of great importance in East Asia because people believed that reciting these *sūtras* could assist in the protection of the state. For this reason, copies of the *Golden Light Sūtra* circulated widely, and there are also many copies of this text among the Dunhuang manuscripts. However, besides the copies of this *sūtra* included in the second edition of the *Korean Buddhist Canon*, the printed copies discovered inside the Vairocana statue at Haeinsa and the Vairocana statue at Kirimsa are the only extant Korean examples discovered in independent format. The Tonghaksa copy, even though it looks similar to the Kirimsa copy, is not of the same printed edition, since it has the name of the engraver Tonho 敦護 (d.u.) under the title of the text, which does not appear on the Kirimsa copy, and it also has a different heading style and variations in the types of the same characters. The *Longevity Sūtra* is one of the Buddhist scriptures printed during the late Koryö and the early Chosön in order to bring about the well-being of the nation, the longevity of kings, and peace in families. The Tonghaksa copy is largely similar to the Kirimsa copy, which has been designated as Treasure No. 959, but different from a copy in the collection of Ho-am Art Museum. Only

23. For more on these statues, see Chöng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo), "Tonghaksa Taeungjön mokcho samsébulsang üi yön'gu," in *Tonghaksa Taeungjön samsébulsang*, 122–35.

the Tonghaksa copy has a frontispiece, two illustrations inserted in the middle of the text, and 15 characters per column.²⁴

The texts examined above are the only surviving copies of their respective kinds in Korea and because of this, scholars have noticed the significance of these rare documents in the history of Buddhist print culture.

Significance for the History of Buddhist Texts

Most of the new bibliographical discoveries that are directly relevant to the study of Buddhism have been found among the documents inside Buddhist statues. Over the past decade, I have led seven research projects that focused on retrieving and studying objects inside Buddhist statues. The following table selectively lists the most important finds for the study of Buddhist texts (table 5).

Table 5. Buddhist Books Significant in the History of Buddhist Texts

Monastery	Title	Quantity (Number of Sheets Used)	Printing Type	Date	Notes
Kaeunsa 開運寺	Chapter 24 of the 80-chapter <i>Avatamsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (18 sheets)	Manuscript	9th–10th c.	Handscroll format; complete
	Chapter 26 of the 80-chapter <i>Avatamsaka Sūtra</i>	1 scroll (19 sheets)	Manuscript	9th–10th c.	Handscroll format; fragments
Haeinsa 海印寺	<i>The Commentary on the Amitābha Sūtra</i> (excerpts)	1 scroll (9 sheets)	Manuscript	9th–10th c.	Handscroll format; fragments
Songgwang- sa 松廣寺	Chapters 12 and 19 of the <i>Meaning- ful Excerpts of the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi Śāstra</i> (Ch. <i>Cheng weishi lun yijing chao</i> 成唯識論義景鈔)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun 天順 reign (1457–67)	Thread binding; printed with repaired woodblocks
	Chapters 3 and 4 of the <i>Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra</i> (Ch. <i>Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi</i> 妙法蓮華經玄義)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun reign (1457–67)	Thread binding; printed with repaired woodblocks

24. See Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), “Tonghaksa Taeungjōn samsebulsang ūi pokchang chōjōk,” in *Tonghaksa Taeungjōn samsebulsang*, 136–57.

Monastery	Title	Quantity (Number of Sheets Used)	Printing Type	Date	Notes
	Chapters 3 and 4 of the <i>Revelatory Records of the Diamond Sūtra</i> (Ch. <i>Jingang jiaxian cheng lu</i> 金剛鉀顯性錄)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun 5 (1461)	Thread binding; printed with newly carved woodblocks
	Chapters 5 and 6 of the <i>Commentary on the Lotus Sūtra</i> (Ch. <i>Miaofa lianbua jing zuanshu</i> 妙法蓮華經續述)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Datable to 1461	Thread binding; printed with repaired woodblocks originally dating from the first year of Shouchang 壽昌 reign (1095)
	Chapters 1 and 2 of the <i>Commentaries from Ancient Times up to Now on the Praising the Profundity of the Lotus Sūtra</i> (Ch. <i>Fabua jing xuanzan huigu tongjin xincao</i> 法華經玄贊會古通今新抄)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun reign (1457–67)	Thread binding; printed with repaired woodblocks
	Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 of the <i>Commentary on the Words and Phrases of the Lotus Sūtra</i> (Ch. <i>Fabua wenju ji</i> 法華文句記)	2 fascicles	Woodblock printing	Tianshun reign	Thread binding; printed with repaired plates
	Chapters 3 and 4 of the <i>Excerpts of the Lamp for Illuminating the Meaning of the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi Śāstra</i> (Ch. <i>Cheng weishi lun liaoyi deng chao</i> 成唯識論了義燈鈔)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun reign	Thread binding; printed with repaired woodblocks
	Chapter 6 of the <i>Notes on the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi Śāstra</i> (Ch. <i>Cheng weishi lun shuji</i> 成唯識論述記)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun reign	Thread binding; printed with repaired plates woodblocks

Monastery	Title	Quantity (Number of Sheets Used)	Printing Type	Date	Notes
	Chapter 13 of the <i>Subcommentary to the Large Commentary on the Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment</i> (Ch. <i>Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao</i> 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun 6 (1462)	Thread binding; printed with repaired woodblocks dating from the ninth year of Da'an 大安 reign (1093)
	Chapters 5 and 6 of the <i>Judicious Explanatory Excerpts of the Commentaries on the Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra for Benevolent Kings Protecting Their Countries</i>	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Tianshun reign	Thread binding; printed with repaired woodblocks; Kwanggyowŏn 廣教院 of Kūmsansa 金山寺; Da'an 8 (1092)
	Chapter 7 of the <i>Commentary of the Lotus Sūtra</i> (Ch. <i>Kezhu miaofa lianbua jing</i> 科註妙法蓮華經)	1 fascicle	Woodblock printing	Yanyou 延祐 4 (1317)	Thread binding; printed by a monastery; a postscript written by the National Preceptor Muoe Chŏng'o 無畏丁午 (fl. late 13th to early 14th century); Yanyou 4, in the <i>chōngsa</i> 丁巳 year

Among the texts recently discovered in Buddhist statues, two manuscripts found at Kaeunsa, one manuscript found at Haeinsa, and 12 xylograph copies classified as the *Commentarial Canon* found in the Four Heavenly Kings statues at Songgwangsa, are of particular importance for the history of Buddhist texts.

First, the manuscript copies of chapters 24 and 26 of the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, translated by Śikṣānanda (Ch. Shichanantuo 實叉難陀, 652–710) around 699, were retrieved from the Kaeunsa statue. The texts were transcribed with ink on yellow paper made from mulberry bark fiber. The scroll format was used for these manuscripts, with single outlines at the top and bottom and vertical lines in black ink for interlinear demarcations (*osa ran* 烏絲欄). Each sheet of paper consists of between 20 and 30 columns and each column has between 16 and 17 characters. The format of the heading of chapter 24 is identical to those found on Sui and Tang manuscripts of Buddhist scriptures. For instance, the character *chi* 地, in the form of Wu Zetian characters (Ch. *di* 壑), appears four times in total near the end of the chapter 26. Light-yellow paper made from mulberry bark fiber with traces of wider horizontal streaks from the paper manufacturing process was used for this

manuscript. The characters were written in *sūtra* copying style (*sagyōng ch'e* 寫經體), but not as flowing and elegant as those written by professional monastic scribes. Thus, it is likely that the manuscripts were first used for the purpose of reciting Buddhist *sūtras* and afterwards were offered at the ceremony for the creation of Buddhist statues. The manuscripts, we can presume, were transcribed at some point between the 9th and 10th centuries.²⁵

It is especially meaningful that these two manuscripts discovered at Kaeunsa were originally produced for the purpose of reciting Buddhist *sūtras*, and after being used for that purpose were offered to be enshrined within the Buddhist image. The best-known manuscript copies from the Silla period are those in the collection of the Ho-Am Art Museum, but they were transcribed for the special purpose of being offered at the ceremony for the building of a Buddhist pagoda.²⁶ Thus, the manuscript copies discovered at Kaeunsa are of special importance.

Meanwhile, in 2005, a fragment of a white paper manuscript was retrieved from inside the Vairocana statue in the Vairocana Hall of Haeinsa. The manuscript was originally made of nine sheets of paper of different lengths that were glued together but lacked the beginning part. The manuscript is written in running and cursive script, and the number of columns and characters per column is irregular. It has correction marks in several places. Among the total of 477 columns, the first 170 columns, even though we cannot know the title of the text because the heading is missing, seemingly summarize Yogācāra doctrinal discourse, and the remaining part summarizes the *Commentary on the Amitābha Sūtra*, written by Kuiji 窺基 (632–82). This document is of great value in that it records the name of the compiler, Haengjin 行眞 (d.u.) of Hyōnbōpsa 玄法寺 (fig. 4).

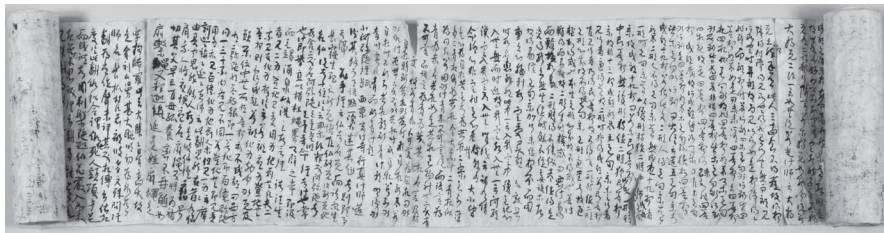


Fig. 4. *Commentary on the Amitābha Sūtra*, discovered inside the Vairocana statue in the Vairocana Hall at Haeinsa. Handwritten manuscript. 324.4 × 14.0 cm. 9th–10th century, Silla. Photograph by Song Il-gie. Courtesy of Haeinsa.

25. See Song Il-gie (Song Il-gie), “Kaeunsa Amit’abul pokchang pon *Hwaōm kyōng yōn’gu*,” 23–56.

26. Guest Editors’ Note: The author refers to the 80-chapter *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (National Treasure No. 196), composed of one handscroll containing chapters 1–10 and another with chapters 44–50. Colophons at the end of chapters 10 and 50 reveal that they were produced from 754 to 755, making it the oldest manuscript copy of a Buddhist *sūtra* in Korea.

Considering that the manuscript is written in an earlier calligraphic style than the Koryŏ documents and contains Yogācāra doctrinal discourse of the 7th century, it might have been transcribed prior to the Koryŏ period.²⁷ Judging from the fact that there are multiple examples of emendation and interpolation in the main text, the text does not seem to have been produced for the purpose of enshrining in the statue. It seems to have been compiled well before the creation of the statue, kept by the monastery or monks, and then was inserted in the statue at the time of the ritual for the creation of the statue.

Also, in February 2004, I retrieved a number of texts that belong to the *Commentarial Canon* from the Four Heavenly Kings statues at Songgwangsa in Sunch'ŏn. The documents discovered on that occasion, as represented in the table above, included 11 commentarial texts. These documents are of great importance in the history of Buddhist texts, since to date they are the only known examples of their kind that have come to light. These 11 commentarial texts were printed from the recarved edition and the newly carved edition of the *Commentarial Canon*,²⁸ and the other two texts consist of both the second edition of the *Korean Buddhist Canon* and an edition printed by an unidentified monastery.

The *Commentarial Canon*, compiled by Ŭich'ŏn and printed by the Directorate of the Commentarial Canon (Kyojang togam 教藏都監) during Koryŏ, contained around 1,000 texts. However, only two original imprints are extant in Korea and abroad, and previously only seven copies (owned by Songgwangsa and private collectors), which were reprinted by the Directorate of Buddhist Publications on King Sejo's order in the Chosŏn period, were known. Thus, the 11 documents from the *Commentarial Canon* newly discovered at Songgwangsa are of great importance, all the more so because they contain texts that had not been found among the previously known examples from the *Commentarial Canon*. These newly discovered documents are mostly of the newly carved or recarved editions produced by the Directorate of Buddhist Publications on King Sejo's order.

Thus, the texts discovered inside the Four Heavenly Kings statues could help scholars to settle a number of problems that have until now been only insufficiently discussed because of the lack of relevant materials. They will also help us better understand the general characteristics of the Koryŏ *Commentarial Canon*.

27. Ch'oe Yŏn-sik 崔鉉植, "Haeinsa Taejŏkkwangjŏn Pirojanabul pokchang paekchi muksŏ sabon ūi kich'ojŏk kŏmt'o: Sŏjjjŏk t'ŭkch'ing kwa p'andok ūl chungshim ūro" 해인사 대적광전 비로자나불 腹藏 백지묵서사본의 기초적 검토: 書誌의 특징과 판독을 중심으로, *Han'guk sasangshak* 韓國思想史學 48 (2014): 7-11.

28. For more on copies of the recarved edition, see Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie), "Kan'gyŏng togam chungsu pon e taehan ohae" 刊經都監 重修本에 대한 誤解, *Sŏjibak yŏn'gu* 73 (2018): 83-98.

Conclusion

The practice of inserting religious objects in Korean Buddhist statues seems to have been related to the production of wooden Buddhist statues, but the exact date of the beginning of this practice, and the ritual procedure involved, remain uncertain. An ink inscription found inside a Vairocana statue in the Hall of Dharma Treasure at Haeinsa that says the “third year of Zhonghe era” 中和三年 (883) merits attention in this regard although scholars have expressed doubt about its reliability. If this was in fact inscribed at the time of initial production, the Vairocana statue might be the earliest evidence for the ritual of enshrining objects within a Buddhist image in Korea. This statue has garnered scholarly attention because it was discovered that multiple layers of objects were enshrined on different occasions including the initial production of the statue and later repairs. One document that seems to have been produced around the time of the initial production of the statue is the white paper manuscript copy of excerpts from the *Commentary on the Amītibhā Sūtra*. Buddhologists estimate that this manuscript was produced before the Koryō period and was thus possibly produced around the time of the production of the statue.²⁹

While making statues of Vairocana was especially popular during the Silla period, after the ascendancy of the military regime during the late Koryō period, the production of Amitābha statues became predominant. Objects were discovered in Amitābha statues enshrined in such monasteries as Kaeunsa, Pongnimsa 鳳林寺, Suguksa, and Chaunsa 紫雲寺. The Amitābha statue at Kaeunsa received much scholarly attention because 20 copies of the three editions of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* were discovered inside that statue. These 20 copies of the three editions of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* were either copied or printed sometime between the late Silla and the early Koryō, and are thus of special significance to the history of Buddhist texts, insofar as they pertain to the thorny issue of identifying the provenance of the xylograph copy of the *Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī on Immaculately Pure Light* discovered in 1966 inside the Śākyamuni Pagoda at Pulguksa. Chinese scholars argue that this copy was printed in Tang China and was transmitted to Silla prior to its eventual enshrinement within the pagoda, and the apparent absence of printed materials produced in Silla was used to support their argument. However, among the copies of the three editions of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* retrieved from the Amitābha statue of Kaeunsa, there are number of woodblock prints that were produced in Korea between the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus, the preservation of these documents is of national interest insofar as they can be used to refute the claim about the absence of printed materials in Silla.

In addition, a number of previously unknown titles as well as editions of Buddhist texts were discovered among the materials retrieved from the interiors of the Suguksa Amitābha statue. Those documents include: the *Canon of Esoteric Teachings*, a number of *dhāraṇī sūtras*, and a previously unknown edition of the *Five Masters' Interpretation of the Diamond Sūtra*. All three fascicles of the *Lotus Sūtra Samādhi*

29. For more on the issue, see Ch'oe Yōn-sik, “Haeinsa Taejōkkwangjōn Pirojanabul pokchang paekchi muksō sabon ūi kich'ojōk kōmt'o.”

Repentance Ritual Manual were discovered in the Buddhist statues enshrined at Wangnyongsawön, a small hermitage on a remote mountain. A copy of the Koryŏ edition of the *Longevity Sūtra*, which is in much better condition than the previously discovered copy, was also found at Wangnyongsawön. Another important find from Wangnyongsawön is an illustrated Yuan edition of the *Diamond Sūtra*. This copy seems to have served as a model for the Koryŏ edition of the same *sūtra*. Also, a previously unknown edition of the *Longevity Sūtra* that has a colophon by Wŏnjae 圓齋 (d.u.) and previously unknown editions of the *Golden Light Sūtra* and the *Collation of Two Sūtras* were discovered in the Śakyamuni triad statues at Tonghaksa.

Buddhist statues enshrined at monastery halls across the country have proved to be the richest source of newly discovered Buddhist texts, and many of these texts have been officially designated as tangible cultural properties by the Korean government. It is thus most unfortunate that many of monasteries had been left unattended throughout much of the Japanese colonial period and the Korean War, at which time many of the statues were subjected to robbery. Also, many of the objects retrieved when the statues were repaired may have gone missing due to the lack of a proper system for preserving the materials. Since the 1990s, the Korean government has gradually implemented policies for keeping track of and preserving cultural properties, and Buddhist monasteries have become one of the major beneficiaries of these policies. However, a comprehensive report about the objects enshrined in Buddhist statues is yet to appear. Thus, more systematic investigations of these objects are urgently required, and more affirmative preservation policies need to be implemented before more damage is done to these important religious and cultural properties.

Keywords: Documents yielded from the *pokckang* deposits, woodblock printing, *Commentarial Canon (Kyojang)*, Songwangsa, Haeinsa, Kaeunsa, Suguksa, Wangnyongsawön, Posŏng Sŏnwŏn, Tonghaksa.





SURROGATE BODY INSIDE THE SACRED BODY: USED CLOTHING IN KOREAN BUDDHIST STATUES

Youn-mi KIM*

La tradition bouddhique coréenne a eu une pratique unique consistant à enchâsser des vêtements usés dans les statues bouddhiques. Depuis que les spécialistes coréens ont commencé à examiner systématiquement l'intérieur des statues bouddhiques il y a quelques décennies, des vêtements divers y ont été découverts, dont les datations correspondent à la fin de la période du Koryŏ (918-1392) et à la période du Chosŏn (1392-1910). Grâce à un examen des contextes socio-religieux et anthropologiques de cette pratique bouddhique, et en retrouvant la trace de son lien avec les pratiques funéraires et les croyances populaires, cet article soutient que les vêtements usés servaient de corps de substitution du propriétaire et constituaient une offrande à la divinité bouddhiste. Il est largement admis que les objets divers introduits dans la cache ventrale (pokchang 腹藏) des statues ont pour fonction d'insuffler la vie aux statues. Néanmoins, cet article suggère que les vêtements usés avaient une fonction fondamentalement différente, bien qu'ils fassent également partie du pokchang. Cet article examine dans un premier temps une veste en soie provenant de la statue de Mañjuśrī (1466) du monastère Sangwŏn 上院寺. Puis, s'appuyant sur une comparaison interculturelle et une approche interreligieuse, il élargit l'horizon de la pratique et examine pourquoi l'emploi des vêtements est devenu répandu dans le bouddhisme coréen”.

Articles of clothing, especially jackets, were often enshrined inside Buddhist statues in Korea starting in the fourteenth century if not earlier. Enshrining used garments inside sacred statuary is an unusual practice that never gained popularity in other Buddhist countries.¹ The garments found inside Korean statues have mostly been used, often heavily so, and they sometimes have odd stains. Perhaps due to the peculiarity of this practice, the religious meaning and purpose of enshrining garments in Buddhist statues has been little studied. Instead, such clothing from inside statues has simply been used to study the history of textiles of the late Koryŏ

* I am grateful to the monk Haeun (Haewoon) 해운, the director of Woljeongsa Museum (Wŏlchŏngsa sŏngbo pangmulgwan 월정사 성보 박물관), for allowing me to examine the objects discovered from inside the Mañjuśrī Statue of Sangwŏnsa in March 2016. I also thank the anonymous reviewer of this paper for his/her insightful comments and suggestions. This paper is a modified and developed version of my previous paper, Kim Yŏn-mi (Youn-mi Kim) 金延美, “Pulbokchang ūibok pongan ūi ūimi” 불복장 의복 봉안의 의미, *Misul sabak* 美術史學 34 (2017): 165–96.

** Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.

1. Buddhist statues in Japan and China only encased textile pieces, including those cut from a monk's robes (*kāṣāya*). Intact attire, such as a jacket or overcoat, has not been found in those statues.



高麗 (918–1392) and Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910) periods. Through an examination of the socio-religious and anthropological contexts of this Buddhist practice, and by tracing its connection to funerary practice and folk belief, this paper argues that the used garments served as a “substitute body”² for their original owner. In other words, the owners offered their garments as if offering their body to the Buddhist deity embodied by the statues. It is widely accepted that various objects enshrined in statues (*pokchang* 腹藏) functioned to instill life in the statues.³ This paper, however, suggests that used garments had a fundamentally different function, although they formed part of the *pokchang* that were ritually installed in statues to transform them into living icons for veneration. The paper first closely examines a silk jacket from the Mañjuśrī statue (1466) at Sangwŏnsa 上院寺, and then, through a cross-cultural comparison and trans-religious approach, widens its view to the practice itself and considers why such usage of garments became widespread in Korean Buddhism.

A Stained Jacket and the King

Perhaps the most famous piece of clothing ever discovered in a Korean Buddhist statue is a heavily stained traditional Korean jacket (*chŏgori* 赤古里) recovered from the Mañjuśrī statue at Sangwŏnsa on Mount Odae 五臺山, Kangwŏn Province (figs. 1, 2). While the art historian Hong Yun-sik 洪潤植 was examining this statue in 1984, he accidentally found that its hollow interior harbored various objects, including two silk jackets from the Chosŏn period. One was stained with red spots and yellow smears (fig. 3). Upon its discovery, this jacket was immediately associated with a legendary encounter between King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–68) and the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī on Mount Odae.



Fig. 1. Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Sangwŏnsa, Kangwŏn Province. Wood with gilt and paint. H 98 cm. Chosŏn, dated 1466. National Treasure no. 221. © Photograph of Cultural Heritage Administration, Korea.

2. I will explain the meaning of this concept in due course.
3. See other papers on *pokchang* in this special issue.



Fig. 2. *Chögori*. Silk. 189 × 71 cm. Chosŏn, 15th century. Discovered inside the Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Sangwŏnsa. Photograph by Youn-mi Kim. Courtesy of Sangwŏnsa Buddhist Museum.



Fig. 3. Stains of the *chögori* discovered inside the Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Sangwŏnsa. Photograph by Youn-mi Kim. Courtesy of Sangwŏnsa Buddhist Museum.

In popular belief of contemporary Korea, the jacket serves to prove the legend, although the historical truth seems to be the reverse, as this paper will make clear in due course. According to the legend in this region, King Sejo, suffering from a serious skin ailment, traveled to Mount Odae which had been known as the sacred abode of Mañjuśrī bodhisattva since the seventh or eighth century.⁴ Upon arriving at the mountain, the king sent his retinue away so he could bathe in privacy in the mountain stream. As he was soaking, he noticed a young boy walking past and asked for help washing his back. After the bath, the king told the boy not to tell anyone he had seen the king's body. The boy responded by telling the king not to tell anyone he had just seen the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. With that, the boy disappeared, and the king found his skin miraculously healed. A Chosŏn-period

4. For a recent study on the origin of the Mañjuśrī worship at Mount Odae, see Kwak Roe 광뢰, "Silla chunggogi Odaesan Munsu sinang suyongsŏl ūi chaegŏmt'o" 新羅 中古期 五臺山文殊信仰 受容說의 재검토, *Tongguk sabak* 동국사학 59 (2015): 319–56.

map of Mount Odae includes a site marked “the place where the Great King Sejo encountered the boy Mañjuśrī” 世祖大王文殊童子親見處 near Sangwōnsa, which indicates that the legend had been widespread before this map’s publication in 1872 (fig. 4). It is widely believed that the jacket’s red stains are traces of blood from the king’s disease, and the yellow smears are traces of pus.⁵ While it is inadvisable to take legend as fact, a set of historical records and circumstances suggests that it is at least probable that the jacket is King Sejo’s. The king had a close relationship with Sangwōnsa. The monastery had been severely damaged in a fire in 1425.⁶ Only with the king’s patronage was its restoration initiated around 1464.⁷ The grand project was completed in 1466,⁸ the same year as the Mañjuśrī statue. Moreover, the vow text (*parwōnmun* 發願文) found inside the statue reveals that it was originally commissioned by the king’s daughter (fig. 5). In red ink on blue silk,⁹ the inscription states that Princess Ŭisuk 懿淑 (1442–77) and her husband commissioned the statue together with several other statues in the 2nd lunar month of the 2nd year of the Chenghua 成化 reign period (1466).¹⁰ Based on the statue’s date of completion, recorded in the vow text, we can infer that the princess probably commissioned it as part of a set to be enshrined at Sangwōnsa, which her father had restored.¹¹ In addition, the vow text clarifies why the statue was created in the form of a young boy—a rare case in Korean Buddhist art. The statue wears a double topknot, a hairstyle for boys in premodern East Asia. (The sparse beard painted on the face is a later addition that was due to ignorance of the iconography.) The vow text states that the princess couple prays for a baby boy and wishes for the longevity and health of the king, queen, and crown prince. The princess’s wish to “soon have a son with wisdom” 速得智慧之男 suggests the initial reason why the commissioned statue resembled a boy. Since Mañjuśrī was known as the bodhisattva of wisdom,

5. Similar narratives are offered even in scholarly exhibition catalogues, including the one from the special exhibition curated by the National Palace Museum of Korea and the Handok Museum of Medicine. See Handok ūiyak pangmulgwan 한독의약박물관 and Kungnip kogung pangmulgwan 국립고궁박물관, *Chosōn wangsil ūi saengno pyōngsa* 조선왕실의 생로병사 (Ch’ungbuk Ŭmsōng-gun: Handok ūiyak pangmulgwan, 2014).

6. *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄, 1425.12.19.

7. *Sangwōnsa chungch’ang kwōnsōnmun* 上院寺重創勸善文. Reprinted in *Yōkchu Chosōn pulgyo t’ongsa* 嶺州 朝鮮佛敎通史, vol. 2, ed. Yi Nūng-hwa 李寧華 (Seoul: Tongguk taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 2010), 174–76. The actual manuscript is currently in the museum collection of Sangwōnsa.

8. *Ibid.*

9. The *Chosang kyōng* 造像經 prescribes the use of red ink and blue silk when writing a vow text for *pokchang*. For more on the *Chosang kyōng*, see Richard McBride’s article in this issue; and T’aegyōng 泰冥, *Chosang kyōng: Pulbokchang ūi chōlch’a wa kŭ soje tamgin sasang* 造像經: 佛腹藏의 節次와 그 속에 담긴 思想 (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006).

10. For a transcription of the entire vow text, see Hong Yun-sik, “Chosōn ch’ogi Sangwōnsa Munsu tongja sang e taehayō” 朝鮮初期 上院寺文殊童子像에 대하여, *Misul sabak yōn’gu* 美術史學研究 164 (1984): 11.

11. I agree with the group of scholars who have suggested that the term Munsusa 文殊寺 in this vow text indicates Sangwōnsa. For a summary of previous contentions regarding this term, see Kim Yōn-mi (Youn-mi Kim), “Pulbokchang ūbok ponganūi ūimi,” 168–70.

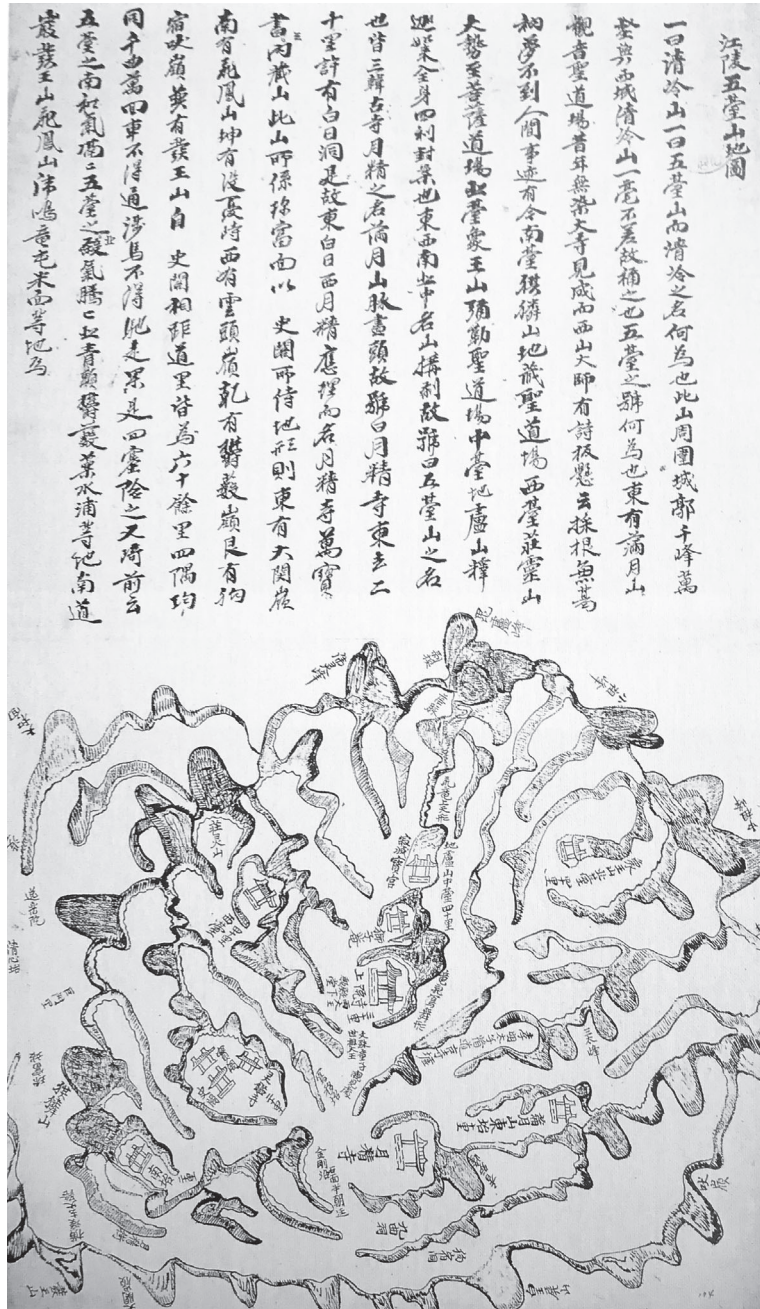


Fig. 4. Map of Mount Odae, Chosŏn, dated 1872. 95 x 56.3 cm. © Yeungnam University Museum. After Wŏlchŏngsa sŏngbo pangmulgwan 월정사성보박물관, *Yumul ro ponŭn Odaesan Munsu sinang* 유물로 보는 오대산 문수신앙 (Pyŏngch'ang: Wŏlchŏngsa sŏngbo pangmulgwan, 2004).

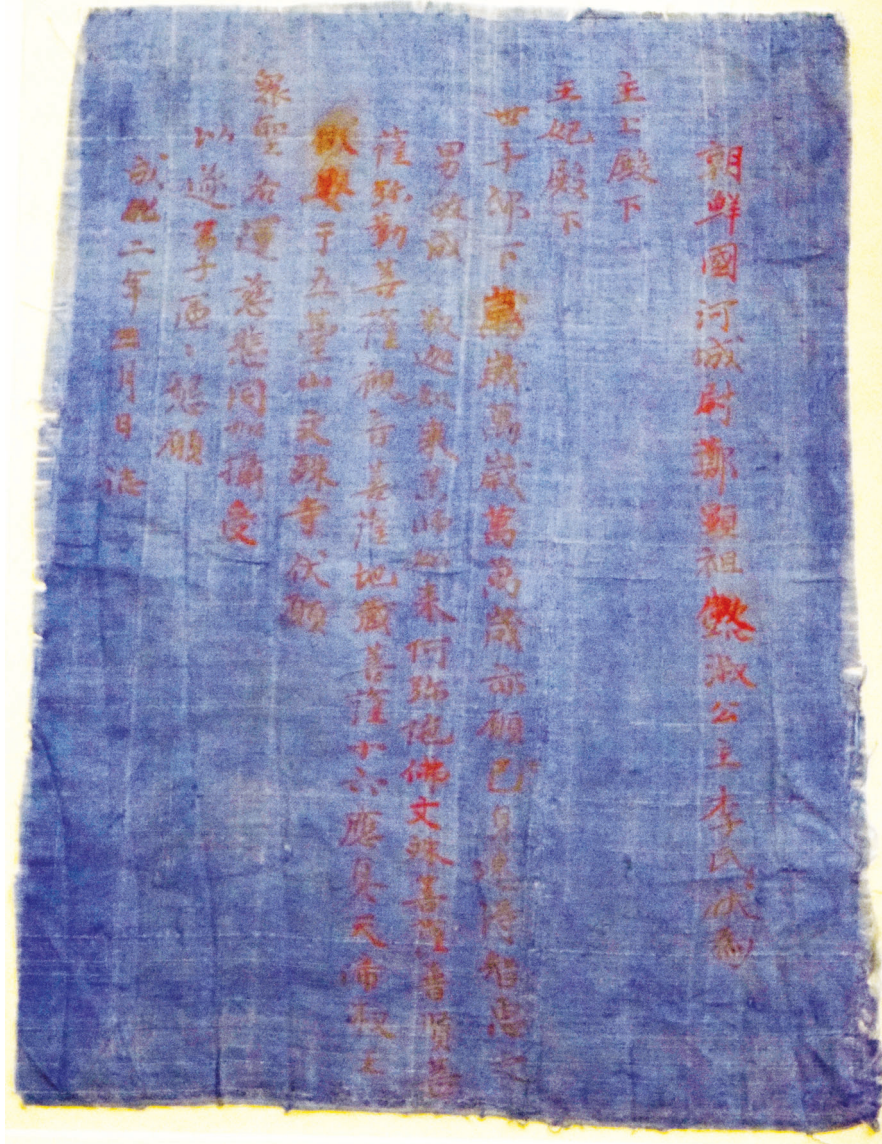


Fig. 5. Vow text. Blue silk inscribed with cinnabar ink. 31.5 × 24 cm. Chosŏn, dated 1466. Discovered inside the Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Sangwŏnsa. Photograph by Youn-mi Kim. Courtesy of Sangwŏnsa Buddhist Museum.

who is sometimes represented as a boy, the statue conformed to the wish of the princess who had not yet borne a son at that time.

The reason why this Mañjuśrī statue came to enshrine the stained jacket can be inferred through a passage in the manuscript entitled *Exhortations to Restore Sangwŏnsa* (*Sangwŏnsa chungch'ang kwŏnsŏnmun* 上院寺重創勸善文). The manuscript

includes a letter written by King Sejo and a piece of writing composed by important monks of Sangwōnsa.¹² A notable passage relevant to the silk jacket appears in the piece of writing by the monks, including Great Master Sinmi 信眉大師 (d.u., also known as the Venerable Hyegak 慧覺尊者) on the 18th day of the 12th lunar month of 1464. These monks, who supervised the restoration, clearly write that the king presented “several garments of the king” (*ōūi yakkan sūp* 御衣若干襲) to Sangwōnsa during the monastery’s restoration.¹³ The term *ōūi* 御衣 in this phrase refers not to normal clothing but to the king’s garments.

Is it reasonable to assume that “several garments of the king” sent to Sangwōnsa were enshrined in the statues commissioned by his daughter? (Other statues commissioned by the princess were lost sometime during the Chosōn.¹⁴) To make an educated inference, let us examine actual cases in which Chosōn kings used their clothing as special gifts or offerings. The *Annals of the Chosōn Dynasty* (*Chosōn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄) record many cases of Chosōn kings bestowing their garment to a court official or military official as a reward for meritorious deeds.¹⁵ While most of these instances are unrelated to Buddhism, one relevant to our discussion comes from the annals of King T’aejo 太祖 (1335–1408, r. 1392–98). According to the record of the 24th day of the 10th lunar month in 1400, King T’aejo, then a retired king who had abdicated the throne to his son, visited the tomb of his wife, Queen Sindök 神德王后 (?–1396). Arriving at her tomb, he had a Buddhist ceremony performed for her. Overwhelmed, perhaps, by the frailty of life, he then “removed his garment and offered it to the Buddha” 太上王脫衣施佛.¹⁶ Afterwards, he traveled directly to Mount Odae, even though Confucian officials tried to dissuade him from visiting the sacred mountain revered by Buddhists.¹⁷ This record regarding the retired King T’aejo shows that at least some Chosōn kings used their garments as religious offerings.

Probably following the precedent set by the retired King T’aejo, King Sejo sent his garments to Sangwōnsa as a special offering. The king’s bestowal of a special gift to the monastery may have encouraged courtiers and laypeople to donate to the monastery’s ongoing restoration. Indeed, King Sejo’s letter, included in the

12. For a study of this manuscript, see Kim Mu-bong 김무봉, *Yōkchu Sangwōnsa chungch’ang kwōnsōnmun, Yōngbōm yakch’o, Odae chinōn* 嶺州 상원사중창권선문·영험약초·오대진언 (Seoul: Sejong Taewang kinyōm saōphoe, 2010).

13. “. . . 江陵五臺 天下名山 文殊住處 靈異現顯 上院寺尤其勝地 某等竭衣鉢之貯 重創於是寺 以為祝釐之所 兩殿聞之 特降綸命 若曰 僧等為我欲創伽藍 予當補助 與國人廣利 出御衣若干襲 命輸米布土木之費 . . .” Emphasis added by the present author. The term *sūp* 襲 is a unit used to count the number of garments. For a complete transcription of the manuscript, see Yi Nūng-hwa, *Yōkchu Chosōn pulgyo t’ongsa*, 174–76.

14. The aforementioned vow by the princess includes a list of statues she commissioned for Sangwōnsa.

15. For example, see *Sejong sillok*, 1418.9.16, 1461.9.23; and *Sōngjong sillok* 成宗實錄, 1479.2.12.

16. *Chōngjong sillok* 定宗實錄, 1400.10.24.

17. *Chōngjong sillok*, 1400.10.24, 1400.10.26. Although the *Annals of the Chosōn Dynasty* do not record whether the retired king brought to Mount Odae his clothing which he just decided to offer to the Buddha, it is notable that Mount Odae was the mountain where Sangwōnsa was located.

Exhortations to Restore Sangwŏnſa, notes that he actively encouraged people to donate to this cause.¹⁸ It is implausible that the monastery would sell off the sacred garments from the king or distribute them to the monks or guests. Perhaps the safest and most suitable place to keep the king's garments was the inner space of the statues that had been prepared by the king's daughter for the newly renovated monastery. As garments had frequently been encased in Buddhist statues since the late Koryŏ in Korea, this decision seems all the more natural.¹⁹

If the stained silk jacket belonged to King Sejo, then the other jacket from the same statue raises a puzzling question as it bears the inscription, "Lady No" (No-ssi puin 魯氏夫人) (fig. 6). Among those related to the king, a woman with the same last name has not been located in historical records. At first glance, it seems strange that the king's clothing was accompanied by that of a woman who was not his consort or close kin. There is, however, another instance in which a garment of a Chosŏn king was encased in a Buddhist statue together with that of a woman of lower rank—the Avalokiteśvara statue at the Wŏnt'ong Hall 圓通殿 of P'agyesa 把溪寺 in present-day Taegu City 大邱市. In 1979 various objects fell out of the statue while new gilding was being added to the statue. These objects included a beautiful blue *top'o* 道袍, or traditional overcoat, that had belonged to King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724–76). An inscription written, probably in the king's own hand, was found on paper sewn into the overcoat (fig. 7). The inscription records that the clothing was enshrined in the statue on the 11th day of the 12th lunar month in 1740.²⁰ Traces of usage indicate that the king had offered his own used overcoat rather than commissioning a new garment to enclose in the statue.

What is relevant to our discussion here is that the same statue also encased a jacket belonging to his lady-in-waiting. The back of her jacket, made of silk dyed in deep lapis lazuli color, bears the inscription: "Lady Hong of the rank of Sukyong" (Sukyong Hong-ssi 淑容洪氏). Lady Hong was the king's *chejo sanggung* 提調尙宮, or highest lady-in-waiting.²¹ As will be discussed below, a king's garment was often enshrined with a woman's. Therefore, the presence of the jacket of Lady No actually strengthens the argument that the stained jacket belonged to King Sejo.

18. For a transcription of the king's letter, see Yi Nŭng-hwa, *Yŏkchu Chosŏn pulgyo t'ongsa*, 175–76.

19. It is fortunate that at least one of the statues commissioned by the princess has survived until today. The Mañjuśrī statue may have been given special care and protection because Mount Odae, where the statue was located, was believed to be the abode of Mañjuśrī. Such efforts continued into modern times. During the Korean War (1950–53), the statue escaped destruction thanks to the sacrificial acts of Venerable monk Hanam 漢岩 (1876–1951). See Kim Yŏn-mi (Youn-mi Kim), "Pulbokchang ūibok pongan ūi ūimi," 192.

20. "乾龍五年 庚申 十二月十一日 服藏記 聖上主 甲戌生 李氏 青紗上衣 一領 萬歲流傳干 把溪寺者 同家願 吾上 三殿誕日 佛供處也。"

21. For more on these jackets, see Kim Yŏng-suk 金英淑, "Pulbokchangmul t'onghae pon poksik sasangsŏng kŏmt'o" 佛腹藏物 통해 본 服飾 思想性 檢討, *Munhwajae* 문화재35 (2002): 186–219; and Kim Yŏng-suk, *Chosa pogosŏ: Sukyong Hong-ssi sangŭi* 조사보고서: 숙용홍씨상의 (Seoul: Munhwajae kwalliguk, 1993), 1–2.



Fig. 6. (Left) *Chōgori* stamped with *dbāraṇi*. Silk. 216.8 × 55.8 cm. Chosŏn, 15th century. Discovered inside the Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Sangwŏnsa. © Sangwŏnsa Buddhist Museum. Photograph by Youn-mi Kim. (Right) Inscription of the *chōgori* stamped with *dbāraṇi*. Courtesy of Sangwŏnsa Buddhist Museum.



Fig. 7. (Left) Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva at Wŏnt'ong Hall of Pagyesa, Taegu City. Wood with gilt and paint. H. 108 cm. Chosŏn, before 1447. © Photograph of Cultural Heritage Administration, Korea. (Right) *Top'o*. Silk. Discovered inside the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva at Wŏnt'ong Hall of Pagyesa. Chosŏn, ca. 1740. © Photograph of Cultural Heritage Administration, Korea.

Material Agency and Legend

Now that circumstantial evidence has emerged suggesting that the stained jacket likely belonged to King Sejo, let us more closely examine the relation between the stained jacket and the king's legendary encounter with Mañjuśrī bodhisattva. As discussed below, the jacket is not material proof of the legend but rather the primary “material agent”²² that gave rise to it.

In fact, historical records indicate that the legend of the king's encounter with Mañjuśrī bodhisattva did not exist during the king's lifetime. No historical documents written during the king's reign, as far as I know, mention any similar

22. The concepts of “material agent” and “material agency” come from Alfred Gell. For Gell's theory, see his *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

legend. Instead, they include details that served as inspiration for the legend in later generations. Most notable are records of the king's illness. According to King Sejo's aforementioned letter, the Great Master Sinmi, hearing of the king's illness, paid him a visit while traveling to court from Mount Odae. The king writes that the monk had served as his advisor before he was enthroned. Further, the sick king notes that he heard from the venerable monk that his fellow monks Hagyöl 學悅 (d.u.) and Hakcho 學祖 (d.u.) were all selling their belongings and robes in order to restore Sangwōnsa for the king's welfare. Deeply touched, the king provided patronage for the monastery's restoration.²³

The same story of the king's illness appears in modified form in the *Record of the Restoration of Sangwōnsa on Mount Odae* (*Odaesan Sangwōnsa chungch'anggi* 五臺山上院寺重創記), written seven years after the king's passing. Unlike the letter written by the king, this record adds semi-legendary touches to the historical facts. At the request of the monk Hagyöl, this text was composed in 1475 by Kim Su-on 金守溫 (1410–81), a renowned scholar-official and younger brother of Great Master Sinmi, supervisor of the Sangwōnsa restoration. According to Kim Su-on, when King Sejo fell sick, the king's grandmother asked Great Master Sinmi and the monk Hagyöl to recommend a numinous place for building a Buddhist monastery so as to cure the king through religious merit. Instead of building a new monastery, the monks suggested restoring Sangwōnsa, which had been in ruins since the great fire. When the royal family sent donations to restore the monastery, Kim Su-on wrote, the king soon recovered.²⁴ The writing ascribes the king's recovery of health to the miraculous efficacy of the monastery's restoration.

Unlike the local legend from Mount Odae, however, neither this text by Kim Su-on nor the king's letter mentions the king suffering from a skin disease that was cured by Mañjuśrī. On the contrary, Kim Su-on suggests that the king had already regained his health before visiting Mount Odae to celebrate the restoration's completion. As was explained above, in the *Record of the Restoration of Sangwōnsa* he clearly states that the king recovered from his illness at the start of the restoration project. As the restoration took more than a year, this means that the king was no longer ill when he visited the monastery to celebrate its completion. The restoration began in the 3rd lunar month of 1465,²⁵ and was completed in the 3rd intercalary month of the following year. The *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty* records that on the 17th day of the 3rd intercalary month of 1466 the crown prince, princes, and highest court officials accompanied the king to the monastery.²⁶ The participation of the royal family and high-ranking officials implies that the monastery's restoration was an important project promoted by the king. As the annals also give no hint of the king's illness during this journey, it further testifies that the king's legendary encounter with Mañjuśrī was a posthumous creation.

23. For a transcription of the letter, see Yi Nūng-hwa, *Yŏkchu Chosŏn pulgyo t'ongsa*, 175–76.

24. For an entire transcription of the *Record of the Restoration of Sangwōnsa on Mount Odae*, see *ibid.*, 179–81.

25. “. . . 始於乙酉三月。告訖於翌年丙戌. . .” *Odaesan Sangwōnsa chungch'anggi*, in *ibid.*, 179–80.

26. *Sejo sillok* 世祖實錄, 1466.閏3.17.

So, what gave rise to the legend of King Sejo's encounter with Mañjuśrī, if such a story never existed during his lifetime? To answer this, we should return to the stained jacket from the monastery's Mañjuśrī statue and examine it more carefully. Many of the red stains, which are thought to be the king's blood, appear on the lower ends of the jacket's proper right side—a portion never in direct contact with the body (figs. 1, 3). If the king's skin disease was the source of the stains, it would be unnatural for the markings to appear mostly on this part of the jacket. As a matter of fact, similar dotted red stains are frequently found on shrouds excavated from tombs (fig. 8).²⁷ As for the wide yellow smears across the jacket, these are in fact similar to sweat stains that commonly appear on old garments found in tombs or other Buddhist statues (fig. 9).²⁸ Though initially invisible, sweat stains gradually oxidize and yellow over time.

In this context, it is worth noting that the statue was opened at least once during the Chosŏn period. The statue's *pokchang* includes a vow text that recorded the statue's restoration (fig. 10). According to this vow text, which was composed by the monk Hangmyŏng 學明 (d.u.), the statue was restored in the 5th lunar month of 1599 by the clergy at Sangwŏnsa.²⁹ The presence of this vow text in the statue clearly indicates that the statue was opened during this restoration. By this moment, 133 years had passed since the statue's creation—enough time for stains to have developed inside.

A jacket with mysterious stains was probably strange enough to draw attention from the clergy who opened the statue for restoration. These clergy must have known that King Sejo had been sick before the monastery's restoration, because the manuscript of the *Exhortations to Restore Sangwŏnsa* had been preserved in the monastery. In fact, the manuscript still remains in the monastery's collection.³⁰ Therefore, the discovery of the stained jacket in 1599 from this statue commissioned by the king's daughter may have given rise to the new assumption that the king's recorded illness had been a skin disease. In this context, applying the theory of Alfred Gell, the jacket plays the role of "primary agent," while the monks who were awed by the jacket and its mysterious stains play the role of "patients." In other words, impacted by the material agent of the jacket, the monks came to imagine and believe that King Sejo's illness was skin disease. Analyzing this case a bit more deeply, the jacket was originally an "index-patient" that had bodily contact with King Sejo, who was the "prototype-agent." When discovered from the statue in 1599, it functioned as an "index-agent" that inspired the awe and imagination of

27. On old textiles such stains are known as red fungus.

28. For more photos of garments excavated from tombs, see Kyŏnggi-do pangmulgwan 경기도박물관, *Chŏnju Yi-ssi myo ch'ult'o poksik chosa pogosŏ: Kwangju Ko-ŭp Inp'yŏng Taegun-p'a Ŭiwŏn-gun ilga* 全州李氏墓 出土服飾 調査報告書: 廣州古邑麟坪大君派義原君一家 (Kyŏnggi-do Yongin-si: Kyŏnggi-do pangmulgwan, 2001), 12–54.

29. For a transcription of this vow text, see Hong Yun-sik, "Chosŏn ch'ogi Sangwŏnsa Munsu tongja sang e taehayŏ," 12. For more on the monk Hangmyŏng, see Han Kang-ji 한강지, "Odaesan Sangwŏnsa mokcho Munsu tongja sang yŏn'gu" 五臺山 上院寺 木造文殊童子坐像 研究 (MA thesis, Tongguk taehakkyo, 2006), 35.

30. In 1997 the manuscript was designated National Treasure No. 292 of Korea.



Fig. 8. *Chögori*. Silk. 148 × 41 cm. Chosön, early 18th century. Excavated from the tomb of Lady Kwön 權氏 (1664–1722) from Andong 安東, Hanam City, Kyönggi Province. After Kyönggi-do pangmulgwan, *Chönju Yi-ssi myo ch'ult'o poksik chosa pogosö* (Kyönggi-do: Kyönggi-do pangmulgwan, 2001), plate 56.



Fig. 9. Soch'angüi 小斂衣 (traditional inner coat). Silk. 212 × 108 cm. Chosön, early 18th century. Excavated from the tomb of Prince Üiwön 義原君 (1661–1722), Hanam City, Kyönggi Province. After Kyönggi-do pangmulgwan, *Chönju Yi-ssi myo ch'ult'o poksik chosa pogosö*, plate 26.

the monks through the bodily fluids of the king remaining in its fibers.³¹ In other words, the legend of King Sejo emerged through mediation of the jacket.

Furthermore, the fact that the statue depicted a young boy—a rare type of Mañjuśrī in Korea, though there are many in Japan—seems to have further contributed to the birth of the legend in which Mañjuśrī appears in the guise of a “young

31. For a brief summary of Alfred Gell's theory, see Youn-mi Kim, “Buddhist Ontology and Miniaturization: Enacting Ritual with Nonhuman Agency,” *International Journal of Buddhist Thought and Culture* 27, no. 2 (2017): 51–54. For original theory, see Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*.

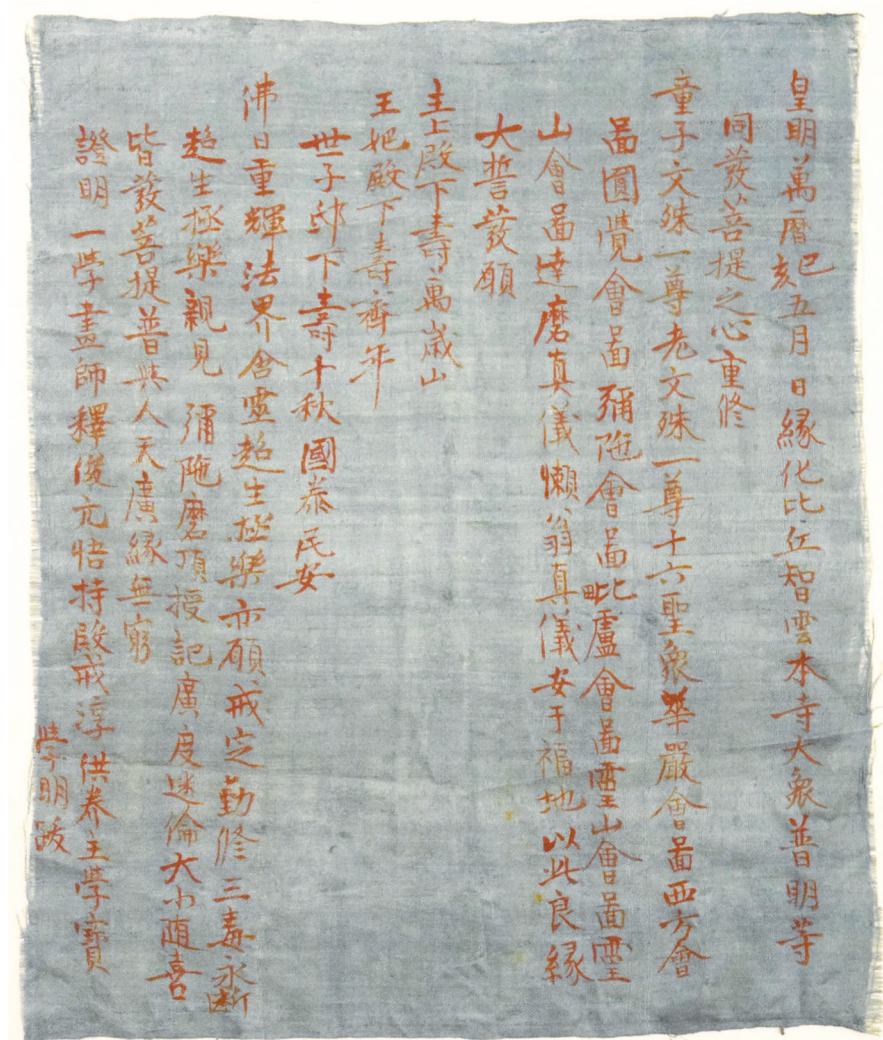


Fig. 10. Vow text recording the statue's restoration. Blue silk inscribed with cinnabar ink. 34.6 × 29.1 cm. Chosŏn, dated 1599. Discovered inside the Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Sangwŏnsa. Photograph by Youn-mi Kim. Courtesy of Sangwŏnsa Buddhist Museum.

boy” to heal the king. Deviating from the intention of the commissioner, who had wished to bear a boy resembling the Mañjuśrī bodhisattva, this boy-shaped statue and the stained jacket served as material agents for the legend of Mañjuśrī healing King Sejo’s disease in later generations.

Moreover, Mount Odae, where the statue’s home monastery is located, was a suitable place for a legend about Mañjuśrī to emerge among the local populace. Since the eighth century, Mount Odae had been revered in Korea as the abode of Mañjuśrī bodhisattva, just like the famous Mount Wutai 五臺 in China (“Odae” is

the Korean pronunciation of Wutai). Mount Odae was one of several replications of this sacred Chinese mountain.³² As is well-known, the Liao empire (907–1125) and the Xixia kingdom (1032–1227)—like Japan and Tibet—each had their own Mount Wutai, which was believed to be the abode of Mañjuśrī in their respective regions.³³ While it was a replicated sacred place, Mount Odae on the Korean peninsula was revered by the locals as the *original*, as were other replicas of Mount Wutai in the Buddhist world.³⁴ After the Korean mountain was designated as Mount Wutai in the mid Silla period, its Chinese origin was forgotten, and it has continuously been revered as Mañjuśrī’s abode replete with miracle stories. The jacket found inside the statue during the restoration of 1599, therefore, must have facilitated the emergence of this new legend about Mañjuśrī on this sacred mountain. In addition, it is notable that Mañjuśrī was linked to the healing of skin diseases in East Asia. Mañjuśrī had been known as a bodhisattva who heals boils and abscesses since the Tang dynasty in China (618–907),³⁵ and as the healer of smallpox, which causes bumps filled with fluid, in Japan.³⁶ Therefore the legend of King Sejo, while a local oral tradition, also conforms to the larger cultural landscape of East Asian Mañjuśrī worship.

Lastly, it seems that King Sejo’s personality also facilitated the genesis of this posthumous legend. He was a sovereign who frequently appropriated Buddhist miracles and auspicious signs (*sangsō* 祥瑞) to strengthen his political legitimacy.³⁷ The king had usurped the throne from his young nephew, King Tanjong 端宗 (1441–57, r. 1452–55), and hence suffered from weak legitimacy in the strict Confucian kingdom of Chosŏn. Like Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705), who had usurped the Tang

32. Kwak Roe, “Silla chunggogi Odaesan Munsu sinang suyongsŏl ūi chaegŏmt’o,” 319–56.

33. Robert Gimello, “Wu-t’ai Shan 五臺山 during the Early Chin Dynasty 金朝: The Testimony of Chu Pien 朱弁,” *Zhonghua foxue xuebao* 中華佛學學報, no. 7 (1994): 506–8; Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia fojiao shilüe* 西夏佛教史略 (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1988), 118–19, 156; and Susan Andrews, “Representing Mount Wutai’s 五臺山 Past: A Study of Chinese and Japanese Miracle Tales about the Five Terrace Mountain” (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2013).

34. In the Christian traditions, many architectural and sculptural replications of the Holy Sepulcher were produced in medieval Europe. See, Jonathan Z. Smith, “Constructing a Small Place,” in *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar and R. J. Zwi Werblowsky (New York: New York University Press, 1980), 18–31; and Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1987). For a comparison between Christian and Buddhist replication of sacred places, see Youn-mi Kim, “Virtual Pilgrimage and Virtual Geography: Power of Liao Miniature Pagodas (907–1125),” *Religions* 8, no. 10 (2017): 1–29.

35. Chŏng Pyŏng-jo 鄭柄朝, “Munsu posal ūi yŏn’gu” 文殊菩薩의 研究 (PhD dissertation, Tongguk taehakkyo, 1987), 130–31.

36. I am grateful to Cynthia Bogel, Bernard Faure, and Max Moerman for pointing this out to me.

37. Yi Chŏng-ju 이정주, “Sejo tae huban’gi ūi pulgyojŏk sangsŏ wa ūnjŏn” 世祖代 후반기의 불교적 祥瑞와 恩典, *Minjok munhwa yŏn’gu* 民族文化研究 44 (2006): 237–70; and Pak Se-yŏn 박세연, “Chosŏn ch’ogi Sejo tae pulgyojŏk sangsŏ ūi chŏngch’ijŏk ūimi” 朝鮮初期 世祖代 佛教의 祥瑞의 政治的 意味, *Sach’ong* 史叢 74 (2011): 25–66.



Fig. 11. Illustration from the *Record of the Manifestation of Avalokiteśvara*. Woodblock print. Published in 1462, Chosŏn. © Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

dynasty throne,³⁸ King Sejo also used various Buddhist miracles, which allegedly occurred during his reign, to bolster the legitimacy of his rule. For example, in 1462 he proclaimed that he had witnessed Avalokiteśvara manifesting in a white robe above Sangwōnsa 上院寺 on Mount Yongmun 龍門山 in Kyōnggi Province.³⁹ To make this miraculous manifestation widely known among his subjects, the king ordered the scholar-official Ch'oe Hang 崔恒 (1409–74) to compose the *Record of the Manifestation of Avalokiteśvara* (*Kwanūm hyōnsanggi* 觀音現相記), published the same year.⁴⁰ The book's woodblock-printed illustrations portray Avalokiteśvara hovering above the complex (fig. 11). Inside and outside the monastery, we can see the king's retinues piously kneeling and joining their palms above their heads in

38. Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Napoli: Istituto universitario orientale, 1976); and Antonino Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock: The Tower, Statue, and Armillary Sphere Constructed by Empress Wu* (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente; Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1988).

39. Please note that this is a different monastery also named Sangwōnsa.

40. For more on this book, see Hong Kwang-p'yo 홍광표 and Hwang Min-ha 황민하, "Kwanūm hyōnsanggi rŭl t'onghaesŏ salp'yōbon Chosŏn ch'ogi Sangwōnsa ūi kyōnggwan yōn'gu" 觀音現相記를 통해서 살펴본 조선 초기 상원사의 경관연구, *Han'guk chōnt'ong chogyōng bakhoe chi* 한국전통조경학회지 31, no. 3 (2013): 114–21.

awe. In keeping with the Chosŏn pictorial custom of not representing the king in visual form in narrative pictures or documentary paintings, this illustration simply portrays the palanquins of King Sejo and the crown prince in front of the monastery. After this book's publication, as many as 32 auspicious miracles occurred in Sejo's reign, and the king granted amnesty and royal gifts to the people each time.⁴¹

In this context, it is notable that a miracle related to relics of the Buddha occurred during King Sejo's visit to Sangwŏnsa on Mount Odae. According to the *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, relics of the Buddha and a ring around the sun miraculously appeared on the day the king arrived to celebrate the completion of the restoration he had sponsored. Due to the miraculous appearance of the relics, the king immediately granted amnesty to criminals in the military.⁴² In the collective memory around Mount Odae, the king must have been remembered as a ruler whose presence in this sacred place brought Buddhist miracles. Because the populace was already familiar with the legendary miracles witnessed by King Sejo, it is no surprise that a new myth was engendered when the stained jacket was discovered in the statue commissioned by his daughter at the mountain known as the abode of Mañjuśrī. The material agency of his jacket thus likely played an important role in creating the legend of the king and the divine boy who healed his disease.

When the stained jacket was rediscovered in the 20th century, its material agency once again contributed to further elaboration and wider dissemination of the legend. Originally local folklore, the story transformed into a legend known across the nation. Notably, the jackets, as well as the relics of the Buddha, were featured as very special objects in mass media. On July 21, 1984, just two days after the discovery of the *pokchang*, major daily newspapers specially featured the jackets and the Buddha relics recovered from the Mañjuśrī statue.⁴³ *The Kyungbyang Shinmun* 京鄉新聞 introduced the jackets as King Sejo's, the oldest king's clothing to be found in Korea up until that time, and the relics as "true-body relics" (*chinsin sari* 眞身舍利) of the Buddha.⁴⁴ The front page of the same newspaper published a photo of the Mañjuśrī statue, describing it as "the seated wooden statue representing the true visage (*chinsang* 眞像) of the boy Mañjuśrī of Mount Wutai encountered by King Sejo."⁴⁵ The legend continued to expand, accumulating details in the 1990s, and the stained jacket was soon used as material evidence of the legend. The phenomenon is exemplified by a column that ran in *The Dong-A Ilbo* on March 18, 1991.⁴⁶ The article claimed that the mother of King Tanjong, who had been dethroned and executed by King Sejo, appeared in King Sejo's dream, reproaching and spitting on him. Subsequently, the king's body was covered with boils and carbuncles. The

41. Yi Chŏng-ju, "Sejo tae huban'gi ūi pulgyojŏk sangsŏ wa ūnjŏn," 247–48.

42. *Sejo sillok*, 1466.3.17. The term *sari* 舍利 refers to relics of the Buddha.

43. *Maeil kyŏngje* 每日經濟 (Maeil Business Newspaper), July 21, 1984, 1; *The Kyungbyang Shinmun* (Kyŏngbyang sinmun 京鄉新聞), July 21, 1984, 1; and *The Dong-A Ilbo* (*Tonga ilbo* 東亞日報), July 21, 1984, 7.

44. *The Kyungbyang Shinmun*, July 21, 1984, 1.

45. *The Kyungbyang Shinmun*, July 21, 1984, 11.

46. *The Dong-A Ilbo*, March 18, 1991, 9.

king traveled to various Buddhist monasteries throughout the country to cure his disease until he finally visited Sangwōnsa, where he encountered Mañjuśrī in the guise of a young boy who bathed and cured the king. Afterwards, the king prayed for 100 days at Sangwōnsa and hired 50,000 painters and 50,000 sculptors to make a Mañjuśrī statue for the monastery. The column ends with a statement that this fantastic story surrounding the statue had been proven true by the discovery of King Sejo's jackets in 1984.⁴⁷ In the following century, a growing number of museum catalogues began to describe the yellow and red stains as the blood and pus of the king.⁴⁸ This is probably because the jacket started to appear in special exhibitions after conservational cleaning in 2001.⁴⁹ All these processes show the ways in which the old local myth developed into such an elaborate and nationally known legend in the late twentieth century through the material agency of the jacket, which inspired and stimulated the imagination of modern Koreans.

Substitute Body as a Medium for Prayer

Since the discovery of the silk jackets within the Mañjuśrī statue in 1984, dozens of garments have been found in Buddhist statues from the late Koryō and Chosōn periods. The *pokchang* ritual is thought to have been formalized in Korea in the 13th and 14th centuries.⁵⁰ As three garments were included in the *pokchang* of the Amitābha Buddha statue dating from 1302 in the collection of Onyang Folk Art Museum,⁵¹ we can deduce that clothing has been incorporated since the formative period of the *pokchang* tradition.

Why did the practice of enshrining garments in Buddhist statues develop only in Korea? What was the purpose and function of this practice? Let us first examine the status of garments within the *pokchang*. Garments are unique among the various objects that constituted *pokchang*. The objects within the Mañjuśrī at Sangwōnsa mostly fall into three categories:

47. Ibid.

48. For examples, see Handok ūiyak pangmulgwan and Kungnip kogung pangmulgwan, *Chosōn wangsil ūi saengno pyōngsa*.

49. Even after cleaning, the stains still remain on the jacket. For the cleaning process used by the conservation team, see Kwōn Yōng-suk (Kwon Young-Suk) 권영숙 and Paek Yōng-mi (Baek Young-Mee) 백영미, "Sangwōnsa mokcho Munsu tongja chwasang pokchang myōngju hotchōgori ūi pojon ch'ōri" 상원사목조문수동자좌상 복장 명주홀저고리의 보존처리, *Han'guk ūiryu sanōp hakboe chi* 한국의류산업학회지 8, no. 6 (2006): 634–38.

50. For more on this, Chōng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo) 정은우 and Sin Ūn-je 신은제, *Koryō ūi sōngmul, pulbokchang* 고려의 성물, 불복장 (Paju: Kyōngin Munhwasa, 2017), 33. Approximately fifteen cases of *pokchang* from Koryō Buddhist statues have been discovered to date, and more are likely to be found. For these Koryō *pokchang* objects, also, see papers by Seunghye Lee and Jeong Eunwoo in this special issue.

51. For this *pokchang* object, see Onyang minsok pangmulgwan 온양민속박물관, *1302 nyōn Amit'abul pokchangmul ūi chosa yōn'gu* 1302年 阿彌陀佛腹藏物の 調査研究 (Ch'unghnam Onyang-si: Onyang minsok pangmulgwan, 1991).

- 1) Objects specially made for the *pokchang* ritual
- 2) Buddhist scriptures and *dhāraṇī* printed or handwritten on paper
- 3) Garments

The *pokchang* objects in most Korean Buddhist statues also fall roughly into these categories. Those in the first category include the throat-bell container (*buryōng t'ong* 喉鈴筒, fig. 12) wrapped in yellow silk (*hwangch'o p'okcha* 黃稍幅子), a crystal ball, Buddha relics, the vow text, and so on—all of which were specially prepared to be enshrined inside a statue. Only after enshrining these objects inside a statue with the appropriate ritual was the inanimate statue then brought to life as an icon for veneration. There is close conformation between these objects and the instructions in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyōng* 造像經). This compilation of Buddhist scriptures played an important role in systematizing *pokchang* practice in the mid- and late Chosŏn and was published in at least five editions between 1575 and 1824.⁵² The complex relationship between the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* and actual *pokchang* practice, however, remains a subject for future study because the text and the practice seem to have evolved through mutual influence.⁵³



Fig. 12. Throat-bell container and its lid. 10.8 × 4 cm. Chosŏn, dated 1466. Discovered inside the Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva at Sangwŏnsa. Photograph by Youn-mi Kim. Courtesy of Sangwŏnsa Buddhist Museum.

52. For more on the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, see the references in footnote 9 of this paper.

53. The earliest surviving edition of this sutra was published in 1575, while the oldest surviving *pokchang* sets in Korea come from the 13th century. For example, although many of the *pokchang* objects from the Mañjuśrī statue at Sangwŏnsa closely match the instructions in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, they predate the *sūtras*. Moreover, even the *pokchang* from later statues have divergences from the *sūtras* (as well as convergences).

As for the second category, Buddhist scriptures and *dhāraṇī* also contributed toward transforming a statue into a living icon (although many were not produced specifically for enshrinement in a statue).⁵⁴ In the Buddhist tradition, *sūtras* were regarded as sacred and powerful objects worthy of veneration.⁵⁵ *Dhāraṇī*, in printed or handwritten forms, functioned as something akin to powerful talismans believed to bring various kinds of blessing and protection,⁵⁶ partly because *dhāraṇī* were originally condensed formulations of longer Buddhist teachings. Enclosure of these sacred scriptures and *dhāraṇī* through the *pokchang* ritual further guaranteed the statue's vivification, as did the objects in the first category. These sacred texts simultaneously played the role of filler, protecting other *pokchang* inside. The inner space of a statue is usually packed with these prints and manuscripts, so that the entire *pokchang* remains in place even when the statue is moved or shaken.

Falling into neither of these categories, however, are garments worn by laity, which assume a unique status among *pokchang* objects. The enshrining of used garments did not originate from written instructions. The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, frequently cited in studies on Korean *pokchang*, mention nothing about installing garments in statues, nor do other Buddhist ritual manuals or scriptures related to image making.⁵⁷

It is therefore necessary to understand the rationale for this practice by examining its material expression and by adopting a comparative approach that considers both Buddhist and non-Buddhist parallels. As the first step in this inquiry, let us consider the characteristics shared by the garments that were enshrined in Buddhist statues. First, most had been used by the owner, and many show traces of wear and mending.⁵⁸ Second, some were stamped with *dhāraṇī*. Third, many were inscribed

54. Many manuscripts and prints found inside statues predate the statues, sometimes by many decades, meaning they were not made to serve as *pokchang*. Some show traces of usage for studying and chanting.

55. For book worship in the Buddhist tradition, see Gregory Schopen, "The Book as a Sacred Object in Private Homes in Early or Medieval India," in *Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Objects in Global Perspective: Translations of the Sacred*, ed. Elizabeth Ann Robertson and Jennifer Jahner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 37–60; and Jinah Kim, *Receptacle of the Sacred: Illustrated Manuscripts and the Buddhist Book Cult in South Asia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013).

56. For more on this topic, see Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

57. Perhaps because of this, contemporary *pokchang* ritual does not include garments in the objects enshrined in Buddhist statues. This is a modern phenomenon that arose due to the primacy of text over practice in modern society. Sometimes a new robe of a prestigious monk is included in contemporary *pokchang*, but this is a practice different from the tradition of lay donors' offering their used garments.

58. Pak Yun-mi 박윤미, "Pogwangsa mokcho Kwanūm posal chwasang pokchang chōgori ūi r'ūksōng" 보광사 목조관음보살좌상 복장 저고리의 특성, in *Andong Pogwangsa mokcho Kwanūm posal chwasang* 안동 보광사 목조관음보살좌상, ed. Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso (Seoul: Munhwajaech'ōng and Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso, 2009), 2; and Yi Sōn-yong (Lee Seon-yong) 이선용, "Pulbokchangmul kusōng kwa chingmul e kwanhan yōn'gu" 佛腹藏物 구성과 직물에 관한 연구 (MA thesis, Tongguk taehakkyo, 2006), 42.

with the donor's name. Lastly, a prayer for the donor's longevity or rebirth in the Western Pure Land was frequently inscribed, as well.

Prayers on garments were usually short—normally just a phrase but sometimes longer. For example, a silk jacket enshrined in the Avalokiteśvara statue from 1662 at Songgwangsa 松廣寺 in Sunch'ŏn City 順天市, South Ch'ŏlla Province, was used as a medium to record the prayer of the donor of the statue (fig. 13). The statue's donor was a court lady named Noyesōng 盧禮成 (1601–?) who served Prince Kyōngan 慶安君 (1644–65). The inscription on her jacket expresses her wish for the longevity of the prince and his wife as well as for herself and two other court ladies. She also prays for the awakening of herself and all sentient beings.⁵⁹

Why were garments viewed as a good medium for conveying one's wishes? Assistance with that question may be sought by looking beyond Buddhist studies. Garments were, in various religious traditions and ritual practices, believed to have a special connection to their owner, even after separation, as they had been in intimate bodily contact with that person. In his classic studies, James Frazer (1854–1941) categorized practices based on such beliefs as “contagious magic,” which functions based on the “law of contact.”⁶⁰ Thus, a person's garment became one of the elements frequently used in shamanistic magic to influence a person. The principle of contagious magic is also found in more complex religious traditions—for example, in the various cults of “contact relics.”⁶¹ As John Strong and others have pointed out, objects used by the Buddha—including his robes, begging bowl, and staff—have been venerated as contact relics, different from the bodily relics gained from his cremation.⁶² As for Jesus, who did not leave his body on earth, objects such as pieces of the True Cross, Crown of Thorns, and Veil of Veronica are similarly venerated as contact relics.⁶³ In medieval Japan, as pointed out in the recent study by Rajyashree Pandey, the clothing and the body of its owner were often metonymically linked even in non-religious contexts, such that it was impossible to think of the one without the other.⁶⁴

59. For a study of Noyesōng and the inscription on this jacket, see Yi Hun-sang 이훈상, “17 segi chungban Sunch'ŏn Songgwangsa mokcho Kwanūm posal chwasang ūi chosōng kwa nūlgūn nain Noyesōng ūi parwŏn” 17세기 중반 순천 송광사 목조관음보살좌상의 조성과 높은 나인 노예성의 발원, *Honam munhwa yŏn'gu* 호남문화연구 51, no. 1 (2012): 223–58. For more on the *pokchang* from the Avalokiteśvara statue at Songgwangsa, see Tonga taehakkyo pangmulgwan 동아대학교박물관 and Songgwangsa sŏngbo pangmulgwan 송광사성보박물관, *Sunch'ŏn Songgwangsa Kwanūm posal chwasang pokchangmul* 順天松廣寺觀音菩薩坐像腹藏物 (Pusan: Tonga taehakkyo pangmulgwan, 2012).

60. James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study of Magic and Religion*, pt. 1, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1920), 52–54, 174–214.

61. *Ibid.*, 205–7.

62. John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 8–20.

63. On Christian veneration of the relics of saints, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981).

64. Rajyashree Pandey, *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 2016), 31–45. I am grateful for Pandey's answers to my questions through our email correspondence. I thank Christina Laffin for bringing my attention to Pandey's work.



Fig. 13. *Chögori*. Silk. Chosön, dated 1662. Discovered inside the Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva at Songgwangsa. Courtesy of Songgwangsa Buddhist Museum.

A similar belief is also found in non-religious contexts in modern society. Paul Bloom, a scholar of psychology and cognitive science, and his colleague George Newman, specializing in marketing and management, conducted an experiment in which they asked subjects how much they would pay for the sweater of a celebrity such as Barack Obama or George Clooney. When subjects were told they could not resell the sweater or tell others that they owned it, the price they were willing to pay dropped slightly. When told that the sweater had been thoroughly sterilized, the price dropped by almost a third. A sweater that had been owned but never actually worn by a celebrity also turned out to be less desirable. Citing Frazer, Bloom concludes that an object touched by a celebrity is desirable and valuable because it is believed to have “the residue of the celebrity on it.”⁶⁵ These observations suggest an unconscious belief that a garment remains linked to its owner due to its previous contact with the owner’s body, even in contemporary times.

Considering this human tendency to value and venerate contact relics, we can understand why used garments, as opposed to new ones, were enshrined in Buddhist statues. Due to the intimate contact with their owner’s body, garments must have been viewed as the most suitable item to serve as the donor’s “residue.” To put it in words more familiar to contemporary historians and Buddhologists, the used garments were regarded as the “substitute body” of the person who had worn it. According to Bernard Faure, “substitute bodies” are things that are *not* merely symbols or representations of a deity or person but their *real* body, their double. Relics of a monk are thus his substitute body, and likewise his dharma robe and portrait, whether painted or sculpted.⁶⁶ One’s robes, image, and body parts and so

65. Paul Bloom, *How Pleasure Works: The New Science of Why We Like What We Like* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011), 102–5.

66. Bernard Faure, “Substitute Bodies in Chan/Zen Buddhism,” in *Religious Reflections on the Human Body*, ed. Jane Marie Law (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 211–29.

forth can function as the person in a religious and ritual context as they are believed to contain the person's *presence* and to be equivalent to one's body.

As the garments were offered as something akin to their owner's body, garments that had longer and more intimate contact with the donor's body, even showing signs of wear and bodily fluids, were preferred as *pokchang* over new ones. In other words, donors of clothing offered their old garments to a Buddhist statue as if offering their own body to the statue. Here, what we have to remember is that the used clothing was transformed into a substitute body for its owner only when enshrined in a sacred statue. Just as Buddhist scriptures or *dhāraṇī* transform into *dharma* relics upon enshrinement inside a pagoda, the ontological status of a donor's garment also changes when enshrined within a Buddhist statue. In both cases, it is the spatial framing that changes the object's status—from a book to a substitute for the Buddha's relics, and from garment to the substitute body of the donor.

Garments were not cleaned before being enshrined in a statue, for reasons now clear to us, and the unwashed bodily fluids, though perhaps initially invisible, gradually yellowed with time. In the rare instances when new clothing was used in *pokchang*, there is usually a clear reason why a used garment was not chosen. Take, for example, the aforementioned court lady's jacket from the Avalokiteśvara statue at Songgwangsa (fig. 13); the first and primary prayer written on it was for the longevity of the royal couple she served.⁶⁷ Old clothing of the court lady would likely not have been considered an appropriate medium for prayers for the royal couple she was attending, so she prepared a new jacket. This makes it all the clearer that new clothing was utilized as *pokchang* only in unusual instances where social appropriateness was deemed more important than the efficacy of the "contact magic."⁶⁸

Garments therefore functioned as an effective medium for prayers and blessings for their owner, as they were believed to have a special (even magical) link with the owner. By inscribing prayers on their clothing and enshrining it in a sacred statue, the donors believed that prayers would have greater efficacy for them. Now that we understand that the garments enshrined in Buddhist statues served as "substitute body" of the donor, this also explains why most of them found in statues are clothing for the upper body, such as jackets. The contours of jackets or coats, compared to skirts or trousers, better reflect the human form and thus serve as a more appropriate substitute for the donor's body. In other words, a jacket looks more like a human body than a skirt does.

Now that we know that garments served as bodily substitutes for donors, we can better understand the rationale behind the practice of encasing the king's clothing along with that of a lower-ranking woman. As mentioned above, King Yōngjo's overcoat (fig. 7) was enshrined with the jacket of his highest lady-in-waiting. If

67. For a transcription of the entire inscription, see Tonga taehakkyo pangmulgwan and Songgwangsa songbo pangmulgwan, *Sunch'ŏn Songgwangsa Kwaniŭm posal chwasang pokchangmul*, 14.

68. Another case in which a new garment was used is the *pokchang* of a Vairocana Buddha at Haeinsa 海印寺. Here, a jacket was used as part of the sacred throat-bell container. In this rare instance, new clothing was chosen as it formed the sacred heart of the Buddha, rather than assuming the role of space filler.

garments were ordinary offerings, it may seem impious or improper to enshrine together the king's clothing with that of a low-ranking woman. If we think of garments as substitute bodies or symbolic persons, though, it is logical that the king's lady-in-waiting would accompany the king she attends. This allows her to eternally serve the king inside the sacred space of the Buddhist statue.

A parallel rationale is observed with the three jackets hidden in a timber of the Sudarajang 修多羅藏 hall, one of the two buildings that enshrined the famous woodblocks of the Koryŏ *tripitaka* at Haeinsa 海印寺. In 1995 jackets belonging to King Kwanghae 光海君 (r. 1608–23),⁶⁹ his Queen Lady Ryu 中宮柳氏 (1576–1623), and the court lady Kwŏn Ŭryusŏng 권을유성 (d.u.) were recovered from a main timber supporting the building's tiled ceiling (figs. 14, 15).⁷⁰ It seems that the court lady Kwŏn's jacket was included so that her substitute body could serve those of the royal couple inside the sacred space that protects the Buddhist scriptures. The royal couple's jackets were inscribed in Chinese script with their titles and birth years, as well as prayers for their longevity and their descendants' prosperity. By contrast, the court lady's jacket was simply inscribed, perhaps in her own hand, with her name in Korean script—the script usually used by women and the lower



Fig. 14. Depository halls for the *Tripitaka Koreana* Woodblocks at Haeinsa, Hapch'ŏn, South Kyŏngsang Province. © Photograph of Cultural Heritage Administration, Korea.

69. Because King Kwanghae was deposed from the throne during his lifetime and not awarded a temple name, he has a peerage title, *kun* 君, usually given to a prince.

70. For an excavation report and an exhibition catalogue of these jackets, see Pŏppo chongch'al Haeinsa 법보종찰 해인사, *Kwanghae Kun naeoe mit sanggung ot posu chŏngbi pogosŏ* 광해군 내외 및 상궁옷 보수정비 보고서 (Hapch'ŏn-gun: Pŏppo chongch'al Haeinsa and Hapch'ŏn-gun, 2008); and Haeinsa sŏngbo pangmulwan haye yŏn'gusil 해인사성보박물관 학예연구실, *Piun ūi kunju Kwanghae Kun poksik chŏn: Kwanghae Kun, chunggung, sanggung poksik chŏn* 비운의 군주 광해군 복식전: 광해군·중궁·상궁 복식전 (Hapch'ŏn-gun: Haeinsa sŏngbo pangmulwan, 2009).



Fig. 15. (Top) *Chögori* of Prince Kwanghae and its inscription; (middle) *Chögori* of Queen Lady Ryu and its inscription; (bottom) *chögori* of the court lady Kwön Üryusöng and its inscription. Illustration created using photographs in Haeinsa söngbo pangmulgwan Hagye yön'gusil, *Piun üi kunju Kwanghae Kun poksik chön* (Hapch'ön-gun: Haeinsa söngbo pangmulgwan, 2009).

class in Chosön. These jackets enshrined in the timber of the *tripitaka* hall can also be viewed as a sort of *pokchang* for the Buddha's *dharma*-body (Ch. *fashen* 法身),⁷¹ since the *tripitaka* was regarded as equivalent to the eternal *dharma*-body of the Buddha.

Fragmented Body and Organs in Cross-Cultural Context

Considering that the clothing enshrined in Korean Buddhist statues served as a substitute for the donor's body, we should note that fragments of real body parts, such as nail clippings, hair, and teeth, were not encased in statues in Korea. In other Asian cultures, real bodily fragments of the donor were offered and enshrined inside statues. Such bodily fragments of a statue's donor or the donor's kin, which are different from relics of the Buddha or a monk inside of an icon of them,⁷² have

71. Haeinsa söngbo pangmulgwan hagye yön'gusil, *Piun üi kunju Kwanghae Kun poksik chön*, 4-5.

72. When Buddhists began to make statues of the Buddha for worship around the turn of the Common Era in the Gandhara region, relics of the Buddha were enshrined inside the statues to justify this new practice. The Buddha relics were enshrined inside Buddhist statues also in other Buddhist counties in later times. On the Buddha relics enshrined in Gandhran Buddha statues, see Juhyung Rhi, "Images, Relics, and Jewels: The Assimilation of Images in the

been frequently found among the objects enshrined in Buddhist statues in Japan.⁷³ In 1978, for example, a tooth was found in a box installed in the Avalokiteśvara statue (1201) at Takisanji 滝山寺, which was commissioned for Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–99), the founder of the Kamakura Shogunate. The monastery holds a historical document stating that the statue was made in the same size as Minamoto no Yoritomo's body and that his teeth and hair were enshrined within.⁷⁴ The hair discovered inside the Kṣitigarbha statue of the Golden Hall of Onjōji 園城寺 in 2012 has been inferred, based on the contents of a letter from 1368 in the Onjōji collection, to be the hair of Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏 (1305–58), the first shōgun of the Ashikaga Shogunate.⁷⁵ Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1268–1325), a monk of the Sōtō Zen sect, had his umbilical cord and hair enshrined in the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara statue that he inherited from his late mother.⁷⁶ In all of these cases, these bodily fragments of the statue's donor or kin, either alive or dead, were offered to the statue to wish for the protection or good rebirth of the person. In contrast to the frequent discoveries of human body parts, a complete garment has not been found in statues from Japan or other countries.

On the other hand, the overall development of *pokchang* practice in Korea, I suggest, reflects an aversion to the human body, including organs and fragmented bodily parts. Models of inner organs were important objects in Chinese Buddhist statues but were omitted from the Korean *pokchang*.⁷⁷ Most notably, the Śakyamuni statue at Seiryōji 清涼寺, which was commissioned in 985 in Song China and brought

Buddhist Relic Cult of Gandhāra—Or Vice Versa,” *Artibus Asiae* 65, no. 2 (2005): 169–211. In Japan, relics of a monk were sometimes enshrined inside his posthumous portrait sculptures to instill the monk's presence inside the statue.

73. Some Chinese statues also enshrined hair, teeth, and nail clippings. See Donna Strahan, “Creating Sacred Images of the Buddha: A Technical Perspective,” in *Wisdom Embodied: Chinese Buddhist and Daoist Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Denise Patry Leidy and Donna K. Strahan (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 41. They have usually been thought to be the relics of the Buddha or monks, but some of them might be offerings of the donor's bodily fragments rather than relics, which I hope will be clarified when more data become available about the objects enshrined in Chinese statues. Thanks to written documents installed in Japanese statues or kept in the monastery, we can often know if the bodily fragments were offerings of the donor's body rather than the relics of the Buddha or the depicted monk. For an early study of such cases in Japan, see Kurata Bunsaku 倉田文作, ed., “Zōnai nōnyūhin” 像内納入品, *Nihon no bijutsu* 日本美術 86 (1973): 1–114.

74. For more cases of hair, nail, and teeth enshrined in Japanese Buddhist statues, see Aoki Atsushi 青木淳, *Butsuzō no shirarezaru nakami* 佛像の知られざるなかみ (Tōkyō: Takarajimasha, 2013), 66–67. I am grateful to Akiko Walley for sharing this information with me.

75. *Ibid.*, 72–73. The year 1558 on page 73 of Aoki's book is an error of 1358. For more similar cases, see 68–71; and Kurata Bunsaku, “Zōnai nōnyūhin,” 1–114.

76. Bernard Faure, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 39–40, 168–69, 242–54.

77. Omission of organ models is one of the characteristics of the *pokchang* tradition of Korea. Yi Sūng-hye (Seunghye Lee) 이승혜, “Pulsang ūi sōngmul kwa pongan” 불상의 聖物과 봉안, *Chōngsin munhwa yōn'gu* 정신문화연구 38, no. 1 (2015): 52.

to Japan, contained models of human organs made of textiles (fig. 16).⁷⁸ The tradition continued, although the shapes of organs gradually became abstracted. Some statues from the Ming 明 and Qing 清 dynasties contained organs made of metal and textiles.⁷⁹

Instead of using model organs, Korean *pokchang* instilled life in Buddhist statues by installing symbolic ritual objects that endowed the inner space with cosmic space and time.⁸⁰ The essence of Korean *pokchang* is the aforementioned throat-bell container (fig. 12). It consists of various objects in sets of five, such as the mirrors of the five directions and the five treasure bottles (*obobyōng* 五寶瓶).⁸¹ Each of the five treasure bottles contains five kinds of grain, five kinds of incense, and five kinds of medicine. Most of the seed syllables written to be enshrined inside the throat-bell container also consist of five sets of *siddham* letters. These sets of five variously symbolize the five directions of the universe, seasonal changes, the five wisdoms of the Buddha, and so on.⁸² The Korean *pokchang* ritual for installing these symbolic objects inside a Buddhist statue thus creates within the statue an infinite dharma realm 法界.⁸³

Given that model organs were unacceptable in such ritual practices, actual human body parts such as hair and teeth would have been considered even less appropriate inside a sacred statue. In the Korean tradition, fragmented body parts such as hair or



Fig. 16. Organ models. Textiles and mixed media. Discovered inside the Śākyamuni statue at Seiryōji, Japan. Song dynasty, 985. After *Nihon no bijutsu* 86 (1973), plate 1.

78. For more on these organ models, see Tanita Shinji 谷田伸治, “Zōnai nōnyūhin Zōfu keiraku oboegaki” 像内納入品「臟腑経絡」覚え書, *jō* 上, *Kanpō no rinsbō* 漢方の臨床 52, no. 11 (2005): 1801–16; and his “Zōnai nōnyūhin Zōfu keiraku oboegaki,” *ge* 下, *Kanpō no rinsbō* 52, no. 12 (2005): 2111–21.

79. Yi Sūng-hye (Seunghye Lee), “Pulsang ūi sōngmul kwa pongan,” 39–44.

80. Midūng 미등, “Pulbokchang ūisik ūi ūimi wa hyōndaejōk kach’i” 불복장 의식의 의미와 현대적 가치, in *Chōnt’ong pulbokchang ūisik mit chōman ūisik* 전통 불복장 의식 및 점안 의식 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo chōnt’ong pulbokchang mit chōman ūisik pojonhoe and Pulgyo munhwajae yōn’guso, 2014), 200–204.

81. For more on the throat-bell container, see Yi Sōn-yong (Lee Seonyong) 이선용, “Han’guk pulgyo pokchang ūi kusōng kwa t’ūksōng yōn’gu” 韓國 佛教腹藏의 構成과 特性 研究 (PhD dissertation, Tongguk taehakkyo, 2018), 97–103, 137–41, 254–68.

82. For the concept of the five directions in *pokchang*, see *ibid.*, 226–47.

83. Kang Hi-jōng (Kang Heejung) 강희정, “17 segi ihu pulsang ūi pokchang ūirye: pōpkye ūi kuhyōn” 17세기 이후 불상의 腹藏 의례: 法界의 구현, *Misulsa wa sigak munbwa* 미술사와 시각문화 18 (2016): 40–67.



Fig. 17. Relics and a bone gained after the cremation of Venerable Söngch'öl (Seongcheol) 性徹 (1912–93). Haeinsa. Photograph in the public domain.



Fig. 18. Statue containing the mummy of the Patriarch Zhanggong 章公祖師 (secular name Zhang Qisan 章七三). Song, ca. 1100. Drents Museum. Photograph in the public domain.

nails were generally regarded as inauspicious or impure,⁸⁴ which may have been one of the factors shaping *pokchang* practice in Korea. After a monk's cremation, for example, only small round relics that look shiny like semi-precious jewels were collected, and the bones were often discarded or powdered to feed animals. Unique to Korean Buddhist relic veneration,⁸⁵ such practice continues until today (fig. 17). Similarly, Korean Buddhism rejected the practice of venerating the mummified bodies of eminent monks. In China such bodies had been lacquered, transformed into icons, and enshrined in temple halls for veneration since the Tang dynasty (fig. 18).⁸⁶ Such a practice was accepted in Japanese Buddhism, as well,⁸⁷ but not in Korea. This also attests to the aversion to the body in Korean Buddhism. In this cultural milieu, garments, rather than real body parts, were offered as a substitute body to the sacred statue in order to pray for wishes. While this practice had already emerged during the Koryŏ due to the indigenous Korean cultural attitude towards the human body, the practice spread wider

during the Chosŏn when Confucian filial piety forbade the cutting of hair or harming of the body received from one's parents.

84. For example, fragmented body parts in Korean oral tradition usually play a very negative role that brings misfortune or a curse upon their owner. In addition, unlike medieval China and Japan, human anatomy on the Korean peninsula gained much less popularity as a subject of study. I am grateful for Mun-yong Kim's comments on the history of anatomy in premodern East Asia.

85. John Strong, *Relics of the Buddha*, 12.

86. For more on this Chinese practice, see Faure, "Substitute Bodies in Chan/Zen Buddhism," 211–29; James Robson, "A Tang Dynasty Chan Mummy [roushen] and a Modern Case of Furta Sacra? Investigating the Contested Bones of Shitou Xiqian," in *Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context*, ed. Bernard Faure (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 151–78; Robert H. Sharf, "The Idolization of Enlightenment: On the Mummification of Ch'an Masters in Medieval China," *History of Religions* 32, no. 1 (1992): 1–31; Michele Matteini, "On the 'True Body' of Huineng," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 55–56 (Spring–Autumn 2009), 42–60; and Beatrix Mecsi, "A Chan és a múmia: Gondolatok egy buddha-múmia budapesti kalandja nyomán," *Keletkutató* (2018): 91–98. For the relationship between the mummified icon and the organ models, see Yi Sŭng-hye (Seunghye Lee), "Pulsang ūi söngmul kwa pongan," 39–47.

87. For Japanese cases, see Faure, "Substitute Bodies in Chan/Zen Buddhism," 211–17.

Stamping Protection with *Dhāraṇī*

Before concluding this paper, I would like to briefly discuss the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* printed on garments enshrined in Buddhist statues and locate the practice within a larger cultural context. Quite a few garments discovered inside Buddhist statues have *dhāraṇī* stamped on them. The garments mentioned in this paper also include such examples. The silk jacket of Lady No from the Mañjuśrī statue was stamped with a round *dhāraṇī*, which consists of the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas* (Ch. *Yiqie rulaixin mimi quanshen sheli baoqieyin tuoluoni* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼), *Six-Syllable Mantra*, and *Mahāvairocana Mantra* arranged around the round *Maṇḍala of Diamond Realm*,⁸⁸ six times—on the obverse and reverse of the two sleeves and twice on the back (fig. 6). The aforementioned jacket from the Avalokiteśvara statue at Songgwangsa is stamped twice with an unidentified square *dhāraṇī* (fig. 13). As Paul Copp has shown, written or stamped *dhāraṇī* generally had a talismanic function in the Buddhist tradition.⁸⁹ Following this Buddhist rationale, stamping *dhāraṇī* on the garment can be understood as an act similar to inscribing one's wishes on it. Just as one inscribes her wish on her “substitute body” as if tattooing, the *dhāraṇīs* praying for protection and blessing were also stamped on it.⁹⁰

The practice of stamping *dhāraṇī* on garments, however, was not exclusively for *pokchang*; it was part of a broader practice of seeking protection and blessings, including in funerary contexts. For example, some clothing excavated from Chosŏn tombs bear *dhāraṇī* stamped on them. A jacket and a skirt stamped with the *Six-Syllable Mantra* (*om maṇi padme hūm*) and longer *dhāraṇī* were excavated in 1995 from the tomb of Chŏng On 鄭溫 (1481–1538), located in P'aju City 坡州市, Kyŏnggi Province (fig. 19).⁹¹ The tomb occupant Chŏng On was an official who had risen to the fifth senior rank (*chŏngop'um* 正五品) in the T'ongnyewŏn 通禮院, which managed the rituals of the court in the reign of King Chungjong 中宗 (r. 1506–44). The garments were stamped with *dhāraṇīs* probably to bring protection and to wish for a better afterlife for the tomb occupant.

Besides the garments buried in tombs, another type of clothing intimately tied to death is armor. Naturally, Buddhist *dhāraṇī* and other protective words and talismans were inscribed and inlaid on them. There remain many Tibetan and

88. Hŏ Il-bŏm (Huh Il-Bum) 許一範 (Kwijŏng 귀정), “Han'guk milgyo ūi t'ŭksŏng kwa mandara” 韓國密教의 특성과 曼荼羅, *Hoedang hak'oe haksul taehoe* 회당학회 학술대회, no. 1 (2005): 371–72.

89. Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory*.

90. Scholars in the field of history of clothing and textiles generally think that the *dhāraṇīs* were stamped when the garments were enshrined in the statue. I am grateful to the clothing historian Song Mi Kyung for this information.

91. Pak Sang-guk 朴相國, “P'aju Kŭmnŭng-ni Kyŏngju Chŏng-ssi punmyo esŏ ch'ult'o toen poksik e tchikhin tarani wa pulgyo pujŏk” 파주 금릉리 慶州 鄭氏 墳墓에서出土된 服飾에 찍힌 陀羅尼와 佛教符籙, *Han'guk poksik* 韓國 服飾 16 (1998): 1–12. I am grateful to Song Mi Kyung for sharing her knowledge on garments from Chosŏn tombs.



Fig. 19. Jacket and skirt and images stamped on them. Chosŏn, 16th century. Excavated from the tomb of Chŏng On, P'aju, Kyŏnggi Province. Illustration created using photographs in Sŏul yŏksa pangmulgwan 서울역사박물관 and Tan'guk taehakkyo Sŏk Chusŏn kinyŏm pangmulgwan 단국대학교석주선기념박물관, *Hwansaeng: tashi t'aeŏnan uri ot* 환생: 다시 태어난 우리 옷 (Seoul: Sŏul Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, 2006).

Fig. 20. Helmet. Iron inlaid with gold. 19.5 × 20.3 cm. Mongolian, 15th–17th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of William H. Riggs, by exchange, 1999 (1999.120). Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Mongolian helmets engraved with Buddhist *dhāraṇī*.⁹² One example is a Mongolian iron helmet inlaid with gold from the 15th–17th century, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This helmet is densely inlaid with seed syllables, mantras, and *dhāraṇī* that invoke the protection and strength of various deities, including Yamantaka, who conquers the lord of death (fig. 20).⁹³ Influenced by the Mongols, some Islamic helmets and armor were engraved with phrases from *Quran*, the word 'Allāh,' and invocations of victory.⁹⁴ In China, a similar tradition continued into the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), as seen

92. For such cases, see Donald J. LaRocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas: Rediscovering the Arms and Armor of Tibet* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), 74–76.

93. For more about this helmet. See LaRocca, *Warriors of the Himalayas*, 80–81.

94. David G. Alexander et al., *Islamic Arms and Armor in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015). For parallel practices in medieval Europe, see Stuart

in mid-18th century suits of armor with helmets featuring gilt-copper appliqué of the *Six-Syllable Mantra*.⁹⁵

Even in the Chosŏn period, when Buddhism was not supported by the court, some armor included auspicious patterns and characters related to Buddhism. While armor for high military officials mostly had auspicious symbols unrelated to Buddhism (except for rare exceptions), armor for the lower classes more often had Buddhist *dhāraṇī* and Daoist talismans. Perhaps the most interesting case is the cotton armor mass-produced by the Chosŏn court after the French campaign against Korea in 1866 (fig. 21).⁹⁶ Consisting of layers of cotton textile, sometimes with as many as 40 layers, it was impenetrable to contemporaneous firearms. Impressed by the performance of this armor, imperialist invaders brought samples back to their countries, artifacts that are now dispersed among museums in America, the United Kingdom, and Japan. The example owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art is stamped with the *Six-Syllable Mantra* on its helmet and on the backside of its belt.⁹⁷ Other stamps are talismans that were also used by Daoist practitioners. The one on the lower right of its front, for example, is a talisman that grants protection from injury and fire.⁹⁸ Historical records indicate that cotton armor was used as early as the reigns of King Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–49) and King Sunjo 純祖 (r. 1800–1834), so it is possible that *dhāraṇī* had been stamped on cotton armor since the 17th century. In this section of the paper, we have examined the *dhāraṇī* stamps that appear on clothing enshrined in Buddhist statues in the larger cultural landscape that considers practices of inscribing and stamping protective words and talismans on shrouds and armor.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the practice of enshrining used clothing inside Buddhist statues in the late Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods. Comparing the practices with Chinese and Japanese cases, and examining actual garments discovered from inside Buddhist statues, the paper suggests that this practice developed out of the cultural tendency

W. Pyhrr, *Of Arms and Men: Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan 1912–2012* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2012).

95. George Cameron Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor in All Countries and in All Times, Together with Some Closely Related Subjects* (Portland, ME: Southworth Press, 1934), 55, 57.

96. For more on this cotton armor, see Pak Ka-yŏng 박가영 and Song Mi-gyŏng (Song Mi Kyung) 송미경, “Chosŏn hugi myŏn’gap yumul punsŏk: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang yumul ūl chungsim ūro” 조선 후기 綿甲 유물 분석: 국립중앙박물관 소장 유물을 중심으로, *Poksik* 63, no. 4 (2013): 158–67.

97. I am grateful to Donald J. LaRocca and Soyoung Lee for allowing me to examine this armor.

98. For an analysis of the mantras and talismans stamped on this armor, see Yong Yang Chung, “A Study of Symbols on Korean Armor: Acquisition No. 105510,” unpublished paper in the file of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig. 21. Fabric Armor and Helmet with Buddhist and Daoist symbols. Cotton. H. as mounted with helmet 121.3 cm. Chosŏn, 19th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of George C. Stone, 1935 (36.25.10a-c). Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

not to enshrine human bodily fragments or handmade organ models inside statues in Korean Buddhism. Unlike other Buddhist countries, Buddhists in the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods did not enshrine in statues their body parts (such as teeth, nails and hair) to wish for longevity or rebirth in the pure land. Instead of such fragmented body parts, human garments, especially used ones, were offered for enshrinement in statues as they had intimate bodily contact with their owner and were believed to possess a special connection to the owner's person. As a special offering that played the role of "substitute body," or "distributed personhood," for its owner, the used garment served as the best medium for inscribing the donor's prayer. Inside sacred statues that presented a Buddha or a Buddhist deity, the used clothing, which was conceptually equal to the supplicant's body, served as the medium for inscribing their wishes and prayers. In other words, the prayers were inscribed on the clothing to be offered to the Buddha, as if tattooing one's wish on her body. Such garments were often stamped with Buddhist mantras and *dhāraṇīs* as well. In the larger landscape, such practice resonates with the rationale of cross-cultural and cross-religious practices that inscribed protective incantations on armor and shrouds.





KOREAN SŪTRAS ON THE PRODUCTION OF BUDDHIST IMAGES:
THE CHOSANG KYŎNG 造像經 AND IMAGE RITUALS IN THE CHOSŌN PERIOD

Richard D. McBRIDE II

Les cinq éditions xylographiques coréennes du Chosang kyŏng 造像經 (Sutra sur la production d'images bouddhiques), publiées au milieu et à la fin de la période du Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392-1910), se fondent sur des textes canoniques qui décrivent les avantages à fabriquer, laver et baigner les icônes bouddhiques. Elles vont au-delà des écritures portant sur l'acquisition de mérites en développant des rituels sur les images désignés collectivement par l'expression « procédés pour concevoir des images », qui ont été introduits dans des collections de dhāraṇī (formules magiques) et des soutras de dhāraṇī datés du début de la dynastie des Tang (618-907). Les quatre premières éditions publiées aux monastères Yongch'ŏn 龍泉寺, Nūngga 楞伽寺, Hwajang 華藏寺 et Kimnyong 金龍寺, de la fin du xvi^e siècle au milieu du xviii^e siècle, ont pour objectif principal de conférer de la puissance aux images par l'introduction d'objets dans leur cavité thoracique (pokchang 腹藏).

Ces quatre éditions xylographiques partagent les mêmes contenus fondamentaux, en particulier deux des trois textes suivants : Chebul posal pokchang tan ūisik 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式 (Cérémonie de l'autel pour l'enchéatement d'objets dans les cavités thoraciques des images de tous les bouddhas et bodhisattvas); un chapitre du Taejang illam kyŏng chosang p'um sipsa ch'ik 大藏一覽經造像品十四則 (Chapitre de la production d'images du Sutra donnant une vue d'ensemble du Canon bouddhique), qui remonte au début de la période Ming (1368-1644); et le Foshuo fomu bore poluomiduo daming guanxiang yigui 佛說佛母般若波羅蜜多大明觀想儀軌 (Manuel rituel sur la visualisation de la grande Vidyā de la perfection de sagesse, Mère des Bouddhas, prêché par le Bouddha), qui fut traduit au début de la dynastie des Song (960-1279). L'édition augmentée du monastère Yujŏm 楡岾寺 publiée en 1824, qui comporte une préface et un post-scriptum du promoteur de l'ordre Hwaŏm 華嚴, Hwaak Chit'ak 華嶽知灌 (1750-1839), ajoute des éléments du Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen dajiaozhu jing 妙吉祥平等秘密最上觀門大教王經 (Sutra du Roi du grand enseignement des méthodes de visualisation qui sont propices, universelles, secrètes, et supérieures) datant de la période des Song ou des Liao (907-1115); plusieurs diagrammes illustrant des mots et des lettres du siddham et divers procédés d'installation d'objets dans les images et de pointage des yeux (chōman 點眼) des images. L'édition du monastère Yujŏm est une œuvre composite comportant des explications et des procédés ainsi que de multiples listes de mantras (diagrammes rituels) et de dhāraṇī, tels que l'important Yiqie rulai mimi quanshen sheli baoqie tuoluoni 一切如來秘密全身舍利寶篋陀羅尼 (Dhāraṇī du coffret aux bijoux de l'ensemble de la relique corporelle secrète de tous les Tathāgatas) qui était un pilier des rituels bouddhiques en Corée depuis le début de la période du Koryŏ.*

* Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.





The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyōng* 造像經) is both a specific title and generalized term for a set of quasi-canonical Buddhist ritual manuals that describe various Buddhist traditions associated with the process of making sculptures of buddhas and bodhisattvas and, especially, the procedures for creating and empowering materials enshrined in Buddhist images (*pokchang* 伏藏/腹藏, *pokchangmul* 腹藏物, *pulbokchang* 佛腹藏). Five woodblock editions of what we can call a genre of Korean *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* in the Chosŏn 朝鮮 period (1392–1910) have been preserved to the present, as well as multiple handwritten manuscripts from the late Chosŏn period to the Japanese colonial period (1910–45). Although the five woodblock editions and the manuscripts sometimes have different titles, all of the extant texts share much of the same content regarding the production of Buddhist images, the proper kind of materials to be installed in the chest cavities of the images for each of the cardinal directions, the explanations of the invested objects, and the procedures and prescribed dhāraṇīs and mantras for the ritual to enshrine these objects.

Research on materials enshrined in Buddhist images is fairly well developed among art historians, and a growing number of studies have been executed by scholars and monk-practitioners of Korean Buddhism looking at the broader context of these materials.¹ Little has been published in European languages prior to this

1. Hong Yun-sik 洪潤植, “Pulsang-purhwa e issō pokchangmul ūi ūimi” 佛像·佛畫에 있어 腹藏物의 意味 [The Significance of Articles Enshrined in Buddhist Images to Buddhist Images and Buddhist Paintings], *Munhwajae* 文化財 19 (December 1986): 37–45; Hō Hūng-sik (Heo Heungsik) 許興植, *Han’guk chungse pulgyosa yŏn’gu* 韓國中世佛敎史研究 [Research on the History of Buddhism in Medieval Korea] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1994), 193–269 (Hō’s essays on the *Chosang kyōng* in this book are “Pulbokchang ūi paegyōng kwa Chosang kyōng” 佛腹藏의 背景과 造像經 [Background on Articles Enshrined in Buddha Images and the Scripture on the Production of Buddhist Images], 193–211; “1302 nyŏn Amit’abul pokchang ūi chosōng kwa sasangsōng” 1302년 阿彌陀佛腹藏의 造成과 思想性 [Creation and Thought on Articles Enshrined in the Amitābha Buddha Image of 1302], 212–50; “1322 nyŏn Ch’ōnsu Kwanūm pokchang ūi chosōng kwa sasangsōng” 1322년 千手觀音腹藏의 造成과 思想性 [Creation and Thought on Articles Enshrined in the Thousand-handed Avalokiteśvara Image of 1322], 251–69); Hō Hūng-sik, “Pulbokchang ūi paegyōng kwa chosang kyōng” 佛腹藏의 背景과 造像經 [The Background to Articles Enshrined in Buddha Images and the *Sūtra on the Production of Images*], *Sōji hakpo* 書誌學報 10 (September 1993): 45–64; Kim Yōng-suk 金英淑, *Chosŏn chŏn’gi pulbokchangmul ūi ihae: Hūksōksa Amit’abul pokchang chingmul* 朝鮮前期 佛腹藏織物의 理解: 黑石寺 阿彌陀佛 腹藏織物 [Understanding the Enshrining of Articles in Buddha Images in the Early Chosŏn Period: The Textiles Enshrined in the Buddha Amitābha at Hūksōk sa] (Seoul: Misul Munhwa, 1997); T’aegyōng 泰稟 (Secular name: Yi Sŏn 李鮮), trans., *Chosang kyōng: Pulbokchang ūi chŏlch’a wa kū soje tamgin sasang* 造像經: 불복장의 절차와 그 속에 담긴 사상 [Sūtra on Making Buddhist Images: The Procedures for Enshrining Objects in Buddhist Images and the Thought Incorporated within Those Procedures], (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006); T’aegyōng, *Pulbokchang e saegyōjin ūimi* 佛腹藏에 새겨진 의미 [The Meaning Engraved in Objects Enshrined in Buddhist Images] (Seoul: Yang’ojae, 2008). See also, Yi Sūng-hye (Lee Seunghye) 이승혜, “Han’guk pokchang ūi Milgyo chosang allip ūiryējōk sōnggyōk koch’al” 韓國 腹藏의 密敎 尊像 安立儀禮적 성격 고찰 [Rethinking Korean bokjang as Pratiṣṭhā or the Ritual of Image-Installation in Indian Esoteric Buddhism], *Misulsa nondan* 미술사논단 45 (December 2017): 29–51; and Yi Sūng-hye (Lee Seunghye) 이승혜, “Pulsang ūi sōngmul pongan-chaengjōm kwa kwaje” 불상의 성물(聖物) 봉안-쟁점과 과제 [Enshrining the



special edition of *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*.² The purpose of this essay is to introduce the background and contents of the five woodblock editions of these ritual manuals. More space will be devoted to the Yujōmsa edition, published in 1824, because it is the most developed form of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

The five extant woodblock editions are as follows:

1. Title Page Missing. Xylograph. Yongch'ōnsa edition 龍泉寺板. 1575.³
2. *Chosang kyōng* 造像經. Xylograph. Nūnggasa edition 楞伽寺板. 1697.⁴
3. *Hwaōm chosang* 華嚴造像 (Production of Images in the Hwaōm [tradition]). Woodblock print. Hwajangsa edition 華藏寺板. 1720.
4. *Chosang kyōng* 造像經. Xylograph. Kimnyongsa edition 金龍寺板. 1746.
5. *Chosang kyōng* 造像經. Xylograph. Yujōmsa edition 楡岾寺板. 1824.⁵

Before describing the salient background to the five woodblock editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, I must articulate a few important caveats. First, these Korean texts are different than—and should not be confused with—a short sūtra with a similar English title *Sūtra on the Production of Buddha Images Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo zuo foxingxiang jing* 佛說作佛形像經, T 692), which circulated widely in East Asia and is included in almost all published canons.⁶ This short text describes the creation of the famous Udayana image of the Buddha and provides compelling reasons why individuals should commission Buddhist images for various this-worldly benefits. The later Korean texts, however, function much more like ceremonial manuals and compendia, describing the objects and dhāraṇī procedures necessary to successfully empower images. Second, although these five *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* were published by different Korean monasteries in the second half of the Chosōn period, the extent to which they were actually used by the specially-trained monks responsible to carry out the enshrinement

Sacred within Buddhist Images: Issues and Prospects], *Chōngsinmunhwa yōn'gu* 정신문화연구 155 (March 2015): 31–62.

2. Lee Seonyong, “History of the *Bokjang* Tradition in Korea,” *Journal of Korean Art & Archeology* 7 (2013): 60–75.

3. This manuscript has been published in T'aegyōng, *Pulbokchang e saegyōjin ūimi*, 1–83 (from the back).

4. The *Ritual Manual on Visualization* (*Kwansang ūigwe* 觀想儀軌) from the Nūnggasa edition has been published in T'aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 155–64 (from the back).

5. This manuscript has been published twice: T'aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 3–154 (from the back); T'aegyōng, *Pulbokchang e saegyōjin ūimi*, 85–234 (from the back).

6. *The Scripture on the Production of Buddha Images*, trans. Robert H. Sharf, in *Religions of China in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 261–67. Sharf's translation is based on T 692, but also draws from T 693, both of which are briefly introduced later in this paper.

and eye-dotting rituals is neither completely clear nor undisputable. A case in point is the living tradition at Haein sa 海印寺, in Hapch'ŏn County 陝川郡, in South Kyŏngsang Province, in southcentral Korea. The Ven. Kyŏngam (Kyung Am 鏡岩; Yi Hŏn-sŏk 李憲石), who formerly served as abbot of Changch'un sa 長春寺 in Haman County 咸安郡 in South Kyŏngsang Province and is presently Director of the Research Center at Haein sa, was trained in the procedures for enshrining objects in Buddhist images by the Ven. Mugwan 無觀 (Sin Sŏng-gyŏng 慎成耕). Kyung Am gifted each of the scholars who attended a two-day international workshop on objects enshrined in Buddhist images, held at Ewha Womans University Museum on August 11–12, 2017, a set of reproductions of the five *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* published solely for research purposes by the Society for the Preservation of the Traditional Procedures for Enshrining Objects in Buddhist Images and the Eye-Dotting Ceremony in Korean Buddhism (Taehan Pulgyo Chŏnt'ong Pulbokchang mit Chŏman Ūisik Pojonhoe 大韓佛教 傳統 佛腹藏 및 點眼儀式 保存會). During a question and answer session at the end of the workshop, I asked the Ven. Kyung Am if he used these texts in preparing for or performing the rituals to enshrine objects in Buddhist images. He said that neither he nor his mentor, the Ven. Mugwan, actually uses these texts. Instead, he uses his own handwritten manuscript (*Haeinsa p'ŭlsabon Chosang kyŏng* 海印寺 筆寫本造像經) that he inherited from his mentor outlining the procedures he follows when performing the rituals. He also intimated that other monks he knows who were trained in the same rituals for enshrining objects in Buddhist images typically use handwritten manuscripts obtained from their mentors that outline the techniques they follow.⁷ Although these manuscripts transmitted from master to disciple may have much in common with the published woodblock editions, some material is omitted and the manuscripts have additional information in the form of notes and ritual embellishments. He also suggested that there is some variation and difference of emphasis between different lines of the ritual tradition. Although all such monks know of the existence of these *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, they really function as scholarly curiosities used to examine and analyze the objects discovered in Buddhist images from the Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) and Chosŏn periods; they do not impact the contemporary living tradition.

7. References to various handwritten manuscripts held at various monasteries or by particular monks are referred to, along with the ritual genealogies and procedures for enshrining objects in Buddhist images followed by four monks, including Mugwan and Kyung Am, in Pulgyo Munhwajae Yŏn'guso 불교문화재연구소, *Chŏnt'ong pulbokchang ūisik mit chŏman ūisik: chosang kwa yegyŏng* 전통 불복장의식 및 점안의식: 造像과 禮敬 [Traditional Ritual for Enshrining Objects in Buddhist Images and the Eye-Dotting Ceremony: The Production of Images and Ritual Veneration] (Seoul: Taehan Pulgyo Chŏnt'ong Pulbokchang Mit Chŏman Ūisik Pujonhoe, 2014), 83–93.



The Historical Context of the Korean *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

When viewed from a larger context, the Korean *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* build upon the foundations established by a group of canonical texts translated into Buddhist Chinese from the Later Han 後漢 period (25–220) through the Tang 唐 dynasty (618–907):

1. *Sūtra on the Production of Buddha Images Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo zuo foxingxiang jing* 佛說作佛形像經, T 692)
2. *Sūtra on the Blessed Rewards from Producing and Erecting Images Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo zaoli xingxiang fubao jing* 佛說造立形像福報經, T 693)
3. *Sūtra on the Meritorious Virtue of Producing Images according to the Mahāyāna Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo dasheng zaoxiang gongde jing* 佛說大乘造像功德經, T 694)
4. *Sūtra on Washing the Buddha's Image Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo guanxi foxingxiang jing* 佛說灌洗佛形像經, T 695)
5. *Sūtra for Mahāsattvas Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo mohechatou jing* 佛說摩訶剎頭經, T 696)
6. *Sūtra on the Meritorious Virtue of Bathing Images Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo yuxiang gongde jing* 佛說浴像功德經, T 697)
7. *Sūtra on the Meritorious Virtue of Bathing the Buddha* (*Yufō gongde jing* 浴佛功德經, T 698)

Taken as a group, these *sūtras* articulate the karmic benefits of making images, washing images, and bathing images. They demonstrate something of the process of the standardization of images and the selection of certain of the thirty-two major marks and eighty minor marks of the Buddha for representation on Buddha images.⁸

The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, however, are more specifically related to the ritual procedures for enshrining objects and materials in the chest cavities of images. Although the term *pokchang* 伏藏/腹藏 is found commonly in canonical material, it typically means “to bury or hide away,” “stomach storage,” “chest cavity,” and thus “to place something in a chest cavity,” and does not refer to a ritual procedure to empower a Buddhist image. The practices and procedures associated with endowing Buddhist images with power, generally called “procedures for devising images” (*hwasang pōp*, Ch. *huaxiang fa* 畫像法), trace back to dhāraṇī

8. Hō Hūng-sik, *Han'guk chungse pulgyosa yōn'gu*, 194–96.



sūtras accessible in the early Tang dynasty, such as the *Dhāraṇī Collection* (*Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經, T 901), published in 653; the *Dhāraṇī Miscellany* (*Tuoluoni zaji* 陀羅尼雜集, T 1336), which was listed in the *Liang Record* (*Liang lu* 梁錄); and the *Amoghapāśadhāraṇī* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* 不空羈索陀羅尼經, T 1096), published in 700. The *Dhāraṇī Collection* preserves detailed instructions for making and empowering at least thirteen kinds of different Buddhist images,⁹ the *Dhāraṇī Miscellany* contains procedures for making a white-robed image of Avalokiteśvara in its discussion of the “dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara who manifests a body bestowing all manner of vows and the removal of all illnesses” (*Guanshiyin xianshen shi zhongzhong yuan chu yiqie bing tuoluoni* 觀世音現身施種種願除一切病陀羅尼),¹⁰ and the *Amoghapāśadhāraṇī* includes a “Procedures for Completing Images” chapter (*chengjiu xiangfa pin* 成就像法品) containing ten spells (*zhou* 呪).¹¹

Although the first two dhāraṇī collections may have been known and used in early and medieval Korea, little evidence remains to support this assertion aside from their being published in the *Koryō Buddhist Canon* (*Koryō Taejang kyōng* 高麗大藏經). The *Amoghapāśadhāraṇī*, however, presents a slightly different case. The *Catalog of Buddhist Scriptures Compiled in the Kaiyuan Reign Period* (*Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄) records an account of an otherwise-unknown monk from Silla named Myōnghyo 明曉, who prompted the translation of the *Amoghapāśadhāraṇī* sometime prior to its completion in 700.¹² Amoghapāśa is one of the six forms of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara who snatches up beings like fish in his unerring net of mental emptiness in the great sea of rebirth and death (*saṃsāra*) and carries them to the shore of *nirvāṇa*.¹³ The translators apparently consulted a handwritten manuscript in an Indic language (*fanben* 梵本, perhaps in Siddham script?), which had been circulating widely in China, before they executed their translation.

Myōnghyo was probably an elite because he had the ability to travel to Tang China and the social prestige to request the translation of this dhāraṇī, which presents twenty-seven short spells in all. This text also presents a number of mudrās, here called “seals” (*in* 印) or “hand-seals” (*suin* 手印). Later, in the late Koryō period, the expansive *Amoghapāśalparāja* (*Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羈索神變真言經, T 1092), which was translated by Bodhiruci Ⅱ (Putiliuzhi 菩提流志, d. 727) in 707,¹⁴ was produced as a beautiful illustrated manuscript (*sagyōng* 寫經) in silver

9. *Tuoluoni ji jing* 1, T 901, 18.790a22–c17 (金輪佛頂像法); roll 2, T 901, 18.795a23–796a12 (畫一切佛頂像法); roll 3, T 901, 18.805a29–c17 (畫大般若像法); roll 5, T 901, 18.828a18–c29 (畫觀世音菩薩像法) and 832c12–833b23 (畫毘俱知像法); roll 6, T 901, 18.837a9–c18 (畫作像法) and 837c19–838a16 (作何耶揭喇婆像法); roll 7, T 901, 18.841b25–842c29 (畫金剛藏菩薩像法); roll 9, T 901, 18.864a18–c1 (畫烏樞沙摩像法) and 868c24–869b16 (畫五藥叉像法); roll 10, T 901, 18.876a5–877a29 (功德天像法); roll 11, T 901, 18.879a13–b4 (四天王像法) and 881c27–882a3 (造水天像法).

10. *Tuoluoni za ji* 10, T 1336, 21.634c22–635b15.

11. *Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing*, T 1096, 20.410c7–411b23.

12. *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 9, T 2154, 55.566b16–24; *Bukong juansuo tuoluoni jing* 1, T 1096, 20.409a–421b.

13. For a descriptive account of Amoghapāśa’s myriad forms and expedients see *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羈索神變真言經 1, T 1092, 20.227b20–29; 228b23–229a10.

14. *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing*, 30 rolls, T 1092, 20.227a–398c.

lettering for the Koryŏ royal house by means of a vow made in the first year of King Ch'ungnyŏl 忠烈 (r. 1274–1308) in 1275.¹⁵ The *Amoghapāśalparāja* also contains several references to procedures for devising images.

The specific expressions “eye-dotting” (*chōman* 點眼) and “enshrining objects in the chest cavities of Buddhist images” (*pokchang*) are first attested in literary materials in the mid-Koryŏ period. The *Collected Works of Minister of State Yi of Korea* (*Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* 東國李相國集) preserves ritual texts composed by Yi Kyu-bo 李奎報 (1168–1241) to celebrate the eye-dotting of a Buddhist image at Chungſung sa in the Western Capital (modern Pyongyang in North Korea) and the repair of the image of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara at Naksan sa 洛山寺 in present-day Kangwŏn Province in northeastern Korea.¹⁶ This documentation is also significant because it shows that ceremonies to empower Buddhist images by enshrining objects in the chest cavities were already being performed as part of the process of repairing pre-existing images.

Although the foregoing establishes the fact that Korean Buddhists were familiar with *sūtra*-material and rituals to empower images by enshrining objects and other materials, dhāraṇī in particular, we know little regarding the specific methods or procedures that were followed. Queen Insu 仁粹大妃, the more popular title of Queen Dowager Sohye 昭惠王后 (née Han 韓氏, 1437–1508), was the mother of King Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469–94) and a staunch promoter and protector of Buddhism in the fifteenth century.¹⁷ To fulfill a vow which she had made (*parwŏn* 發願), in 1472, she published twenty-nine Buddhist texts at Yongch'ŏn sa 龍泉寺 on Mt. Ch'uwŏl 秋月山, in Tamyang 潭陽 in present-day South Chŏlla Province.¹⁸ The list of published works includes the *Overview of the Canon Collection* (*Dazang yilan ji* 大藏一覽集), a book compiled by the early Ming-period lay believer Chen Shi 陳實

15. Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, *Parwŏn, kanjŏrhan param ūl tamda: Pulgyo misul ūi huwŏnjadŭl* 발원 發願, 간절한 바람을 담다: 불교미술의 후원자들 [Devout Patrons of Buddhist Art] (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan, 2015), 47–48; T'aegyŏng, *Chosang kyŏng*, 51–52.

16. *Tongguk Yi Sang-guk chip*, 41 rolls and addendum (*hujip* 後集) 12 rolls (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1982), 39:3a–b (*Tonggyŏng Chungſungsa Pulsang chōman mun* 同京重興寺佛像點眼文); 25:17a–b (*Naksan Kwaniŭm pokchang subomun pyŏng song* 洛山觀音腹藏修補文竝頌). See Lee Seunghye in this volume for further discussion of Yi Kyu-bo's text.

17. For more on Queen Dowager Insu, see Yi Kyŏng-ha 이경하, “15 segi ch'oego ūi yŏsŏng chisigin, Insu Taebi” 15세기 최고의 여성 지식인, 인수대비 [The Greatest Female Intellectual in the Fifteenth Century, Queen Dowager Insu], *Han'guk kojŏn yŏsŏng munhak yŏn'gu* 한국고전여성문학연구 12 (2006): 149–77.

18. The vow-text (*parwŏnmun* 發願文) found in the edition of the *Dazang yilan ji* 大藏一覽集 held by the Korea University Library contains the information regarding Queen Insu's publication of these twenty-nine works. In the Haeinsa edition of the *Dazang yilan*, the placement of the text between two other non-canonical works known to have been published or finished in mid-thirteenth century—Wŏnhyo's 元曉 (617–86) *Kumgang sammaegyŏng non* 金剛三昧經論 (1244) and the *Sŏnmun yŏmsong chip* 禪門拈頌集 (1243)—leads some scholars to suspect that the *Dazang yilan* actually dates from the Song period. See T'aegyŏng, *Chosang kyŏng*, 44–45.

(d.u.; a.k.a. Chen Shiyuan 陳實原),¹⁹ the contents of which consist of extracts from the *sūtras* divided into sixty themes arranged as “chapters” (*p’um*, Ch. *pin* 品). “The Production of Buddhist Images” chapter (*zaoxiang pin* 造像品) was the only chapter from this large work that was extracted and made into a scripture in a new configuration in conjunction with three kinds of *sūtras*. The earliest extant example of this new form is the Yongch’ōnsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, published using woodblocks in 1575, which was possessed by the Wōn’gak sa 圓覺寺 in Koyang 高陽, in Kyōnggi Province. This 1575 edition is held by some researchers to be the base text from which all later editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* derive.²⁰ The scholar Nam Kwon Heuui, however, imagines a now-lost urtext, which then separated into now-lost source texts A and B. The Yongch’ōnsa edition (1575) follows in the purported line of source text A and spawned the Nūnggasa edition (1697) and the Kimyongsa edition (1746). The Hwajangsa edition (1720) follows in the line of source text B, and both source text lines A and B come back together in the Yujōmsa edition (1824).²¹ Why Nam maintains that the Hwajangsa edition, which is called *The Production of Images in the Hwaōm Tradition* (*Hwaōm Chosang* 華嚴造像) follows a different textual lineage is not completely clear because its contents are not fundamentally different than any of the other published editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, merely the order of its contents differs. However, none of the other editions in source text line A have exactly the same order either (see Appendix: Comparison of the Contents of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* by Edition).

19. Chen Shi was a native of Ningde 寧德, in present-day Fujian 福建 Province. He was an avid reader of the *sūtras* and is only really known because he compiled the *Dazang yilan*. See Zhenhua Fashi 震華法師, *Zhongguo fojiao renming dacidian* 中國佛教人名大辭典 [Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Buddhism] (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1999), 610. T’aegyōng reminds us that the compilation of the *Dazang yilan* is traditionally attributed to Chen Shi during the Ming period, but that this information is ultimately based on the Qing dynasty *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書; see T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 120 n. 71. In some Korean scholarship, Chen Shi is said to have lived in the Song dynasty; see, for instance, Nam Kwōn-hūi (Nam Kwon Heuui) 南權熙, “*Chosang kyōng* ūi p’anbon ūi sōjjōk yōn’gu” 『造像經』의 板本の 書誌의 研究 [Research on the Calligraphy of the Woodblock Editions of the *Sūtra on the Production of Buddhist Images*], in *Chōnt’ong pulbokchang ūisik mit chōman ūisik: chosang kwa yegyōng* 전통 불복장 의식 및 점안의 의식: 造像과 禮敬 [Traditional Ritual for Enshrining Objects in Buddhist Images and the Eye-Dotting Ceremony: The Production of Images and Ritual Veneration], comp. Pulgyo Munhwajae Yōn’guso 불교문화재연구소 (Seoul: Taehan Pulgyo Chōnt’ong Pulbokchang Mit Chōman ūisik Pujonhoe, 2014), 142–94, esp. 145. Before being included in the *Siku quanshu*, the *Dazang yilan*, 10 rolls, was published in the *Jiaxing Canon* (*Jiaxing dazangjing* 嘉興大藏經), J B129, 21.443a–596b (CBETA edition).

20. T’aegyōng, *Pulbokchang e saegyōjin ūimi*, 3.

21. Nam Kwōn-hūi, “*Chosang kyōng* ūi p’anbon ūi sōjjōk yōn’gu,” 147.

The Evolving Contents of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

The earliest published editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, contain all or most of the same three basic elements: (1) an “Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” (*Chebul posal pokchang tan üsik* 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式); (2) Fourteen Rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the *Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon* (*Taejang illam kyōng chosang p’um sipso ch’ik* 大藏一覽經造像品十四則); and (3) a *Ritual Manual on Visualization of the Great Vidyā of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Mother of the Buddhas Preached by the Buddha* (*Pulsöl pulmo panya paramilta taemyōng kwansang üigwe* 佛說佛母般若波羅蜜多大明觀想儀軌) (see Appendix). The text of the altar ceremony briefly describes the reasons for constructing a maṇḍala and elements that need to be included. It is comprised primarily of short extracts from Yixing’s 一行 (673–727) *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dapiluzhena chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, T 1796), and also includes brief quotations from the *Dhāraṇī Collection* and the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (*Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經, T 848). The short text closes with the “mantra of the fire assembly” (*hwach’wi chinōn* 火聚真言).²²

The “Production of Buddhist Images” chapter of the *Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon*—from the previously-mentioned *Overview of the Canon Collection*—is, of course, the source that provides the name for this genre of ritual texts. Drawing on a variety of canonical, extra-canonical, and Chan/Sōn/Zen sources, the fourteen rules cover a broad array of issues associated with Buddhist images: (1) the reasons for making and repairing Buddhist images; (2) the meaning of making offerings; (3) the mental attitude requisite for producing Buddhist images; (4) the compassionate, enabling power of Buddhist images; (5) efficacious resonance (*yōnghōm* 靈驗); (6) the portrait (*chinūi* 真儀); (7) non-attachment to forms; (8) the truth of nature (*sōng* 性); (9) the middle way between existence and non-existence; (10) the method of bathing an image; (11) the refreshment deriving from bathing an image; (12) the objects interred in and meritorious virtue deriving from constructing a pagoda (*chot’ap* 造塔); (13) the fruition reward from destroying a pagoda and the meritorious virtue from repairing one; and (14) making offerings to a pagoda and the meritorious virtue deriving from penance (*ch’amboe* 懺悔). Each section begins with a heptasyllabic couplet in literary Chinese that is presented to capture the gist of the section.²³ Most sections are comprised of an anecdote or two or a quotation from a scripture. The section on the enabling power of Buddhist images, for instance, quotes the famous story from the Tianping 天平 reign period (534–37) of the Wei 魏 regarding Sun Jingde’s 孫敬德 efficacious recitation of *King Gao’s Guanshiyin Sūtra* (*Gaowang Guanshiyin jing* 高王觀世音經) from *A Forest of Pearls in the Garden of the Dharma* (*Fayuan zhublin* 法苑珠林, T 2122), which relates how Sun’s small image of Avalokiteśvara enabled him to avoid being put to death by absorbing the

22. T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 165–71.

23. *Ibid.*, 126–57.

executioner's sword blows to the neck.²⁴ The section about the portrait, for instance, relates the official version of how the layman Pei Xiu 裴休 (791–864) met his mentor Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (d. 850) and in addition connects meditation and image worship in the *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp in the Jingde Reign Period* (*Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T 2076).²⁵

The *Ritual Manual on Visualization of the Great Vidyā of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Mother of the Buddhas*²⁶ is found in the Nūnggasa edition (1697), which bears the title *Ritual Manual on Visualization* (*Kwansang ūigwe* 觀想儀軌), the Kimnyongsa edition (1746), and the Yujōmsa edition (1824) (see Appendix). This text was composed by Dānapāla (Shihu 施護, d. 1018), an Indian monk and language prodigy who was the traveling companion and paternal cousin of Devaśāntika (Tianshizai 天息災, d.u.), both of whom were active as translators after arriving in the Song dynasty's capital in 980.²⁷ The text begins by introducing the great vidyā spell (*taemyōngju* 大明呪) eponymous with the title of the ritual manual, asserting that it produces the most meritorious virtue, that it is the most superior, and the most inconceivable. The short manual then articulates directions to visualize the Bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā, with his golden hued body, full marks or characteristics (*sang* 相), ornaments, mudrās, and so forth. It also describes a visualization procedure associated with three places on the body (an image of a buddha) when one hears three sets of two sinographs:

The characteristics of letters embrace all characteristics, so as regarding one who cultivates yoga practice (*yugabaeng* 瑜伽行): If he hears the logographs *omje* 唵提 (Skt. *omce*), one should visualize the crown of the head (*chōngsang* 頂上), if he hears the logographs *omye* 唵詣 (Skt. *ome*), he should visualize the end of the tongue (*sōltan* 舌端), and if he hears the logographs *omni* 唵啞²⁸ (Skt. *omni*), he should visualize the ear-rings (*iryun* 耳輪).²⁹

The ritual manual concludes by describing the image of an eight-petal lotus inscribed with the various phrases of the great vidyā in Siddham script, and instructions for the practitioner to visualize the image. The manual promises that if one sets up an altar following the procedures three times in a day, and maintains the spell in his mind by chanting (*chisong* 持誦) 108 times or 1,080 times, or if one maintains the spell in his mind by chanting it for from one month or six months to a year without ceasing, he will obtain “siddhi procedures” (*silti pōp* 悉地法) of the most superior quality.³⁰ The Yujōmsa edition presents an image titled “Diagram of

24. Ibid., 132–34; cf. *Fayuan zhubin* 17, T 2122, 53.411b24–c5.

25. T'aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 136–38; cf. *Jingde chuandeng lu* 12, T 2076, 51.293a28–b9.

26. Cf. *Fosbuo fomu bore poluomiduo daming guanxiang yigui* 佛說佛母般若波羅蜜多大明觀想儀軌, T 1152, 20.614a10–615b3. Korean Buddhists at times read the transliterations from Sanskrit differently than the Taishō text.

27. On Dānapāla and Devaśāntika, see Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia: A Handbook for Scholars* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), 448–50.

28. The Taishō edition reads 囉, see T 1152, 20.614b21.

29. T'aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 285.

30. Ibid., 283–90.



a Large Red Lotus with Eight Petals” (*P’aryŏp taehongnyŏn chi to* 八葉大紅蓮之圖) at the end of the section comprising the ritual manual, helping the practitioner to better envisage the directions.³¹

The Yujŏmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* includes all of the forgoing sections, adds a fifteenth rule from “The Production of Images” chapter of the *Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon* on the meaning or significance of an egg-shaped, “seamless” pagoda (*mubongt’ap* 無縫塔),³² and includes the procedures for numerous other short rituals, spells, diagrams, and detailed instructions for enshrining objects in Buddhist images, as well as procedures for the eye-dotting ceremony. The manifold expansion of the contents of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* in the Yujŏmsa edition appears to be the result of work done by the Sŏn Master Hwaak Chit’ak 華嶽知濯 (1750–1839; pen name Sambong 三峯) who played a considerable role in revitalizing the Hwaŏm tradition in Chosŏn. Chit’ak became a “dharma authority” (*pŏpchu* 法主) of the Hwaŏm Assembly (*Hwaŏm taehoe* 華嚴大會) and, during his life time was said to have held eighty-three such dharma assemblies.³³

One of the significant ways Chit’ak expanded the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* was by adding significant selections from various texts detailing procedures to empower images. Here, as an example, I will briefly discuss the contents of the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious* (*Myogilsang taegyowang kyŏng* 妙吉祥大教王經). The full title of this work is *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching of Visualization Methods Which Are Auspicious, Universal,*

31. Ibid., 291 and 87 (from the left).

32. A seamless pagoda (*mubongt’ap* 無縫塔) is also called an egg-shaped stūpa (*nant’ap* 卵塔, or *nant’ap* 蘭塔); a stūpa made of several pieces of carved stone, including a flat base, a vertical stand, a large egg-shaped middle section that gives the stūpa its name, and a capstone shaped like the roof of a wooden pagoda. In medieval Japanese Buddhism, as well as Korean Buddhism of the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods, eminent monks, Sŏn masters, and abbots were honored with egg-shaped funerary pagodas. See *Fayan Chanshi yulu* 法演禪師語錄 2, T 1995, 47.658b2; *Lebang yigao* 樂邦遺稿 2, T 1969B, 47.247b29; Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 卵塔.

33. Hwaak Chit’ak was a member of the Ch’ŏngju Han lineage 淸州韓氏. Early in his life he went to Kangsŏ sa 江西寺 on Mt. Kyŏnbul 見佛山 and became a monk under the guidance of Sŏngbung 性鵬 (d.u.). He studied under two mentors: Hamwŏl Haewŏn 涵月海源 (1691–1770) and Wanwŏl 玩月 (d.u.), and was the successor to Wanwŏl’s disciple Hanam 漢巖 (d.u.). Because he resided for a long time on Mt. Samgak 三角山, he went by the pen name Sambong 三峯. His literary abilities were exceptional, and he enjoyed warm and cordial association with the celebrated calligrapher, epigraphist, and scholar Kim Chŏng-hŭi 金正喜 (1786–1856). He passed away in Chijang Hermitage 地藏庵, at the age of ninety on the fifth day of the fifth lunar month of the fifth year in the reign of King Hŏnjong 憲宗 (1834–49) (15 June 1839). Portraits of Chit’ak are enshrined at T’ongdo sa 通度寺 and Unbong sa 雲峰寺. The most talented of his disciples was Hwadam Kyŏnghwa 華潭敬和 (1786–1848). Many of his writings are preserved in the *Collected Works of Sambong* (*Sambong chip* 三峯集). See Yi Chŏng 李政, ed., *Han’guk pulgyo inmyŏng sajŏn* 韓國佛教人名辭典 [Korean Buddhist Biographical Dictionary] (Seoul: Pulgyo Sidaesa, 1993), 285; T’aegyŏng, *Chosang kyŏng*, 27–28. A portrait of Chit’ak is in the possession of the museum at Chikchi sa (Chikchisa Sŏngbo Pangmulgwan 直指寺聖寶博物館); see T’aegyŏng, *Pulbokchang e saegyŏjin ūimi*, frontispiece.



Secret, and Superlative (*Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen dajiaowang jing* 妙吉祥平等秘密最上觀門大教王經, T 1192), translated by the Indian śramaṇa Cixian 慈賢 (d.u.), who is believed to have hailed from Magadha and been active in the Northern Song 北宋 (960–1127) and Khitan Liao 遼 (907–1125) dynasties.³⁴ The *sūtra* describes various “binding [hand] seals” (*kyōrin* 結印), and the directions and mantras associated with empowering objects enshrined in Buddhist images: five treasure bottles (*obobyōng* 五寶瓶), five grains (*ogok* 五穀), five treasures (*obo* 五寶), five medicines (*oyak* 五藥), five fragrances (*obyang* 五香), five yellow plants (*obwang* 五黃), five kinds of mustard seeds (*ogaeja* 五芥子), five-color cloths (*osaek ch’aebōn* 五色彩幡), five-color strings (*osaeksa* 五色絲), five temporal flowers (*osihwa* 五時花), five kinds of bodhi petal (*oboriyōp* 五菩提葉), five kinds of auspicious grass (*ogilsangch’o* 五吉祥草), and five kinds of parasols (*osan’gae* 五傘蓋).³⁵

This section is followed by several charts that present mantras and dhāraṇīs in diagrammatic forms that can be easily visualized and reproduced for insertion into images. The first illustration is the previously mentioned “Diagram of a Large Red Lotus with Eight Petals” (*P’aryōp taehongnyōn chi to* 八葉大紅蓮之圖).³⁶ This is followed by the “Diagram of the Heaven-shaped Circle of the Nine Graphs of Cundi” (*Chunje kuja ch’ōnwōn chi to* 准提九字天圓之圖), which has Siddhaṃ characters in the four cardinal directions, four intercardinal directions, and the center.³⁷ This is followed by a “Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Region” (*Yōl kūmgang chibang chi to* 列金剛地方之圖), which presents the names and Siddhaṃ characters affiliated with the twenty-four buddhas and bodhisattvas of the Adamantine Region (Vajradhatū?). The names of five Buddhas and nineteen bodhisattvas are listed and a practitioner is encouraged to set the diagram in a heaven-shaped circle (*ip ch’ōnwōn chi nae* 入天圓之內).³⁸ A final page consists of diagrams of Siddhaṃ spells set in circular shapes: “Diagram of the Seed Syllables of the Five Wheels” (*oryun chongja to* 五輪種子圖), which is the famous *aṃ rāṃ vāṃ hāṃ khāṃ* spell representing the five elements or composite parts of Vairocana; “Diagram of the Seed Syllables of the True Mind” (*chinsim chongja to* 真心種子圖), *hūṃ traḥ bṛiḥ aḥ vāṃ*; “Diagram of the Nine Graphs of Cundi” (*Chunje kuja to* 准提九字圖), *oṃ cale cole cyāmce svāhā*; “Diagram for Entering Siddhi” (*ip silchi to* 入悉地圖), the famous *a vā rā hā khā* spell, which claims to unite the powers of earth, water, fire, air, and space; and “Diagram for Exiting Siddhi” (*ch’ul silchi to* 出悉地圖), *a ra va ca na*.³⁹

Prior to the publication of the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* in 1824, the procedures for enshrining materials inside Buddhist

34. *Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen dajiaowang jing*, five rolls, T 1192, 20.905a–930a.

35. T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 200–236. There is some variation between the contents of the *sūtra* in the received edition found in the Taishō canon and the presentation of the *sūtra* found in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Chosang kyōng*. For a helpful chart showing differences in terminology, see T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 201.

36. *Ibid.*, 239.

37. *Ibid.*, 241.

38. *Ibid.*, 243.

39. *Ibid.*, 244–47.

images and the directions for performing the eye-dotting ceremony were transmitted in separate ritual manuals. In the printing of the Yujōmsa edition, a section of the eye-dotting ritual procedures was moved to this ritual manual. Although this does not constitute a tremendous formal change, it does carry great significance from the standpoint of content. The spells and ritual procedures for eye-dotting are also found in an 1891 manuscript titled *Hwaōm Ritual Text* (*Hwaōm yemun* 華嚴禮文), which suggests that the eye-dotting ritual was being made more generally available to or was of greater interest to monastic ritual specialists in the nineteenth century.⁴⁰

The Yujōmsa edition has a section titled “An Explanation of the Meaning of *Om Āḥ Hūm*” (*Om A Hum ūihae* 唵阿吽義解), which fleshes out the significance of the eye-dotting ritual. In this section, these three seed syllables are connected to the three kinds of karma: body, speech, and mind (*sin ku ūi* 身口意).⁴¹ The *om* logograph above the head is immovable as bodhi, the *āḥ* logograph inside the mouth is non-produced *prajñā*, and the *hūm* logograph within the chest is a visualization of the four dharma realms and six dharma realms (*saryuk pōpkye* 四六法界). The *om* logograph is swallowing a million “heavens and earths” (*kūn’gon* 乾坤; universes?) simultaneously; the *āḥ* logograph is awakening to the myriad features of the mountains, rivers, and the good earth and myriad practices of nature (*samna manbaeng* 森羅萬行), and the *hūm* logograph returns to the source and arrives at home without moving for even a single thought-movement. The section also says that if people do not know Siddham (*pōmja* 梵字) and say that Sinographs (*hanja* 漢字) are correct, such people are heretics. Each and every stroke and dot of each and every Siddham letter is a *śarīra* (*sari* 舍利), a body-relic of the Buddha. Therefore, if one can learn Siddham Sanskrit writing (*pōmsō* 梵書), one will receive and carry out each and every thing just as it is explained.⁴²

Towards the end of the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtra on the Production of Buddhist Images*, Chit’ak includes a trilingual version of the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭāna-bṛdayaguhyadhātu-karaṇḍamudrā-dhāraṇī*, which, following the Buddhist Chinese, I roughly translate as the “Dhāraṇī of the Jeweled Casket of the Secret Whole Body Relic of All the Tathāgatas” (*Ilche yōrae pimil chōnsin sari pohyōp tarani*, Ch. *Yiqie rulai mimi quanshen sheli baoqie tuoluoni* 一切如來秘密全身舍利寶篋陀羅尼).⁴³ Slightly different from the spells presented in the various editions of the *Five Great Mantras* (*Odae chinōn* 五大真言), which were published several times during the Chosōn period after Queen Insu first issued a trilingual version in 1485, Chit’ak presents

40. *Hwaōm yemun* 華嚴禮文 (Hwaōm Ritual Text), 1891 (Guangxu 光緒 17); handwritten manuscript in mixed literary Chinese and Korean script (*kukhanmun* 國漢文); Dongguk University Library, 67a–77b.

41. Body, speech, and mind are also called the Three Mysteries (*sammil*, Ch. *sanmi* 三密). See Richard D. McBride II, “The Mysteries of Body, Speech, and Mind: The Three Esoterica (*sanmi*) in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 29, no. 2 (2006 [2008]): 305–55.

42. T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 272–73; T’aegyōng, *Pulbokchang e saegyōjin ūmi*, 19–20.

43. This is the title of the spell as found in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Chosang kyōng*; see T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 114–18 (from the back). The title is slightly different than the three versions preserved in the Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon (T 1022A, T 1022B, and T 1023).

the Siddham first, the translation in Sinographs second, and the transliteration in the Korean script third, instead of Siddham, Korean script, and Sinographs.⁴⁴ Older canonical versions, following translations attributed to Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空, 705–74), present the dhāraṇī in forty phrases;⁴⁵ but the version found in the Yujōmsa edition has forty-four phrases like Dānapāla’s translation said to have been executed in 983.⁴⁶ The version of the dhāraṇī in the Yujōmsa edition and that found in the Taishō edition of the Buddhist canon (which is based on the Koryō Buddhist canon) are not exactly the same, however, suggesting that other variations probably existed due to reproduction in manuscripts, editorial processes, and so forth. It is followed by a “Smaller Jeweled Casket Dhāraṇī” (*So pobyōp tarani* 小寶篋陀羅尼), comprising five phrases, *om vajra paśakari ganamaṃra hūṃ*.⁴⁷ To my knowledge this short dhāraṇī is not attested in the Koryō canon or the Taishō canon. Although the *sūtra* from which the larger spell was extracted is not included in the text, the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* itself was popular during the Koryō period and used commonly to empower and protect pagodas.⁴⁸ The *sūtra* promises that if people copy, recite from memory, receive, or keep the dhāraṇī in a pagoda or Buddhist image they will be free from all worries by the sublime power of all the buddhas and their ability to respond to all prayers. Individuals doomed to be reborn in hell will be reborn in heaven, sick people will be healed and their allotted life-spans extended, they will be protected from fear, damages, and frustrations, and poor people will receive boundless blessings.⁴⁹

Chit’ak follows up these dhāraṇī with “An Explanation of the Thirty-Seven Revered Ones” (*Samsipch’il chon sōl* 三十七尊說).⁵⁰ What is significant is that he couches his explanation in a Huayan (Kor. Hwaōm) context by first quoting passages from Chengguan’s 澄觀 (ca. 738–839) *Commentary on the Flower Garland Sūtra* (*Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大放廣佛華嚴經疏) and *Subcommentary and Explanation of the Flower Garland Sūtra* (*Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔). The gist of these short passages is that all things manifest in the ocean seal (*haein* 海印) of the Tathāgata, that all the buddhas of the

44. On trilingual spell manuals in the Chosŏn period, see Richard D. McBride II, “Wish-Fulfilling Spells and Talismans, Efficacious Resonance, and Trilingual Spell Books: The *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī* in Chosŏn Buddhism,” *Pacific World*, third series, 20 (2018): 15–54.

45. *Yiqie rulai mimi quanshen sheli baoqiyin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經, T 1022A, 19.710a–712a, esp. 711c2–25; *Yiqie rulai mimi quanshen sheli baoqiyin tuoluoni jing*, T 1022B, 19.712b–715a, esp. 713c24–714a18.

46. *Yiqie rulai zhengfa mimi qiyinxin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來正法祕密印心陀羅尼經, T 1023, 19.715a–717c, esp. 717a12–b9.

47. T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 118 (from the back).

48. Sō Yūn-gil (Suh Yoon-kil) 徐閔吉, *Han’guk milgyo sasangsa* 한국밀교사상사 [The Intellectual History of Esoteric Buddhism in Korea] (Seoul: Unjusa, 2007), 40–41, 188–89, 309–10.

49. *Yiqie rulai mimi quanshen sheli baoqiyin tuoluoni jing*, T 1022A, 19.710a–712a; Chŏn Hye-bong, “Dharani-sutra of Early Koryō,” *Korea Journal* 12, no. 6 (June 1972): 4–12, esp. 12.

50. T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 299–302. The thirty-seven revered ones are the thirty-seven heads in the Vajradhātu or Diamond-realm maṇḍala (Kūmganggye mandara 金剛界曼陀羅). See *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 24, T 2016, 48.548b19–c22; Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. 三十七尊.



ten directions are “original masters” (*ponsa* 本師) who manifest by means of the ocean seal, that although many pure lands exist in dividing the body [the transformation body] of the dharma flower (*pōphwa punsin* 法華分身), individual buddhas do not refer to their own pure lands, they encourage aspirants to go to Amitābha’s Pure Land and Akṣobhya’s realm of profound joy (*myōhūi* 妙喜; Skt. Abhirati).⁵¹ Chit’ak then goes on to explain that, just as in the teachings of dhāraṇī (*ch’ongjigyo* 總持教), the thirty-seven revered ones are explained as being all manifestations of the one single Buddha Vairocana. He then lists the names of the buddhas and great bodhisattvas of each of the five directions. Appended to this is a “Classifications of the Five Groups” (*Obu ryu* 五部類), which provides citations to different lists of the five groups that are conventionally affiliated with the Vajradhatū and Garbhadhatū maṇḍalas. Chit’ak starts with a list from Chengguan’s *Subcommentary and Explanation*,⁵² follows with a list putatively from the *Cundī Sūtra* (*Zhunti jing* 准提經),⁵³ and concludes with a list that links the five groups to colors drawn from the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, but which actually traces to Yixing’s *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra*.⁵⁴

One of the final sections of the ritual manual is titled “All the Mantras from Texts for Dotting the Eyes” (*Chōmanmun che chinōn* 點眼文諸真言) probably because it is the title of first mantra included in this portion of the text.⁵⁵ Thirty mantras comprise this unit of the text. Although the titles of a few of them deal specifically with eye-opening events, such as “the mantra on the brightness of opening eyes (*kaean kwangmyōng chinōn* 開眼光明真言) and “the mantra for installing Buddha’s eyes” (*anburan chinōn* 安佛眼真言),⁵⁶ the spells listed here were probably used to consecrate and protect the ritual space and empower all parts of a Buddhist image.

51. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 60, T 1735, 35.962b14–16; *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suisbu yanyi chao* 90, T 1736, 36.698c15–19.

52. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suisbu yanyi chao* 76, T 1736, 36.600b21–22.

53. Chit’ak list five groups: (1) the Buddha group (the group of all the buddhas); (2) the Lotus Flower group (the group of the bodhisattvas); (3) the Adamantine group (the Vajra group); (4) the Ratnasambhava group (the group of all the gods); and (5) the Karma group (the group of ghosts and spirits). However, only the first three groups are attested in canonical dhāraṇī texts dealing with Cundī; see *Foshuo qijudi fomu zhunti daming tuoluoni jing* 佛說七俱胝佛母准提大明陀羅尼經 (*Cundīdevībhāraṇī*) [Sūtra on the Great Vidyā Dhāraṇī of Cundī, Goddess of the Seventy Million, Preached by the Buddha], one roll, trans. attributed to Vajrabodhi (Jin’gangzhi 金剛智, 671–741) in 723, T 1075, 20.173a–178c, esp. 175b11–27; *Foshuo qijudi fomu zhunti daming tuoluoni jing* 佛說七俱胝佛母准提大明陀羅尼經 (*Cundīdevībhāraṇī*) [Sūtra on the Great Vidyā Dhāraṇī of Cundī, Goddess of the Seventy Million, Preached by the Buddha], one roll, trans. attributed to Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空, 705–74), T 1076, 20.178c–185a, esp. 180c29–181a25.

54. The passage says: “White, as the color that quells calamities, means the Buddha group. Yellow, as the color that increases benefits, means the Lotus Flower group. Red, as the color that subjugates [demons] (*hangbok* 降伏) means the Adamantine (Vajra) group. Blue is the color that accomplishes (*sōngp’an* 成辦) all things and also is the form that accords with classification. Black, as the color that directs and arranges (*sōpch’i* 攝置), is the classification of the Wrathful group (*punnobu* 忿怒部).” Cf. *Dapiluzbena chengfo jing shu* 2, T 1796, 39.644a10–14.

55. T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 306.

56. *Ibid.*, 310.



This is because spells titled “mantra for subduing demons” (*hangma chinön* 降魔真言), “mantra on the thirty-two primary marks” (*samsibisang chinön* 三十二相真言) and “mantra on the eighty lesser marks” (*p’alsip chongho chinön* 八十種好真言) are also included.⁵⁷ There is no explanation of how or when these spells are to be used, so it seems probable that some direction from a mentor or trainer was necessary. Nevertheless, this section ends with a relatively straightforward articulation of how to perform the eye-dotting ceremony:

When the certification master (*chüngsa* 證師) dots with a brush, he enters absorption, performs meditative visualization, makes binding seals (*mudrās*) [with his hands] just like the ritual manual (*üigwe* 儀軌). After that he grasps the brush and “enters the eyes” (*iban* 入眼). There are three procedures in the method of entering the eyes (*ibanböp* 入眼法) in accordance with the Dharma (*yöböp* 如法):

1. Install Siddham characters in the eight eyes (*p’aran* 八眼)⁵⁸ in accordance with the text. You should do the brush quietly and move your mind (*sim* 心). The mind is the essence (*ch’e* 體), the brush is the function (*yong* 用); more precisely, this embraces the function, returns to the essence, and manifests principle (*i* 理).
2. With respect to the “Nine Graphs of Cundi” (*Chunje kuja* 准提九字) and the “Nine Graphs of the Six Seed Syllables” (*yukchongja kuja* 六種子九字),⁵⁹ install the Siddham letters (*pöm* 梵) in accordance to the text. With respect to the “Nine Graphs of the Six Seed Syllables,” install Siddham letters in the direction of the Buddha’s body. Move both your mind and your body. This is the dual preparation of essence and function and the twin cultivation of phenomena and principle.
3. The twelve logographs from *ak* (*abhb*; Tathāgata Adamantine King [Kūmgangwang yörae 金剛王如來]) of the List of the Arrayed Adamantine Kings (Yöl kūmgang wang 列金剛王) to *mae* (*mai*; the Bodhisattva Maitreya [Mirük posal 彌勒菩薩]) are installed on the left side of the Buddha’s body. The ten logographs from *a* (*a*; Bodhisattva Compassion and Wisdom [Chahye posal 慈惠菩薩]) to *pam* (*vam*; Bodhisattva Most Seminal Progress [Ch’oejōngjin posal 最精進菩薩]) are installed on the right side of the Buddha’s body. Also move both your mind and your body. For all this do not use ink or moisten the brush.

These are the three procedures for entering the eyes.

If you prepare three certification masters, write the Siddham letters of the three procedures on paper, and install each of them simultaneously, it would be even more appropriate. In addition, if you “enter the eyes” of one Buddha, you simultaneously enter the eyes of remaining Buddhas, just as the moon sheds light on one river, it also naturally [illuminates] a thousand rivers. If you do this, it is called “perfect meditative visualization”

57. Ibid., 309, 311–12.

58. The eight eyes are listed earlier in the text, section 19 (see Appendix). The eight eyes are (1) *k’am* (Skt. *kham*) (install below the eye when you invoke the flesh eye); (2) *ham* (Skt. *hām*) (install in the pupil when you invoke the heavenly eye); (3) *ram* (Skt. *rām*) (install above the eye when you invoke the wisdom eye); (4) *pam* (Skt. *vām*) (install above the eyebrow when you invoke the dharma eye); (5) *am* (Skt. *aṃ*) (install in the forehead when you invoke the Buddha eye); (6) *hūm* (Skt. *hūṃ*) (install in the chest when you invoke the ten eyes); (7) *a* (Skt. *a*) (install within the lips when you invoke the thousand eyes); and (8) *om* (Skt. *oṃ*) (install on the crown of the head when you invoke the inexhaustible eye). See T’aegyōng, *Chosang kyōng*, 265.

59. This might be a reference to the “mantra on the six seed syllables” (*yukchongja chinön* 六種子真言). Ibid., 319 n. 219.



(*wŏn'gwan* 圓觀). Why should you completely enter one Buddha and then face a second Buddha just as though there was a procedure of worldly truth (*seje* 世諦)?⁶⁰

Eye-dotting is a ceremony that can be performed by one or three “certification masters.” If only one is available, each of the three procedures must be followed in sequence, but they need only be performed on the first Buddhist image. Performing the ritual for one image in the batch is sufficient to empower all instantaneously. If three masters are available, the procedures can be done simultaneously to the same effect that all images being empowered will become so simultaneously. The ritual combines conventional South Asian and East Asian sensibilities by emphasizing, on the one hand, meditative visualization and the writing of Siddhaṃ letters, and on the other, by explaining the significance of the ritual behavior in the mainstream East Asian philosophical hermeneutical description of essence and function (*ti yong* 體用).

Reflections

The five Korean woodblock editions of *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* published in the mid and late Chosŏn period build upon a foundation of canonical texts that describe the benefits of making, washing, and bathing Buddhist images. They transcend these scriptures on merit-making, however, by further developing image rituals known collectively as “procedures for devising images” first articulated in dhāraṇī collections and dhāraṇī *sūtras* available in the early Tang dynasty. The first four editions published at Yongch’ōnsa, Nūnggasa, Hwajangsa, and Kimyongsa from the late sixteenth to the mid eighteenth century are primarily concerned with empowering images by enshrining objects in their chest cavities (*pokchang*).

These four xylograph editions, for the most part, share the same basic contents, typically two of three texts: “Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas”; fourteen rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the *Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon*, which dates to the early Ming period; and the *Ritual Manual on Visualization of the Great Vidyā of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Mother of the Buddhas Preached by the Buddha*, which was translated in the early Song period. The expanded Yujōmsa edition of 1824, which has a preface and postscript by the Hwaōm proponent Hwaak Chit’ak adds material from the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching of Visualization Methods Which Are Auspicious, Universal, Secret, and Superlative*, which dates from the Song or Liao period, several diagrams featuring Siddhaṃ words and letters, and various procedures for installing objects in images and dotting the eyes (*chōman*) of images. The Yujōmsa edition is a composite work featuring explanations and procedures, as well as multiple lists of mantras and dhāraṇī, such as the important “Dhāraṇī of the Jeweled Casket of the Secret Whole Body Relic of All

60. Ibid., 319–20. Extra information in brackets follows T’aegyōng’s translation of the text.



the Tathāgatas,” which had been a mainstay of Buddhist ritual in Korea since the early Koryŏ period.

The Yujŏmsa edition exhibits at least two characteristics that need to be further explored in later research. The first trait is the broad Huayan/Hwaŏm context that seems to underpin the ritual and its explanation. Although this may be due in part to Chit’ak’s preference for the Hwaŏm Assembly, it also stems from the position of prominence enjoyed by the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and its cultic practices in Korean Buddhism. The second feature is the relationship of this text with dhāraṇī texts and ritual manuals in the middle and late Chosŏn period due to the widespread inclusion of the spells, Siddham, and procedures associated with the eye-dotting ceremony. Although this association has been noted and investigated to a limited extent, more work remains to be done.

Appendix: Comparison of the Contents of *Sūtra on the Production of Buddhist Images* by Edition⁶¹

Edition	Title	Publication Year	Preface/Colophon	Contents
Yongch'ōnsa edition 龍泉寺板	Title Page Missing	1575	No	[1] Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Chebul posal pokchang tan üisik 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式) [1a–27b] [2] Fourteen Rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the <i>Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon</i> (Taejang illam kyōng chosang p'um sipsa ch'ik 大藏一覽經造像品十四則) [28a–38b]
Nūnggasa edition 楞伽寺板	<i>Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i> (<i>Chosang kyōng</i> 造像經)	1697	No	[1] Fourteen Rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the <i>Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon</i> (Taejang illam kyōng chosang p'um sipsa ch'ik 大藏一覽經造像品十四則) [1a–11b] [2] Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Chebul posal pokchang tan üisik 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式) [12a–38b]
	<i>Ritual Manual on Visualization</i> (<i>Kwansang üigwe</i> 觀想儀軌)	1697	No	[1] Ritual Manual on Visualization of the Great Vidyā of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Mother of the Buddhas Preached by the Buddha (Pulsōl pulmo panya paramilta taemyōng kwansang üigwe 佛說佛母般若波羅蜜多大明觀想儀軌) [1a–7b] [2] Fourteen Rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the <i>Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon</i> (Taejang illam kyōng chosang p'um sipsa ch'ik 大藏一覽經造像品十四則) [8a–18b] [3] Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Chebul posal pokchang tan üisik 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式) [19a–45b]

61. Chart emended from Nam Kwōn-hūi, “*Chosang kyōng üi p'anbon üi sōjjōk yōn'gu*,” 148.

Edition	Title	Publication Year	Preface/Colophon	Contents
Hwajangsa edition 華藏寺板	<i>The Production of Images in the Hwaōm Tradition</i> (<i>Hwaōm Chosang</i> 華嚴造像)	1720	No	[1] Fourteen Rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the <i>Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon</i> (Taejang illam kyōng chosang p’um sipsa ch’ik 大藏一覽經造像品十四則) [1a–11b] [2] Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Chebul posal pokchang tan üsik 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式) [12a–40a]
Kimnyongsa edition 金龍寺板	<i>Chosang kyōng</i> 造像經	1746	No	[1] Fourteen Rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the <i>Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon</i> (Taejang illam kyōng chosang p’um sipsa ch’ik 大藏一覽經造像品十四則) [1a–10b] [2] Ritual Manual on Visualization of the Great Vidyā of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Mother of the Buddhas Preached by the Buddha (Pulsöl pulmo panya paramilta taemyōng kwansang üigwe 佛說佛母般若波羅蜜多大明觀想儀軌) [11a–15b] [3] Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Chebul posal pokchang tan üsik 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式) [16a–42b]
Yujōmsa edition 楡岾寺板	<i>Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i> (<i>Chosang kyōng</i> 造像經)	1824	Yes	[1][2] Preface to Reprinting of the <i>Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i> (Chunggan chosang kyōng sō 重刊 造像經序) (Noeam 雷庵, Paeksök kōsa 白石居士) [1a–3b] [3] A Brief Narration of My Intentions (Yaksul piüi 略述鄙意) [first 初] [4] Fifteen Rules from the “The Production of Images” chapter of the <i>Sūtra on the Overview of the Canon</i> (Taejang illam kyōng chosang p’um sibo ch’ik 大藏一覽經造像品十五則) [1a–10b]

Edition	Title	Publication Year	Preface/ Colophon	Contents
				[5] Ritual Manual on the Ācārya Visualization of the <i>Diamond Sūtra</i> (Kūmgang kyōng asari kwansang ūigwe 金剛經阿闍梨觀想儀軌) [11a–b]
				[6] Altar Ceremony for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Images of All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (Chebul posal pokchang tan ūisik 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式) [12a–14a]
				[7] An Explanation of the Interpretations and Classifications of All the Objects Enshrined in the Chest Cavities of Buddhist Images in Two Courses (Pokchang chemul haesök punji igwa söl 腹藏諸物解釋分齊二科說) [14a–17b]
				[8] All Kinds of Things Placed inside the Chest Cavities of Buddhist Images (Pokchang soip chesaek 腹藏所入諸色) [17b–21a]
				[9] Ritual for the Altar Assembly for Enshrining Objects in the Chest Cavities of Buddhist Images (Pokchang tan chunghoe ūi 腹藏壇衆會儀) [21a]
				[10] <i>Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious</i> (Myogilsang taegyowang kyōng 妙吉祥大教王經) [21b–32b]
				[11] Diagram of a Large Red Lotus with Eight Petals (P'aryōp taehongnyōn chi to 八葉大紅蓮之圖) [33a]
				[12] Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Graphs of Cuntī (Chunje kuja ch'ōnwōn chi to 准提九字天圓之圖) [33b]
				[13] Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Region (Yōl kūmgang chibang chi to 列金剛地方之圖) [34a]

Edition	Title	Publication Year	Preface/ Colophon	Contents
				[14] Diagram of the Seed Syllables of the Five Wheels (Oryun chongja to 五輪種子圖), Diagram of the Seed Syllables of the True Mind (Chinsim chongja to 真心種子圖), Diagram of the Nine Graphs of Cundi (Chunje kuja to 准提九字圖), Diagram for Entering Siddhi (Ip silchi to 入悉地圖), Diagram for Exiting Siddhi (Ch'ul silchi to 出悉地圖) [34b]
				[15] Procedures for Enshrining the Throat-Bell Vessel Inside [the Image] (Huryōng t'ong nae allip ch'aje 喉鈴筒內安立次第) [35a]
				[16] Procedures for Enshrining the Yellow Silk Textile Inside [the Image] (Hwangch'o pokcha nae allip ch'aje 黃絹幅子內安立次第) [35b]
				[17] Āryācalanātha's Mantra (Pudongjon chinōn 不動尊真言) [35b–36a]
				[18] An Explanation of the Three Siddhi Altars (Sam silchidan sōk 三悉地壇釋) [36b–39b]
				[19] The Method of Dotting [Images of] the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas: The Eight Eyes (Pul posal chōm p'il pang p'aram 佛菩薩點筆方八眼) [39b]
				[20] The Nine Sacred Siddham Graphs of Cundi and an Explanation of Their Meaning (Chunje kusōng pōmja kyōm üihae 准提九聖梵字兼義解) [40a–41a]
				[21] An Explanation of the Meaning of Om Āḥ Hūṃ (Om A Hum üihae 唵阿吽義解) [41a–b]
				[22] Seed Syllables of the Five Tathāgatas (O yörae chongja 五如來種子) [41b–42a] [Six Seed-Syllable Mantras]
				[23] List of the Arrayed Adamantine Kings (Yōl kūmgang wang 列金剛王) [42a–b]

Edition	Title	Publication Year	Preface/ Colophon	Contents
				[24] The Six Penetrations and Three Kinds of Supernormal Clarity of an Arhat (Nahan yukt'ong sammyōng 羅漢六通三明) [42b]
				[25] The Five Penetrations and Five Powers of the Heavenly Kings and Ten Kings (Ch'ōnwang siwang ot'ong oryōk 天王十王五通五力) [43a]
				[26] Ritual Manual on Visualization of the Great Vidyā of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Mother of the Buddhas Preached by the Buddha (Pulsōl pulmo panya paramilta taemyōng kwansang üigwe 佛說佛母般若波羅蜜多大明觀想儀軌) [43b–46b]
				[27] Dhāraṇī of the Jeweled Casket of the Secret Whole Body Relic of All the Tathāgatas (Ilche yörae pimil chōnsin sari pohyōp tarani 一切如來秘密全身舍利寶篋陀羅尼) [46b–48b] Smaller Jeweled Casket Dhāraṇī (So pohyōp tarani 小寶篋陀羅尼) [46b]
				[28] An Explanation of the Thirty-Seven Revered Ones (Samsipch'il chon sōl 三十七尊說) [47a–50b] Classifications of the Five Groups (Obu ryu 五部類)
				[29] All the Mantras from Texts for Dotting the Eyes (Chōmanmun che chinōn 點眼文諸真言) [51a–57b]
				[30] List [of Monks] in the Position to Certify (Chūngmyōng wimok 證明位目) [57b]
				[31] Postscripts (pal 跋) (Hwaak Chiyak 華嶽知灌, Yōnghae Yōhun 影海呂訓) [1a–2b]





MAKING BUDDHIST STATUES ALIVE:
POKCHANG AS THE BUDDHA-MOTHER AND MAṄḌALA
IN LATE CHOSŎN PERIOD KOREA*

KANG Heejung

Les objets qui sont choisis pour être insérés à l'intérieur d'une statue bouddhique ont une signification religieuse qui donne à leur combinaison tout leur sens. Ce n'est que lorsque ces objets sont combinés de manière spécifique par le biais du rituel approprié qu'ils peuvent devenir des objets efficaces de la cache ventrale (pokchang 腹藏), conférant un caractère sacré à la statue. Le rituel de la cache ventrale transforme une statue matérielle en un bouddha. Le rituel n'est pas un simple acte d'installation d'éléments votifs à l'intérieur de statues : la récitation correcte des formules magiques (dhāraṇī) et l'inscription de lettres de l'alphasyllabaire siddhaṃ est essentielle pour garantir la sacralisation d'une statue bouddhique. À la fin de la période du Chōson (1392-1910), le Chosang kyōng 造像經 (Sutra de la production d'images bouddhiques) devint le manuel de référence pour la pratique du rituel de la cache ventrale. Trois points principaux sont abordés dans cet article. En premier lieu, la cosmologie du bouddhisme ésotérique se reflète dans les objets installés à l'intérieur d'un contenant en forme de clochette dans la gorge (huryōng t'ong 喉鈴筒), objets qui sont organisés en ensembles de cinq éléments, parmi lesquels les cinq miroirs qui représentent les cinq sortes de sagesse du Bouddha, et les lettres du siddhaṃ. En second lieu, l'inscription des « syllabes de semence des Cinq Roues » (oryun chongja 五輪種子) sur le contenant en forme de clochette et la « Dhāraṇī du sceau du coffret précieux » (Pohyōbin tarani 寶篋印陀羅尼, également appelée Pohyōp chinōn 寶篋真言) enchâssées dans le pokchang symbolisent les reliques du corps entier du Bouddha, qui transcendent les trois corps du Bouddha, le Bouddha du passé, du présent et du futur. Les reliques du corps entier surpassent les autres reliques du Bouddha. Ainsi, la Dhāraṇī du sceau du coffret précieux devient le résultat du nirvana du Bouddha et le contenant dans la gorge symbolise la mère du Bouddha (pulmo 佛母), ou l'engendreur de tous les bouddhas. Troisièmement, l'exécution correcte du rite de l'autel pour les trois accomplissements (Ch. sanzong xidi 三種悉地), inclus dans le rituel pokchang, est nécessaire pour que le pokchang fonctionne correctement en tant qu'entité sacrée représentant la cosmologie bouddhique. Grâce aux combinaisons particulières de lettres du siddhaṃ et d'inscriptions de dhāraṇī, les rites du pokchang jouent un rôle central dans la transformation de matériaux ordinaires en êtres divins”.

* Translated into English by Sujung Kim.

** Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.



Pokchang: The Breath of Life Blown Into the Buddha Body

How can the materiality of a Buddhist image, made of raw materials such as wood, rock, or clay, turn into the embodiment of the sacred? It is usually thought that materiality is not compatible with divinity. In a way, materiality and divinity appear to be opposites. In Buddhist terms, materials correspond to “form” (Skt. *rūpa*, Ch. *se* 色) among the five aggregates (Skt. *skandha*, Ch. *wuyun* 五蘊). Attachment to “form” constitutes the craving for the entire five *skandhas*, which creates more suffering. The only way to attain nirvana is to dispel both our attachment to the five *skandhas* and the false view that the five *skandhas* exist. Unenlightened human beings, however, still tend to cling to material form. Humans living in this world desire to make images of the Buddha out of various materials and worship them. Even though such images have the anthropomorphic form of an icon, its form and materiality is not sufficient to make them object of veneration.

In Korean Buddhism, enshrining *pokchang* 腹藏 inside the images is a representative method to endow them with the sacred. *Pokchang* refers to the objects placed inside of Buddhist images. The individual *pokchang* items do not possess religious significance of themselves nor in combination with other objects. Only when these things are combined in a specific way through a particular ritual can they serve as the medium of the sacred. In other words, it is the *pokchang* ritual that is responsible for the radical transformation that turns a Buddhist image into the Buddha.

This paper demonstrates that the *pokchang* ritual is the core component of the sacralization of Buddhist images. After a Buddhist statue is produced it is not yet considered to be an object of veneration. Only after the performance of the *pokchang* ritual, which transforms the inert material image into a sacred image, is it considered to be animated with the living presence of a deity. The consecration ritual is a two-step process: first, all the items that are to be placed inside of the icon are consecrated; and second, these sacralized objects are enshrined inside of the statue, transforming it into a living image. The specially assembled *pokchang* items are thoroughly transformed in this ritual; on a symbolic level, a Buddha’s abdomen becomes a womb, and the items placed inside it through the ritual become an umbilical cord that brings forth the life into the image. In this way, one can say that the consecration ritual gives birth to the Buddha statue. A mundane material is now revered as a divine being.

Creating the Sacred

For about five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, as most Buddhist scholars agree, he was represented aniconically only through symbolic forms in India. When the first anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha began to appear, various ways were devised to consecrate them. During the earliest phase, people began to enshrine relics of the Buddha inside the *uṣṇīṣa* (Ch. *rouji* 肉髻) or between the feet

of the anthropomorphized Buddha statue.¹ Later, replicas of human organs (the five viscera and six entrails, Ch. *wuzang liufu* 五臟六腑) were encased inside images, as found inside of the famous Śākyamuni statue at Seiryōji 清凉寺 in Kyōto, Japan.² In that case, the replicas of internal organs served as a substitution for relics of the Buddha. In a way, the conceptual basis of the former is more or less the same as the latter, because in both cases, the statue of the Buddha is perceived as the actual body of the Buddha. However, the practice of installing *pokchang* inside Buddhist statues that began in Korea during the Koryō 高麗 period is rather different from the two earlier methods of consecrating statues.

During the late Chōson 朝鮮 period, the Korean *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyōng* 造像經) served as the manual for *pokchang* rituals. Although the literal meaning of the title refers to the methods to create images, in fact, this apocryphal text intends to provide instructions for how to “awake” the divine through installing objects inside the statue. More precisely, it is a cycle of ritual manuals and instructions grouped under the aforementioned title for rites to sacralize images. *Pokchang* items include a variety of objects, such as a throat-bell container (*buryōng t’ong* 喉鈴筒) symbolizing the Buddha’s voice, various Buddhist scriptures, five kinds of grains, and prayer texts. Once the throat-bell container is decorated with the five-wheel seed syllables (*oryun chongja* 五輪種字) of the five Buddhas that symbolize the five kinds of wisdom (Ch. *wuzhi* 五智), it is ready to be installed inside the chest, where the heart of the statue is located (fig. 1).



The ritual placement of the throat-bell container brings Buddhist cosmological associations into the body of the Buddha image and, now as a cosmic being, it transforms itself into the Buddha-Mother (Ch. *fomu* 佛母), or the mother of all Buddhas.

Fig. 1. Throat-bell container. Tin and lead. H 3.6 cm. Lid 2.2 cm. Early Chosōn. © National Museum of Korea.

Since the 1960s, numerous *pokchang* deposits began to be examined, but from the 1990s to the present new research and new discoveries increased dramatically,

1. The practice of enshrining the Buddha’s relics in a small hole drilled into the top of the *uṣṇīṣa* first developed in Gandhāra. For more on this practice, see Juhyung Rhi, “Images, Relics, and Jewels: The Assimilation of Images in the Buddhist Relic Cult of Gandhāra—Or Vice Versa,” *Artibus Asiae* 65, no. 2 (2005): 169–211. Some sculptures of the Buddha made in Andhra shows traces of having enshrined relics of the Buddha between the Buddha’s feet. Such a practice of enshrining the relics inside images was a good means to transform an image of the Buddha into a living Buddha without much resistance from Buddhists. This practice was transmitted to parts of Central Asia, China and Korea.

2. This model of internal organs was discovered from inside the Śākyamuni Buddha image created in 985, and has received much scholarly attention. See Gregory Henderson and Leon Hurvitz, “The Buddha of Seiryōji: New Finds and New Theory,” *Artibus Asiae* 19, no. 1 (1956): 4–55; and Hosaka Saburo 保坂三郎, “Kyōzō kō” 鏡像考, *Kokka* 國華 841 (1965): 153–54.

leading to increased interest.³ Many of the previous studies focused on explaining the motivation for the production of the image, and information about donors and monk artisans based on the analysis of prayer texts recovered from the inside of statues.⁴ Other studies have examined individual *pokchang* items, relevant ritual procedures and their relationship with the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*,⁵ and the textiles and clothing included in the *pokchang* items.⁶ Document experts also studied the scriptures and *dhāraṇī* found inside of the Buddhist images.⁷

To sum up the major findings from previous studies, firstly, the *pokchang* ritual started in China around the tenth century. Secondly, the practice rapidly became popular during the Koryŏ period. Thirdly, the preferred items for enshrinement changed over time from relics to internal organs and then to the *pokchang* centering on the throat-bell container. The practice of enshrining relics and the replication of the internal organs have similar but different hermeneutical contexts: if relics were chosen, it was meant to emphasize the authenticity of the Buddha body; but if

3. The first research article published on *pokchang* was Min Yŏng-gyu (Min Young-gyu) 閔泳珪, “Changgoksa Koryŏ ch’ŏlbul pokchang yumul” 長谷寺 高麗鐵佛 腹藏遺物, *Inmun kwabak* 人文科學 14-15 (1966): 237-47. More research on *pokchang* has been published since the 1990s, and most of it focused on the Buddhist sculptures of the late Chosŏn period. The following book contributed much to promoting studies of *pokchang*: Onyang minsok pangmulgwan 溫陽民俗博物館, ed., *1302 nyŏn Amit’a pulbokchangmul ūi chosa yŏn’gu* 1302年 阿彌陀佛腹藏物的 調查研究 (Seoul: Kyemongsa, 1991). For a systematic and comprehensive study of *pokchang*, see Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong) 李宣鎔, “Pulbokchangmul kusŏng hyŏngsik e kwanhan yŏn’gu” 佛腹藏物 구성형식에 관한 연구, *Misulsabak yŏn’gu* 美術史學研究 261 (2009): 77-104.

4. Ch’oe In-sŏn (Choi Insun) 최인선, “Kangjin Ongnyŏnsa mokcho Sŏkkayŏrae chwasang kwa pokchang” 康津 玉蓮寺 木造釋迦如來坐像과 腹藏, *Munhwa sabak* 文化史學 1 (1994): 129-58; Ch’oe Sŏng-ŭn (Choe Songeun), “13 segi Koryŏ mokcho Amit’a pulsang kwa pokchang muksŏmyŏng” 13세기 고려목조아미타불상과 복장목록서명, *Han’guksa hakpo* 한국사학보 30 (2008): 111-51; Ōm Ki-p’yo (Eom Gi Pyo) 엄기표, “Sunch’ŏn Songgwangsa mokcho Kwanūmbosal chwasang pokchangmul chosa wa ūiui” 順天 松廣寺 木造觀音菩薩坐像 腹藏物 調查와 意義, *Munhwa sabak* 37 (2012): 127-55; and Chŏng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo) 정은우, “1662 nyŏn Songgwangsa Kwanūmjŏn mokcho Kwanūmbosal chwasang kwa chogaksŭng Hyech’ui” 1662년 松廣寺 觀音殿 木造觀音菩薩坐像과 彫刻僧 慧熙, *Munhwasaabak* 39 (2013): 5-23.

5. T’aegyŏng sūnim 泰畝스님, *Chosang kyŏng: Pulbokchang ūi chŏlch’a wa kū soge tamgin sasang* 造像經: 佛腹藏의 節次와 그 속에 담긴 思想 (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006); and Paekp’a Kūngsŏn 백파공선, *Chakpŏp kwigam* 작법귀감, trans. Kim Tu-jae (Seoul: Tongguk taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 2010).

6. Yi Ūn-ju (Lee Eun Joo) 이은주, “Sunch’ŏn Songgwangsa mokcho Kwanūmbosal chwasang pokchang poksik e kwanhan koch’al” 順天 松廣寺 木造觀音菩薩坐像 腹藏 服飾에 관한 考察, *Munhwa sabak* 37 (2012): 157-84; Song Mi-gyŏng (Song Mi Kyung) 송미경 and Pae Sun-hwa (Bae Soon-Wha) 배순화, “Sokch’ŏ Pogwangsa mokcho Chijangbosal chwasang pokchang chingmul e kwanhan koch’al” 속초 보광사 목조지장보살좌상 복장 직물에 관한 고찰, *Hanbok munhwa* 한복문화 16, no. 2 (2013): 5-15; and Sim Yŏn-ok (Sim Yeon Ok) 심연옥 and Yi Sŏn-yong, “Pulbokchang ūi obangsaeck yŏn’gu” 불복장의 오방색 연구, *Hanbok munhwa* 17, no. 2 (2014): 87-103.

7. Nam Kwŏn-hŭi (Nam Kwon-hee) 남권희, “12 segi kanhaeng ūi pulgyo charyo ūi yŏn’gu” 12세기 간행의 불교자료의 연구, *Sŏjibak yŏn’gu* 書誌學研究 17 (1999): 373-420; Nam Kwŏn-hŭi, “Koryŏ sidae Milgyo taejang kwŏn 9 ūi sŏjjŏk yŏn’gu” 고려시대 밀교대장 권9의 서지적 연구, *Sŏjibak yŏn’gu* 58 (2014): 5-54; Song Il-gi (Song Il-gie) 宋日基, “Kwangju Chaunsa mokcho Amit’abul chwasang ūi pokchang chŏnjŏk ko” 광주 자운사 목조아미타불좌상의 복장전적고, *Sŏji hakpo* 서지학보 28 (2004): 79-114.



symbolic internal organs were used, they were intended to replicate the human body of the Buddha.⁸ However, the Korean practice of *pokchang* fundamentally departs from earlier practices of enshrining relics and organs since the *pokchang* ritual allow the statue to attain the Buddha nature (Ch. *foxing* 佛性).

Esoteric Aspects of the *Pokchang* Ritual and the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

Based on the objects discovered from inside Koryō statues, we can know that the *pokchang* ritual had already taken root in the late Koryō period, which predates the compilation of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. This even suggests that the *pokchang* tradition may be traced back to the early Koryō period.⁹ In this essay, however, I focus on the late Chōson period because it was the time when a massive amount of Buddhist images were created within a short time in order to recover from the major losses caused by the Japanese Invasion of Korea (1592–98) and the Qing Invasion of Chōson (1636–37). The great majority of new Buddhist statues of this period were produced in the 17th century. For the restoration project, it was imperative to set a protocol, and the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* is the most representative ritual manual compiled during this time period. All too often, previous scholarship simply used this ritual manual as a reference point to check whether or not newly discovered *pokchang* deposits faithfully followed its instructions. Previous studies have also illuminated philological aspects of the text in which different editions were compared to analyze the placement, color allocations, and shapes of different buddhas and bodhisattvas.¹⁰ Scholars have also analyzed the practice of enshrining Buddha relics inside statues and how it differed from the *pokchang* practice, and studied the religious meaning of *pokchang* by analyzing the directional meaning of the throat-bell container.¹¹

8. The “Chosang p’um” section in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* includes a quotation from *Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Published in the Jingde Era* (Ch. *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄), in which the monk Tianran 天然 burned a wooden Buddha statue. This anecdote suggests that a statue cannot be regarded as a Buddha when there were no relics inside the statue, and helps us understand the relationship between the relics and the statue. T 2076, 51:310b. The original text reads: 後於慧林寺遇天大寒。師 [=天然禪師] 取木佛焚之。人或譏之。師曰。吾燒取舍利。人曰。木頭何有。師曰。若爾者何責我乎。

9. For the origin of *pokchang*, see the articles by Jeong Enwoo and Seunghye Lee included in this special issue of *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie*. For more on *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, refer to the article by Richard McBride in this special issue.

10. For a comparative study between actual *pokchang* and different editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, see Yi Sōn-yong, “Pulbokchangmul kusōng hyōngsik e kwanhan yōn’gu,” 80–83.

11. Yi Sūng-hye (Lee Seunghye) 이승혜, “Pulsang ūi sōngmul pong’an” 불상의 성물 봉안, *Chōngsin munhwa yōn’gu* 정신문화연구 38 (2015): 31–62; and Yi Sōn-yong, “Pulbokchangmul kusōng hyōngsik e kwanhan yōn’gu,” 95–96.



Six different editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* are extant, including handwritten manuscripts (table 1). The earliest edition among the six is the Yongch'ōnsa 龍泉寺 edition, dated to 1575. However, the term “*Chosang kyōng*” was first used as a title in the Kimnyōngsa 金龍寺 edition published in 1746. This suggests that while the contents are more or less the same, different titles may have been used for the earlier editions. For this reason, it is not easy to find this *sūtra* before the Chōson period, although the practice of enshrining *pokchang* had already existed in the Koryō period. While surviving editions have different titles, all of them are ritual manuals composed of citations culled from Buddhist scriptures. Their contents are similar as they cited same group scriptures, and they were written in classical Chinese, Sanskrit *siddham* characters, and Korean vernacular scripts.

Table 1. Extant Editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

Edition	Publication Date	Title	Holding Institution
Yongch'ōnsa 龍泉寺	1575	<i>Taejang illam gyōng</i> 大藏一覽經	Wōngaksa
Nūnggasa 楞伽寺	1677	<i>Kwansang ūigwe</i> 觀想儀軌	Dongguk University
Hwajangsa 華莊寺	1720	<i>Hwaōm chosang</i> 華嚴造像	Taewōnjōngsa
Kimnyōngsa 金龍寺	1746	<i>Chosang kyōng</i>	Dongguk University
Yujōmsa 楡岾寺	1824	<i>Chosang kyōng</i>	DonggukUniversity

The scriptures cited in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* include several quintessential esoteric Buddhist texts (see table 2). Sometimes there are overlaps and repetitions among the texts. In general it does not simply instruct how to create images (e.g. following the 32 major and 80 minor marks of the Buddha), but rather how to animate Buddhist statues and paintings to transform them into a living entity. To achieve this clearly defined goal, a list of *pokchang* objects, a manual of how to apply *siddham* script, a list of *dhāraṇī* to be put inside, and different kinds of *dhāraṇī* to be recited during the consecration process are explained. A detailed manual and its precise performance ensured the efficacy of the ritual.

Table 2. Buddhist Sūtras Compiled in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

Translator/ Compiler	Sūtra Title	Main Content	Explanatory Notes
Chenshi 陳實	<i>Dazang yilan ji</i> 大藏一覽集 ¹²	Explanations for the Motivation of Production	
Maitribhadra (Ch. Cixian 慈賢)	<i>Miao jixiang dajiao wang jing</i> 妙吉祥大教王經	List of Items to Be Enshrined in Buddhist Statue	
Attributed to Subhakarasiṃha (Ch. Shanwuwei 善無畏)	<i>San xidi tan shi</i> 三悉地壇釋	Litanies for Items Enshrined inside Buddhist Statue	Full Title: <i>Foding zunsheng xin po diyu zhuang yezhang chu sanjie mimi sanshen fogue sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui</i> 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界 祕密三身佛果三種悉地真言儀軌 (also known as <i>Sanzong xidi yigui</i> 三種悉地儀軌)
Dānapāla (Ch. Shihu 施護)	<i>Fomu bore boluomiduo daming guanxiang yigui</i> 佛母般若波羅蜜多 大明觀想儀軌	Manual for the Visualization of the Perfection of Wisdom, the Buddha-Mother	Great Mantra 大明呪

Among these texts, the *San xidi tan shi* 三悉地壇釋 deserves our special attention. This is a sūtra about the three *siddhis*, or three attainments, or perfect achievement. As implied in its full title, the *Foding zunsheng xin po diyu zhuang yezhang chu sanjie mimi sanshen fogue sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui*, this ritual manual explains how to invoke the three bodies of the Buddha (Skt. *trikāya*) in order to attain (Skt. *siddhi*) good karma and to avoid hell. The perfection of the *three siddhis* (Ch. *sanzong xidi* 三種悉地) involves: the entering-*siddhi* (Ch. *ruxidi* 入悉地), the producing-*siddhi* (Ch. *chuxidi* 出悉地), and the secret-*siddhi* (Ch. *mimixidi* 祕密悉地), each of which symbolizes the Buddha's reward body (Skt. *sambhoga-kāya* 報身), the transformation body (Skt. *nirmāṇakāya* 化身) and the dharma body (Skt. *dharmā-kāya* 法身), respectively. Each *mantra* for the respective three *siddhi* consists of five *siddham* letters. Each *mantra* corresponds to three aspects of the five Buddhas: the reward body of the five Buddhas, the transformation body of the five Buddhas, and the dharma body of the five Buddhas, all of whose ideas on the five Buddhas are found

12. The *Dazang yilan jing* 大藏一覽經, although the title seems to be an independent text, is included in the sūtra entitled *Dazang yilan ji* 大藏一覽集. The “Zaoxiang pin” 造像品 chapter from the *Dazang yilan jing* was selected to be cited in the *Korean Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. For more on the *Dazang yilan jing*, Ch'oe Yōng-ho (Choy Young-Ho) 최영호, “Haeinsa sojang-pon *Taejang illam chip kaksōng sigi ūi chaegōmt'o wa p'an'gak ūi hyōnsilgwan*” 海印寺 所藏本『大藏一覽集』刻成時期的 재검토와 판각의 현실관, *Han'guk chungsesa yōn'gu* 한국 중세사연구 6 (1999): 212–46.

in the *Sarvatathāgata Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra* (Ch. *Jingang ding yiqie rulai zhenshi she dacheng xianzheng da jiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經).¹³ Considering the larger context of applying this particular doctrine here, it could mean that those animated Buddhas perfected these three bodies and gained perfect attainment.

The two major esoteric Buddhist texts—the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (Ch. *Dari jing* 大日經) and the *Vajrasekhara Sūtra*—provide a doctrinal foundation for the usage of *mantras* and seed letters for the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, for instance, instructs that the principle of the cosmos consists of the five seed syllables (Ch. *wuzi* 五字), the five elements (Ch. *wuda* 五大), and the five forms (Ch. *wuxing* 五形), while the *Vajrasekhara Sūtra* lists the five seed groups (Ch. *wubu* 五部), the five Buddhas (Ch. *wufu* 五佛), and the five wisdoms (Ch. *wuzhi* 五智) as the basis of the cosmos, which are also connected to the doctrinal structure of the five directional Buddhas in the *Diamond World Maṇḍala* (Skt. *Vajrabhūta-maṇḍala*, 金剛界曼荼羅).¹⁴ The Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* includes a section titled, “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar and the Method of *Pokchang*” (*Sam silji tansök ch’a yök pokchang sa* 三悉地壇釋此亦腹藏事) that teaches the use of five *siddham* letters: *am-vām-rām-bām-khām*, explaining that the secret-*siddhi* made of these five letters is the original five dharma bodies. The following passage of the section explains the five directional Buddhas: The East corresponds to Akṣobhya Buddha, the Lord of the Vajra Class (Ch. *Jingang buzhu Achufu* 金剛部主 阿闍佛); the South corresponds to Ratnasambhava Buddha, the Lord of the Jewel-Nature Class (Ch. *Baoxing buzhu Baoshengfo* 寶性部主 寶生佛); the West corresponds to Amitābha Buddha, the Lord of the Lotus Class (Ch. *Lianhua buzhu Wuliangshoufo* 蓮華部主 無量壽佛); the North corresponds to Amoghasiddhi Buddha, the Lord of the Karma Class (Ch. *Jiemo buzhu Bukong chengjiufo* 羯摩部主 不空成就佛); and the Center corresponds to Vairocana Buddha, the Lord of the Tathāgata Class (Ch. *Rulai buzhu Piluzhenafu* 如來部主 毘盧遮那佛). This grouping of the five Buddhas matches with the five directional Buddhas from the *Vajrasekhara Sūtra*. The impact of esoteric Buddhism, however, was relatively small in Chosŏn. Unlike other Buddhist countries such as Japan and Tibet, no esoteric sect took deep roots in Korea. The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* also contains *mantras* for well-known esoteric deities such as Acala (Ch. *Budong mingwang* 不動明王), Cundī (Ch. *Zhunti* 準提), or seed letters for the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. Yet, they were not represented in painted images or mandalic forms in the *pokchang* ritual in Korea. This phenomenon suggests that

13. T 865, 18. Translated by Amoghavajra. On the other texts mentioned within the *Chosang kyōng* 造像經, see Hō Heung-sik, “Pulbokchang ūi Paekyong gua Chosangkyong” 佛腹臟의 背景과 造像經, *Kyegan sōjihakbo* 季刊書誌學譜 10 (1993): 54–59.

14. Kim Yōng-dōk (Kim Young-duk) 김영덕, “Kūmganggye mandara ūi Han’gukchōk pyōnyong e kwanhan yōn’gu” 金剛界曼荼羅의 韓國的 變容에 관한 研究, *Pulgyo yōn’gu* 佛教研究 34 (2011): 147–73; Ch’oe Sōng-gyu (Choi Sung-kyu) 최성규, “Kūmganggye 37-chondo ūi Han’gukchōk chōn’gae e taehan yōn’gu” 金剛界37尊圖의 韓國的 展開에 대한 연구, *Hoedang hakpo* 회당학보 16 (2011): 192–249.

Buddhism practiced in the late Chosŏn period was exoteric in nature, within which the Sŏn Buddhist tradition constituted the mainstream. The Korean Buddhism of the time only borrowed the ritual system from esoteric Buddhism.

In the section entitled “Deposited Items for the *Pokchang*” (*Pokchang so'ip che saek* 腹藏所入諸色) the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* lists all the *pokchang* items. According to the Yongch'ŏnsa edition, six items are listed whereas the Yujŏmsa edition lists nine items. In the course of time, the number of items enshrined increased. All enshrinement deposits are organized into five sets: the five mirrors 五鏡, the five treasure bottles 五寶瓶, the five grains 五穀, the five incenses 五香, the five medicines 五藥, the five auspicious grasses 五吉祥草, the five offerings 五供養, the five-wheel seed syllables, and the five canopies 五傘蓋 (fig. 2).¹⁵ Five kinds of items make each complete set. The purified altar for the *pokchang* ritual, as which is described in the “Deposited Items for the *Pokchang*,” is aligned with the five directions. The number five here points to the five Buddhas and its corresponding directions in esoteric Buddhism. All together, these *pokchang* items reflect the material form of the principle of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, the fundamental tenet of the esoteric Buddhist tradition.



Fig. 2. (Left) Five-colored threads. Silk. H 12.0 cm. (Middle) Three canopies among five canopies. Silk. 16.8 × 14.5 cm. (Right) Five auspicious grasses. Ramie and silk. 16.5 × 7.0 cm. All found in the Seated Amitābha at Hŭksŏksa 黑石寺. Chosŏn, dated 1458.

How are these five groups of objects connected with the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*? I will take the five mirrors as an example (fig. 3). A mirror, whether it is a real mirror or a replacement made of paper or fabric, was an essential *pokchang* item. Each of the five mirrors has an established ritual protocol linking it to a corresponding direction, color, and shape. Respective mirrors also symbolize the wisdom of the corresponding five directional Buddhas.¹⁶ The five colors of the mirror come from

15. The Yujŏmsa edition (1824) of *Chosang kyŏng*. The five auspicious grasses, the five-wheel seed syllables, and the five canopies are missing in the Yongch'ŏnsa edition.

16. The Yujŏmsa edition (1824) of *Chosang kyŏng*. “五鏡 表五智 謂尊勝儀云 東方大圓鏡智 南方平等性智 西方妙觀察智 北方成所作智 中方方便究竟智 華嚴經中普賢入如來藏身三昧觀。” “Zunsheng yi” 尊勝儀 refers to the *Zunsheng fodong xiu yuqie fa yigui* 尊勝佛頂脩瑜伽法儀軌 translated into Chinese by Śubhakarasiṃha (637–735). The five kinds of wisdom respectively correspond to the wisdom of the Buddhas of the five directions in esoteric Buddhism. They are also viewed as a transformed form of the fifth consciousness (i.e. wisdom with unrestricted activity 成所作智), sixth consciousness (i.e. marvelous observing wisdom 妙觀察智), seventh consciousness (i.e. impartial wisdom 平等性智), eighth consciousness (i.e. great perfect mirror wisdom 大圓鏡智), and ninth consciousness (i.e. paramount wisdom with great skillful means 方便究竟智) in the Yogācāra doctrinal system.

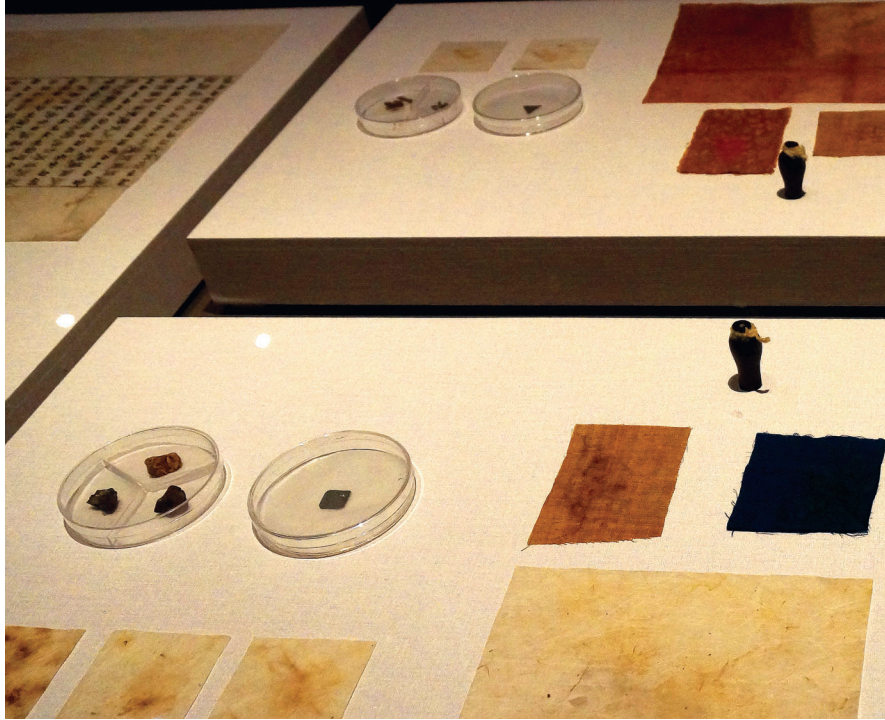


Fig. 3. Some of the five mirrors. Pyrites. 1.5 × 1.55 cm. Two among five-treasure bottles. Wood. H 4.3 cm. All found in a 13th-century Wooden Seated Avalokiteśvara in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. (The five mirrors were later enshrined inside the statue in the 15th century.) © National Museum of Korea.



Fig. 4. Some of the five treasure bottles. Discovered from inside a Seated Avalokiteśvara statue in the collection of National Museum of Korea. © National Museum of Korea.

traditional Chinese color symbolism, whereas the different shapes of each mirror appear to be a Korean invention. Instructions for installing the mirrors are as follows: After installing the relevant objects inside the throat-bell container, a mirror is placed outside of the container on each of the five directions. Then, parts of the five colored threads that are wrapped around the five treasure bottles (*obobyöng* 五寶瓶) in the throat-bell container are pulled outside the container. With the mirrors aligned with the five directions, the strings are tied to the container. In the case of the mirror in the center, it is put underneath the container. Afterwards, the container with the five mirrors is wrapped in a yellow cloth (*hwangch'o p'okcha* 黃納幅子). As the five mirrors symbolize the wisdom of the five directional Buddhas, they constitute a crucial *pokchang* item (table 3).

Table 3. Five Directional Mirrors: Shape, Color, and Symbolism

Direction	Corresponding Wisdom	Color	Shape	<i>Siddham</i> for Reward Body	<i>Siddham</i> for Transformation Body
East	Great Perfect Mirror Wisdom 大圓鏡智	Blue-Green	Square	<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>
West	Impartial Wisdom 平等性智	White	Circle	<i>rā</i>	<i>pa</i>
South	Marvelous Observing Wisdom 妙觀察智	Red	Triangle	<i>vā</i>	<i>ra</i>
North	Wisdom with Unrestricted Activity 成所作智	Black	Half-Moon	<i>hā</i>	<i>ca</i>
Center	Paramount Wisdom with Great Skillful Means 方便究竟智	Yellow	Circle/ Double-sided	<i>kbā</i>	<i>na</i>

This five-color scheme is also found in other groups of *pokchang* items.¹⁷ A flexible interpretation of colors is applied to the five grains, as there is no blue grain. However, the exact color code is applied to most of the item sets, including the five treasure bottles and five colored threads. A more liberal interpretation is made for the objects in the inner space. Although the five treasure bottles, which signify the abdomen, chest, mouth, forehead, and top of the Buddha's head, could have been inserted in the anatomically correct location, all the five treasure bottles are put together in the throat-bell container (fig. 4). These five treasure bottles symbolize the five viscera, and the throat-bell container functions as the heart and vocal chords. Since the container is considered the heart of the living image, it is wrapped with paper on which a *dhāraṇī* is printed and is installed in the middle of

17. For a study that compares the five directional colors of *pokchang* and the five directional colors of the Korean tradition, see Sim Yŏn-ok and Yi Sŏn-yong, "Pulbokchang ūi obangsaeck yŏn'gu," 87-103.

the statue's interior. This throat-bell container, thus, becomes the essence of the consecration ritual that enlivens the statue.

The five directional colors are based on the Chinese esoteric Buddhist paradigm, which correlates them with a corresponding *siddham* letter and particular form of wisdom of the five directional Buddhas. Therefore, the five mirrors that are placed in the eight-petaled container, which encases the throat-bell, should be inscribed with the five-wheel seed syllables and the *siddham* characters for the reward body and the transformation body. Mirrors appear at the beginning of the list in the "All the Objects to Be Enshrined in the Abdominal Storehouse" section of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, and they are the key objects forming the throat-bell container. Once inscribed with *siddham* characters, the mirrors become the embodiment of the reward body and the transformation body of the Buddha, and the *siddham* characters of these two Buddha bodies respectively transform into the entering-*siddhi* (*ipsilchi* 入悉地) and the producing-*siddhi* (*ch'ulsilchi* 出悉地).¹⁸ Lastly, the secret-*siddhi* (*pimilsilchi* 秘密悉地) is written on the five colored strings pulled out of the throat-hole (*bubyōl* 喉穴), the hole drilled in the lid of the throat bell container. Because it was practically impossible to write the secret-*siddhi* "on the string" as instructed in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, they were written on pieces of paper, which were then attached to the strings (fig. 5). In sum, the five mirrors and the *siddham* seed syllables written on five strings symbolize the three bodies (the reward body, the transformation body, and the

喉穴), the hole drilled in the lid of the throat bell container. Because it was practically impossible to write the secret-*siddhi* "on the string" as instructed in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, they were written on pieces of paper, which were then attached to the strings (fig. 5). In sum, the five mirrors and the *siddham* seed syllables written on five strings symbolize the three bodies (the reward body, the transformation body, and the



Fig. 5. The five-wheel seed syllables, the true-mind seed syllable, the producing-*siddhi*, and the entering-*siddhi*. Illustration from the Yujōmsa 楡岾寺 edition of the *Chosang kyōng*.

18. The spelling for the producing-*siddhi* is *a-ra-va-ca-na*. The producing-*siddhi* means the achievement of the transformation body, and "producing" (*ch'ul* 出) here means to arouse all the wisdom. The spell for the entering-*siddhi* consists of *ā-vā-rā-hā-khā*. This signifies the achievement of the reward body, and "entering" (*ip* 入) here means to enter the *dharmā*-realm (Ch. *fajie* 法界) of the Buddha. The secret-*siddhi*, which signifies the *dharma* body, consists of *ām-vām-rām-bām-khām*.



dharma body) of the five Buddhas. These three bodies, in turn, symbolize the perfect union among the entering-*siddhi*, the producing-*siddhi*, and the secret-*siddhi*. Consequently, these items are meant to manifest the cosmic principle that transcends our mundane realm. And yet, one might find this whole process paradoxical because it ultimately aims to visualize an invisible being and illustrate the realm of emptiness through tangible materials.

The Sacred and the Profane, Rituals and Mantras: Communication between Deities and Human Beings

Pokchang are not merely things installed inside a Buddhist statue, but votive objects that should be enshrined during a proper ritual. Through appropriate ritual steps items used as *pokchang* are transformed into sacred objects. Let us examine part of such a ritual process from the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious* (*Myogilsang taegyo wang kyōng* 妙吉祥大教王經) section of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. There is an intriguing passage from that section which states: “The eastern blue agate bottle signifies Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva. Thus, one should recite the Mantra of Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva 108 times.” Immediately after this passage we find the mantra of the bodhisattva. The list goes on as follows: The southern yellow jewel bottle signifies Ratnasambhava pāramitā Bodhisattva; the western red coral bottle signifies Padma pāramitā Bodhisattva; the northern green glass bottle is Karma pāramitā Bodhisattva; and the central white jewel bottle signifies Vajra mūla pāramitā Bodhisattva. Each list is accompanied by its own mantra.¹⁹ Other sets of *pokchang* items are also installed inside the statue accompanied by the recitation of relevant mantras. The *pokchang* ritual transforms these items into sacred objects that manifest the fundamental principle of the Buddhist cosmos.

A section titled “The Ritual of the *Pokchang* Altar for All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” (*Chebul pokchang tan ūsik* 諸佛腹藏壇儀式) in the Nūnggasa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* states: “A Maṇḍala is the unsurpassed reality that generates all the Buddhas, and these Buddhas, in turn, appear as a condition of the equality principle of the dharma realm.”²⁰ Here, the creation of the *pokchang* ritual altar is compared to a *maṇḍala*, and the *pokchang* ritual is connected to the process of giving birth to all Buddhas. As I explained earlier, this process is completed by enshrining the throat-bell container based on esoteric Buddhist

19. The Yujōmsa edition (1824) of *Chosang kyōng*. This account of the five treasure bottles in the Yujōmsa edition is found in the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching of Visualization Methods Which Are Auspicious, Universal, Secret, and Superlative* (Ch. *Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen dajiaowang jing* 妙吉祥平等秘密最上觀門大教王經).

20. See the Nūnggasa edition (1697) of *Chosang kyōng*: “太一經云 曼陀羅者 發生諸佛 極無比義 諸佛依此 一味法界.” The *Taiyi jing* 太一經 could be a Daoist text, but the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtra on the Production of Buddhist Images* identifies this text as the *Dari jing*. However, curiously, this passage does not appear in the *Dari jing*.





conceptualizations. The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* further explains other five groups of votive items such as the five bottles, the five medicines, and the five treasures, pairing each item with a specific Buddha or a bodhisattva. Installing these items inside a statue, the ritual performer should visualize the relevant Buddha or bodhisattva and recite the corresponding mantra. All of this suggests that the consecrated throat-bell container itself becomes a *maṇḍala*.

The sacred mantras allow the individual *pokchang* items to become sacralized. The recitation of mantras is accompanied by other ritual acts such as the sprinkling of sacred water.²¹ Performing the correct ritual protocols ensures secure communication between the material and divine realms, and transforms the meaninglessness of the mundane world into the meaningfulness of the formless world. It is rituals that mediate between the Buddha and worldly beings. In this sense, the Korean *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* can be deemed a ritual manual for divine communication.

The late Chosŏn period witnessed frequent performances of ceremonies for the deceased (*ch'ōndo chae* 遷度齋) due to the large number of deaths caused by the Japanese and Qing invasions. It was also the time when Buddhist temples, statues, and paintings that had been destroyed were restored on a large scale. Compared to the early Chosŏn period when performing Buddhist rituals was strictly regulated, Buddhist rituals and devotional activities were more welcomed and frequently practiced at this time. A number of ritual manuals for the *ch'ōndo chae* ceremony and the Vulture Peak ceremony (Yōngsan chae 靈山齋) were published, and these manuals standardized the performance of the rituals.²² Ritual standardization was necessary to ensure ritual efficacy. In this milieu, a variety of rituals were practiced, and ritual manuals and *dhāraṇī* sheets were reprinted.²³

Prefaces to these reprinted texts allow us to see the motives behind their production. For instance, “the Preface to the Reissued *Chosang kyōng*” (*Chung'gan Chosang kyōng sŏ* 重刊造像經序) in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* explains the reason for its republication as follows: “The [previous edition] of the sūtra has been badly damaged. Also, mantras in the sūtra contained errors in the transliteration and in the transcription, which made it difficult for non-specialists.”²⁴ The

21. The Korean *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* instructs one to chant mantras while performing a consecration ritual or sprinkling pure water.

22. For a study of the publication and circulation of esoteric Buddhist *sūtras*, and the anthologies of mantras from the Chosŏn period, see U Chin-ung (Woo Jin-Woong) 禹秦雄, “Chosŏn sidae Milgyo kyōngjŏn ūi kanhaeng e taehan yŏn'gu” 朝鮮時代 密教經典의 刊行에 대한 연구, *Sŏjibak yŏn'gu* 49 (2011): 235–73.

23. As for the publication of *dhāraṇī sutras* during the Chosŏn period, 25 kinds were published in the fifteenth century, 21 in the sixteenth century, 19 in the seventeenth century, and 16 in the eighteenth century. As for ritual manuals, 20 kinds were published in the fifteenth century, 78 in the sixteenth century, 114 in the seventeenth century, and 49 in the eighteenth century. Although the number of the *dhāraṇī* texts produced is relatively small compared to that of the ritual manuals, considering the inclusion of *dhāraṇī* in these manual texts, the number is still significant. See U Chin-ung, “Chosŏn sidae Milgyo kyōngjŏn ūi kanhaeng e taehan yŏn'gu,” 255.

24. T'aegyŏng sūnim, *Chosang kyōng*, 110–11.



Buddhist monk, Myōngan 明眼, who wrote the preface to *The Revised Compilation of the Siddham Pronunciations Used for the Ritual of All Beings of Heaven and Earth, This World, the Netherworld, Water, and Land* (*Ch'ōnji myōngyang suryuk cheüi pōmūm sanbo chip* 天地冥陽水陸齋儀梵音刪補集), mentions that the publication of that compilation was meant to correct the mispronunciation of Sanskrit syllables and to align important ritual manuals for Buddhist *pōmp'ae* 梵唄 music, or the verses sung in praise of the Buddha.²⁵ The purpose of correcting Sanskrit pronunciations was to ensure correct communication between the Buddha and the ritual performer. In other words, the success of a ritual is dependent on the knowledge of the exact pairing between the script and the sound. When the signifier fails to be matched with the signified, the proper result cannot be achieved. The reproduction of ritual manuals and *dhāraṇī* texts during the late Chosōn was aimed at ensuring the accurate practice of rituals and knowledge of the correct recitation methods of Sanskrit letters and mantras. The semantic value of the Sanskrit *siddham* is established only when it is recited in ritual or when written correctly.²⁶ During the Koryō period, with direct influence from Indian and Tibetan Buddhist monks, there must have been more people well versed in *siddham*. However, in the late Chosōn period, these *siddham* letters were exclusively used among a small group of Buddhist monks. As these letters are designed for a special ritual purpose, one had to follow the exact pronunciation according to proper ritual protocol. When it comes to the *pokchang* ritual, the correct writing of the *siddham* characters is required to ensure the successful animation of the ritual objects.

The printed *dhāraṇī* prints used to wrap the throat-bell container also require our analysis. These single-page *dhāraṇī* sheets printed from a woodblock with cinnabar ink usually do not have bibliographical information, donor names, or publication date. Although these prints have not received much academic attention so far, I believe that they could provide us with significant information given the importance of the *dhāraṇī* in the *pokchang* ritual.²⁷ These prints are mostly written in *siddham* script, but in some cases classical Chinese or Korean letters are written next to the *siddham* script. These prints include the *Mantra for the Great Heroic Valor* (*Taebulchōng sunūngōm sinju* 大佛頂首楞嚴神呪), the five-wheel seed syllables, the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* (*Pohyōbin tarani* 寶篋印陀羅尼, also known as *Pohyōp chinōn* 寶篋真言), and the *Six-syllable Mantra of the Vidyārsāja* (*Yukcha taemyōng'wang chinōn* 六字大明王真言). When mentioning these mantras and *dhāraṇīs*, the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* usually explains where and how to use them. One section instructs the dharma master to recite a particular mantra 108

25. Yi Ki-un (Lee Ki Woon) 이기운, “Chosōn hugi Suryukchae üi sōrhaeng kwa *Ch'ōnji myōngyang suryuk cheüi pōmūm sanbo chip* üi p'yōnch'an üido” 조선후기 수록재의 설행과 天地冥陽水陸齋儀梵音刪補集의 편찬 의도, *Pulgyo hakpo* 73 (2015): 165–94 and 185–86.

26. In rare cases, *siddham* letters themselves were used for the visualization as a type of esoteric Buddhist practice. See Cho Kūm-ja (Cho Geum-ja) 조금자, “Pulsang kwa Milgyo suhaengbōp üi hyōngsōng” 불상과 밀교 수행법의 형성, *Hoedang hakpo* 18 (2013): 477–78.

27. An Chu-ho (Ahn Joohoh) 안주호, “Pulbokchang munhōn charyo üi p'yogi yangsang yōn'gu” 佛腹藏 문헌자료의 표기 양상 연구, *Ōmunhak* 어문학 88 (2005): 29–52.

times or inscribe it on a specific *pokchang* item.²⁸ Further research on these *dhāraṇī* prints is necessary, but it is highly possible that they are either involved with the performance of *pokchang* ritual or the most popular *dhāraṇī* were chosen to print on the yellow cloth used to wrap the throat-bell container.

Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal and the Completion of the Pokchang

Several kinds of *pokchang* items, such as Buddhist texts, woodblock prints, cloth, and silk also function as the filler for the remaining space inside a statue. Among these objects, I would like to focus on the inscriptions of the aforementioned *dhāraṇī* known as the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* (fig. 6).²⁹



Fig. 6. Mandalic image of the *Mantra of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas* (also known as the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal*). Print. Found in the Seated Amitābha at Suguksa 守國寺. Koryŏ, dated 1239.

28. An Chu-ho, “Pulbokchang munhŏn charyo ūi p’yogi yangsang yŏn’gu,” 32. Also, the *Lengyan zhou* 楞嚴呪, the three *siddhis* (Ch. *san xidi* 三悉地), and the five-wheel seed syllables are found in *pokchang*.

29. Its full name is the *Mantra of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-body Relic of All Tathāgatas* (Ch. *Yiqie rulai quanshen sheli baoqie zhenyan* 一切如來全身舍利寶篋真言).

Multiple sheets of this single-page *dhāraṇī*, composed in *siddham* letters and printed with cinnabar ink, are often found entangled in the *pokchang* deposit. Dozens of these *dhāraṇī* prints were found during research conducted on two Buddhist statues at Samgyōngsa 三暎寺 (established in 1954)³⁰ in Chōnju City 全州市, South Korea in 2003.³¹ Among the two statues, the smaller one contained a prayer text and a silver cylinder-shaped throat-bell container (h. 8.2 cm). According to the prayer text, Pöpchong 法宗, a monk sculptor, carved this wooden Amitābha Buddha statue in 1708 as an offering to a hall named Hasōjōn 下西殿 at an unknown temple. The outside of the throat-bell container was wrapped with five colored strings and two different shapes of mirror—a half-moon shape and a triangular shape. Inside of the container, the five treasure bottles made of five colored cloth were discovered, and these cloth-bottles were also wrapped with five colored strings.³² As shown in this case, a throat-bell container and the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* are often found together. A large quantity of the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* prints were also found inside the wooden statue of Avalokiteśvara (completed in 1649) at Puramsa 佛巖寺 located in Namyangju, South Korea (fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Seated Avalokiteśvara at Puramsa 佛巖寺, Namyangju-si. Wood. H 55 cm, Width between knees, 35.4 cm. Chosōn, dated 1649.

The “All the Objects to Be Enshrined in the Abdominal Storehouse” section (*Pokchang so’ip chesaek* 腹藏所入諸色) in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* instructs that one should put the five mirrors in a throat-bell container and write the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* on white silk with golden ink (fig. 8).



Fig. 8. *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal*. Print. Found in Wooden Seated Avalokiteśvara at Puramsa, Namyangju-si. Dated before 1649.

30. It is presumed that these two Buddhist statues at Samgyōngsa have been purchased or brought from another monastery.

31. Ch’oe In-sōn (Choi In Sun) 최인선, “Chōnju Samgyōngsa mokcho bulsang 2 ku wa pokchangmul” 全州 三暎寺 木造佛像 2軀와 腹藏物, *Munhwa sabak* 21 (2004): 85–73.

32. Ch’oe In-sōn, “Chōnju Samgyōngsa mokcho bulsang 2 ku wa pokchangmul,” 85–62.

The text also states that the five-wheel seed syllables should be written on five wheels (*ryun* 輪) made of raw silk in five different colors. Then, these five wheels are glued to the container in line with the correct direction, and the outer surface of the container is inscribed with the *Spells of the Four Directions* (*Sabang chu* 四方呪). Some have suggested that the inclusion of the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* was meant to protect the enshrined items. However, I argue that it would be more useful to think about the reasoning in terms of a whole-body relic.³³ In the *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Seal on the Jewel Casket of the Secret Whole-Body Relic of the Essence of All Tathāgatas* (Ch. *Yiqie rulaixin mimi quanshen sheli baoqieyin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經), which is the source of the *dhāraṇī*, there is a passage in which the Buddha tells Vajrapāṇi that: “The bodily relics (Ch. *shen sheli* 身舍利) of all Tathāgatas—the past, present, and future Buddhas—reside in the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal*. The three bodies of Tathāgatas are all contained in it.”³⁴ According to this explanation, the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* contains all the relics of the past, present, and future Buddhas. Relics are material evidence of the enlightenment and the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. In other words, relics are equal to the attainment of ultimate wisdom. A Śākyamuni stūpa from the Liao 遼 dynasty (916–1125), currently located in Balin Right Banner 巴林右旗 in the city of Chifeng 赤峰, Inner Mongolia, has the inscription, “whole-body relics” (Ch. *quanshen sheli* 全身舍利).³⁵ This inscription suggests that the concept of whole-body relics developed in the Wuyue kingdom (907–78) in Southern China and Liao since the 10th century when the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* became popular. Also, copies of the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* have been found inside of some Liao pagodas decorated with reliefs of the Eight Great Stūpas (Ch. *Bada lingta* 八大靈塔) and the four directional Buddhas from esoteric Buddhism, which exhibits a similar idea that can be compared with that of a throat-bell container from Korea. These examples further suggest that the conceptual equation between the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* and the whole-body relics can be traced back to the Liao period.

While the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* expresses the temporal structure of the whole-body relics of the Buddhas of the past, present, and future, the idea of the three bodies of the Buddhas is found in the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section from the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Among the three *siddhis*, the secret-*siddhi* surpasses the power of the other two *siddhis*. According to the *Manual of Mantras of the Three Siddhis Out of the Secret Results of the Three Bodies for the Destruction of Hell, the Transformation of Karmic Hindrances, and the Liberation from the Three Conditioned Worlds* (Ch. *Foding zunsheng xin po diyu zhuanyezhang chu sanjie mimi sanshen fogue sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界祕密三身佛果三種悉地眞言儀軌), the merit of reciting the supreme-*siddhi*

33. An Chu-ho, “Pulbokchang munhōn charyo ūi p’yogi yangsang yōn’gu,” 31.

34. For the cited passage, see *Yiqie rulaixin mimi quanshen sheli baoqieyin tuoluoni jing* 一切如來心祕密全身舍利寶篋印陀羅尼經, T 1022, 19:711.

35. The concept of the whole-body relic is borrowed from Hsueh-Man Shen’s study. See Hsueh-Man Shen, “Realizing the Buddha’s Dharma Body during the Mofa Period: A Study of Liao Buddhist Relic Deposits,” *Artibus Asiae* 61, no. 2 (2001): 263–303.



(Ch. *suxidi* 蘇悉地) just once, which is none other than the secret-*siddhi*, equals reciting all other Buddhist scriptures one million times. It further compares each *siddhi* to the body of the Buddha: the secret-*siddhi* accords with the section from the top of the Buddha's head to the heart, meaning the attainment of the dharma body;³⁶ the entering-*siddhi* corresponds with the section from the heart to the navel, meaning the attainment of the reward body; and the producing-*siddhi* coincides with the section from the waist to the feet, the attainment of the transformation body.³⁷ The aforementioned "Commentary on the Three *Siddhis* Altar" instructs how these *siddhis* should be used during the *pokchang* ritual: for the dharma body the secret-*siddhi*, "am-vām-rām-hām-khām" is recited; for the reward body the entering-*siddhi*, "ā-vā-rā-hā-khā" is recited; and lastly for the transformation body the producing-*siddhi*, "a-ra-va-ca-na" is recited. The seed syllables of the secret-*siddhi* are the five-wheel syllables that are explained to be seed letters of the dharma body, and these letters are written on the five colored threads, and then pulled out of the throat-bell container, which completes the process. In short, the whole ritual results in the creation of the origin of all Buddhas by combining the two sets of three Buddhas: 1) the three bodies of the Buddha manifested in the construction of the throat-bell container and *pokchang* deposit, and 2) the Buddhas of the past, present, and future, contained in the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal*.



Conclusion



A simple preparation of the items explained in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* does not guarantee the success of the *pokchang* ritual. Rather, the correct recitation of *dhāraṇīs* and the correct writing of seed syllables according to proper ritual procedures are what ensures its success. In conclusion, three points can be summarized for the *pokchang* ritual of the late Chosŏn period. First, the cosmology of esoteric Buddhism is reflected in all the items installed inside a throat-bell container organized in the five groupings of objects, the eight-petaled container, and the five mirrors symbolizing the Buddha's five kinds of wisdom. Second, the inscription of the five-wheel seed syllables from the throat-bell container and the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* enshrined in the *pokchang* deposit symbolize the whole-body relics of the Buddha, which transcend the three bodies of the Buddha, as well as the Buddhas of the past, present, and future. The whole-body relics surpass other relics of the Buddha, such as his teachings, and they are equal to the combination of the bodily relics of all Buddhas. Consequently, the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* becomes the result of the Buddha's nirvana, and the throat-bell container symbolizes the Buddha-mother or the begetter of all Buddhas. Third, the

36. *Foding zunsheng xin po diyu zhuang yezhang chu sanjie mimi sanshen fogua sanzong xidi zhenyan yigui* 佛頂尊勝心破地獄轉業障出三界祕密三身佛果三種悉地真言儀軌, T 906, 18:913.

37. *Ibid.* "萬事通用是名出悉地 能生根莖遍滿四方 誦一遍如轉藏經一百遍 出悉地從足至腰阿微羅昨佉 大日如來真言中品悉地是名入悉地能生枝葉 又入悉地者從齊至心 遍滿四方光明晃曜 入佛法界名入悉地 若誦一遍如轉藏經一千遍。"



correct performance of the rite of the altar for the three-*siddhi*, performed as part of the *pokchang* ritual, is required to transform those *pokchang* items into sacred things that represent the entire Buddhist cosmology. The key to the *pokchang* ritual is the creation of a sacred being through the combination of a statue, various enshrined objects, *dhāraṇī*, and seed syllables.

This symbolic “birth” of a Buddhist statue brings into being a divine manifestation of the ultimate being. This manifestation can be in the form of different Buddhas such as Śākyamuni, Amitabha, and Vairocana, or of bodhisattvas. And yet, regardless of their individual materiality and iconography, carefully arranged and ritually combined materials can become the Buddha. Through the whole-body relics of the Buddhas of the three times and the seed syllables of the three bodies of the Buddha, *pokchang* objects are turned into the origin of the life of all Buddhas who manifest the reality of the dharma-realm, or the entire cosmos.

Keywords: *Pokchang*, Chosŏn, *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images (Chosang kyŏng)*, Whole-body relics, *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal*, Esoteric Buddhism, Three Bodies of the Buddha, the Buddhas of the Three Times.



CHANGES IN THE INSTALLATION OF *POKCHANG* AND THROAT-BELL CONTAINERS IN BUDDHIST PAINTINGS OF THE LATE CHOSŌN PERIOD*

LEE Yongyun

Cet article examine l'emplacement de l'installation du « contenant en forme de clochette dans la gorge » (huryōng t'ong 喉鈴筒) afin de comprendre les caractéristiques et les changements du rituel de la cache ventrale (pokchang 腹藏) dans le cas des peintures bouddhiques. Les modifications de l'espace d'installation du contenant sont systématiquement liées à la variation des formats de montage des peintures bouddhiques. Au cours des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles, les peintures bouddhiques étaient montées comme des rouleaux suspendus, cependant à partir de la fin du XVIII^e siècle, l'encadrement devint le style de montage prédominant. Cette transition a induit un déplacement de l'emplacement de la cache ventrale. En conséquence, le contenant en forme de clochette, qui avait été inséré dans la poche de la cache ventrale, accroché sur la partie supérieure avant de la peinture, a été déplacé à l'arrière de la peinture. Ce changement dans l'espace de l'installation a également influencé la forme du contenant. La poche de la cache ventrale renfermait un contenant cylindrique de forme similaire à celle utilisée pour la cache ventrale des statues bouddhiques. Déplacé à l'arrière de la peinture, le contenant en forme de clochette s'est transformé en un objet plat et carré de manière à épouser la forme du nouvel espace d'installation. À partir de la fin du XVIII^e siècle, l'utilisation du contenant carré s'est généralisée. Ceci est attesté dans la phrase suivante : « Le contenant cylindrique en forme de clochette est utilisé pour les statues bouddhiques, tandis que le contenant carré est utilisé pour les peintures bouddhiques », issue du Chosang kyōng 造像經 (Sutra sur la production d'images bouddhiques) de l'édition du monastère Yujōm 楡岾寺, publiée en 1824.

*Conformément à cette nouvelle forme du contenant, les objets insérés à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de ce dernier ainsi que la séquence d'installation de ces objets ont été progressivement modifiés. À la fin du XVIII^e et au début du XIX^e siècles, le contenant carré est devenu la forme standard pour les peintures bouddhiques. Simultanément, le couvercle à huit pétales du contenant a évolué pour devenir le P'aryōp tae hongnyōn chi to 八葉大紅蓮之圖 (Diagramme du grand lotus rouge à huit pétales) qui était associé au Yōl kūmgang chibang chi to 列金剛地方之圖 (Diagramme de la terre carrée de la disposition des diamants) et au Chunje kuja ch'ōnwōn chi to 准提九字天圓之圖 (Diagramme du ciel circulaire comprenant les neuf lettres de Cundī). Ces deux derniers diagrammes placés à l'extérieur du contenant ont été influencés par la Pimil kaegan chip 秘密開刊集 (Première publication de la Collection des enseignements ésotériques) publiée en 1784. Ces changements apportés à la forme du contenant et de la cache ventrale sont devenus la norme pour le rituel de la cache ventrale jusqu'à nos jours**.*

* Translated into English by Soyeon Kim.

** Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.





Introduction

Buddhist monasteries perform a consecration ritual for a newly made Buddha statue, known as *pokchang* 腹藏, to transform it into a legitimate object of worship. Essential to the Korean *pokchang*, a complex ritual consisting of myriad steps, is a rite of consecrating various objects and inserting them in the throat-bell container (*buryōng t'ong* 喉鈴筒), which forms the core of the entire *pokchang* deposit. The ritual ends when the throat-bell container, now inserted with consecrated objects and enveloped in a “yellow silk wrapper” (*hwangch'o p'okcha* 黃絹幅子), is installed inside a Buddhist statue or placed on a painting.¹ Since the 1960s, when a growing number of objects began to be discovered inside Buddhist statues, the practice of installing *pokchang*, which had always been transmitted secretly in monasteries, began to receive scholarly attention.² Art historians have subsequently analyzed the date, sculptors, and style of Buddhist statues based on the dedicatory inscriptions found in the statues' *pokchang*. Meanwhile, bibliographers have studied the publication and circulation of *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs* enshrined as *pokchang*. In the field of costume history, the types of inserted costumes, their textile weaves, and their patterns have primarily been explored. Thanks to the translation of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyōng* 造像經) into modern Korean and the unveiling of the

1. For reports on the *pokchang* ritual, see Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso 불교문화재연구소, ed., *Pulbokchang üsik hyōnhwang chosa pogosō* 불복장의식 현황조사보고서 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo Chogyejong, 2012), and Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso, ed., *Chōnt'ong pulbokchang üsik mit chōman üsik* 전통 불복장의식 및 점안의식 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo chōnt'ong pulbokchang mit chōman üsik pojonhoe, 2014).

2. The discoveries of objects enshrined in Buddhist statues have been reported in Korea since the 1960s. From then on, a considerable number of studies on the subject appeared. See Min Yōng-gyu 閔泳珪, “Changgoksa Koryō ch'ōlbul pokchang yumul” 長谷寺 高麗鐵佛 腹藏遺物, *Inmun kwahak* 人文科學 14-15 (1966): 237-47; Ch'ōn Hye-bong 千惠鳳, “Pongnimsa mokcho yōrae chwasang üi pokchang chōnjōk” 鳳林寺 木造如來坐像의 腹藏典籍, *Sōjihak* 書誌學 7 (1972): 5-27; Kang In-gu 姜仁求, “Sōsan Munsusa kümdong yōrae chwasang pokchang yumul” 瑞山 文殊寺 金銅如來坐像腹藏遺物, *Misul charyo* 美術資料 18 (1975): 1-18; Hō Hūng-sik 許興植, “1322 nyōn saeroun pokchangmul” 1322년 새로운 복장물, *Munhwajae* 文化財 19 (1988): 46-58. For the *pokchang* deposits yielded from Buddhist statues of the early Chosōn, see Mun Myōng-dae 文明大, “Hongsōng Kosansa pulsang üi pokchang chosa” 洪城高山寺佛像의 腹藏調査, *Kogo misul* 考古美術 9, no. 1 (1968): 366-67; Chōng Yōng-ho 鄭永鎬, “Changyuksa posal chwasang kwa kü pokchang parwōnmun” 莊陸寺菩薩坐像과 그 腹藏發願文, *Misulabak yōn'gu* 美術史學研究 128 (1975): 2-4; Hong Yun-sik 洪潤植, “Chosōn ch'ogi Sangwōnsa Munsu tongja sang e taehayō” 朝鮮初期 上院寺 文殊童子像에 대하여, *Misulabak yōn'gu* 164 (1984): 9-22; An Pyōng-ch'an 安秉燦, “T'ongdosa sojang kūmunje Amit'a samjon pulsang üi pokchangmul chosa” 通度寺 소장 金銀製阿彌陀三尊佛像의 腹藏物 調査, *Pulgyo misulabak* 불교미술사학 3 (2005): 256-65. The articles and reports examining the *pokchang* items yielded by Buddhist statues of the late Chosōn period have been mostly published since the 2000s, see Hong Sa-jun 洪思俊, “Hongsan Muryangsa Küngnakchōn palgyōn chujon pokchang yumul” 鴻山 無量寺 극락전 발견 주존복장유물, *Misul charyo* 19 (1976): 29-31; Ch'oe Mong-ryong 崔夢龍, “Wando Kwanūmsa mokcho yōraesang kwa pokchang yumul” 莞島觀音寺 木造如來像과 腹藏遺物, *Misul charyo* 20 (1977): 97-109; Chang Ch'ung-sik 張忠植, “Kyōngt'ae 7 nyōn pulsang pokchangp'um e taehayō” 景泰七年 佛像腹藏品에 대하여, *Misulabak yōn'gu* 138-39 (1978): 42-50.





pokchang ritual to the public, recent years have witnessed increasing scholarly interest in the religious significance and function of the *pokchang*. The characteristics and historical evolution of the *pokchang* ritual within the broader context of East Asia have also become a subject of study, expanding on previous single-subject studies.³ However, this type of research has addressed only the *pokchang* of Buddhist statues, whereas the *pokchang* used for Buddhist paintings have attracted far less attention.⁴

The only textual reference to the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings known to date is found in the Yujömsa 楡岾寺 edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (1824), which notes: “The cylindrical throat-bell container is used for Buddhist statues, while the square one (*pangt’ong* 方筒) is for Buddhist paintings.” That phrase is, however, absent from the earlier Yongch’önsa 龍泉寺 (1575), Nüggasa 楞伽寺 (1679), Hwajangsa 華藏寺 (1720), and Kimnyongsa 金龍寺 (1746) editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. In addition to detailing the form of the throat-bell container, the Yujömsa edition provides somewhat more information about the *pokchang* than previous editions. For example, the name of the container that had previously been described as an “eight-petaled container” (*p’aryöp t’ong* 八葉筒) or an “eight-petaled throat-bell container” (*p’aryöp huröng t’ong* 八葉喉鈴筒) was fixed as “throat-bell container” in the Yujömsa edition; and the objects to be enshrined in the container were specified as “seven *śarīra* grains, a *śarīra* reliquary, and a throat-bell container,” whereas previous editions had only listed “seven *śarīra* grains” with further explanations on them. Moreover, the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* (*Yölgümgang chibang chi to* 列金剛地方之圖, hereafter *Diagram of Square Earth*), the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals* (*P’aryöp tae hongnyön chi to* 八葉大紅蓮之圖), and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* (*Chunje kuja ch’önwön chi to* 准提九字天圓之圖, hereafter *Diagram of Round Heaven of Cundī*) were newly included as items to be placed outside of the throat-bell container. In short, the Yujömsa edition indicates that different forms of throat-bell containers were to be used for

3. T’aegyöng sūnim 泰吳스님, *Chosang kyöng: Pulbokchang üi chölc’h’a wa kü soge tamgin sasang* 造像經: 佛腹藏의 節次와 그 속에 담긴 思想 (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006); T’aegyöng, ed., *Pulbokchang e saegyöjin üimi* 佛腹藏에 새겨진 의미 (Seoul: Yangsajae, 2008). For studies of the function and origin of the *pokchang*, see Yi Sön-yong (Lee Seonyong) 李宣鎔, “Pulbokchangmul kusöng hyöngsik e kwanhan yön’gu” 佛腹藏物 구성형식에 관한 연구, *Misulsabak yön’gu* 261 (2009): 77–104; Yi Süng-hye (Lee Seunghye) 李勝慧, “Pulsang üi söngmul pongan: Chaengchöm kwa kwaje” 불상의 聖物 봉안: 정점과 과제, *Chöngshinmunbwa yön’gu* 정신문화연구 38 (2015): 31–62; Yi Süng-hye (Lee Seunghye), “Koryö sidae pulbokchang üi hyöngsöng kwa üimi” 高麗時代 佛腹藏의 形成과 意味, *Misulsabak yön’gu* 285 (2015): 71–100; Chöng Ūn-u (Jeong Eunwoo) 鄭恩雨, “Koryö sidae pulbokchang üi t’ükching kwa hyöngsöng paegyöng” 고려시대 불복장의 특징과 형성배경, *Misulsabak yön’gu* 286 (2015): 31–58.

4. For studies on the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings, see Yi Yöng-suk (Lee Youngsook) 李英淑, “Sönamsa kwaebul kwa pokchangnang e kwanhan koch’al” 仙巖寺 掛佛과 腹藏囊에 관한 考察, *Munhuasabak* 文化史學 21 (2004): 875–901; Yi Chong-su 李宗洙, “Ch’öngdong pokchang nang üi sillye: Parwönmun naeyong üil chungsim üro” 靑銅腹藏囊의 新例: 發願文 내용을 중심으로, *Misul charyo* 69 (2003): 133–42; and Yi Sön-yong (Lee Seonyong), “Purhwa e kiroktoen pömja wa chinön e kwanhan koch’al” 불화에 기록된 범자와 진언에 관한 고찰, *Misulsabak yön’gu* 278 (2013): 125–62.



statues and for paintings. It also suggests a more complicated ritual process and provides a list of the contents to be enshrined in the throat-bell container. This implies that there was no difference between the form of throat-bell container and enshrined objects for Buddhist statues and those for Buddhist paintings before the publication of the Yujōmsa edition.

A survey of Buddhist paintings housed in temples across South Korea has revealed that two different types of *pokchang* assemblages were used concurrently from the late 18th century onward: first, a pouch made of fabric (*pokchang nang* 腹藏囊) that contains a throat-bell container and the second, a throat-bell container installed independently of a *pokchang* pouch. This paper examines how the changing mounting format of Buddhist paintings in turn affected the form of throat-bell containers and influenced the increase of other items that make up the *pokchang* assemblage. The throat-bell container for Buddhist paintings was traditionally placed inside a *pokchang* pouch hung on the upper part of the painting, or behind it. The shift from a hanging scroll to a frame, I argue, led to a modification of the contents inserted in the throat-bell container, as well as the form of the container itself. This paper explores the relationship between mounting formats and the locations where the *pokchang* was installed and investigates how the changes in the form of throat-bell container, the *mantras* and objects inserted in it, and the physical features of installation spaces—which are closely intertwined—were connected to the *pokchang* ritual manuals published during the Chosŏn 朝鮮 period.

The Mounting of Buddhist Paintings and the Installation of *Pokchang*

When people think of the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings, they generally recall the *pokchang* pouch hung on the upper center of a painting or a square throat-bell container (fig. 1). Although it is not clear when the installing of *pokchang* on Buddhist paintings began, *pokchang* may have been placed on paintings since the Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) period. The *Descent of Amitābha*, which was painted in the late Koryŏ period and is now in the collection of Shōbōji 正法寺 in Japan, suggests that the *pokchang* ritual was performed for Buddhist paintings at that time. In the process of repairing this painting, a sheet of *dhāraṇī* was discovered on its reverse. This sheet, affixed between the chest and abdomen of the Buddha, shows a *dhāraṇī* in Siddham script arranged in a circle (*pōmja wŏn'gwŏn tarani* 梵字圓圈陀羅尼). It is precisely the type that is also often yielded from the *pokchang* deposits of Koryŏ Buddhist statues.⁵ Although it was not encased in a throat-bell container, the fact that this *dhāraṇī*, which has the majestic power of the dharma-body of the Buddha,

5. Pak Ŭn-gyŏng 朴銀卿, “Koryŏ purhwa ūi pyŏnjuk: Ponji, hwap’ok kŭrigo pongan e taehan siron” 高麗佛畫의 변죽: 本地, 畫幅 그리고 奉安에 대한 試論, *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 34 (2012): 49–51; Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong), “Purhwa e kiroktoen pōmja wa chinŏn e kwanhan koch'al,” 128.

was placed between the chest and abdomen of the Buddha image, suggests that a religious practice to consecrate the painting was performed when it was produced.⁶



Fig. 1. (Left) *Pokchang* pouch from the banner painting of Namjangsa. Silk, paper, and mixed mediums. 78 × 63 cm. Dated 1783. Namjangsa, Sangju City, North Kyöngsang Province. Photograph by the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage. (Right) Throat-bell container from the *King Yama* of T'ongdosa. Silk and paper. 9.6 × 8.9 × 1.8 cm. Dated 1864. T'ongdosa Museum, Yangsan City, South Kyöngsang Province. Photograph by the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage.

6. The “Interpretation on the Characters *om*, *a*, and *būm*” (*Om a būm ūibae* 唵啊吽義解) part in the “Commentary of the Three Siddhis Altar” (*Sam silchidan sōk* 三悉地壇釋) section of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* asserts that “as for the Siddham letters, each and every letter is a relic” 梵字者 字字點點 皆舍利也 and provides the doctrinal interpretation of a series of Siddham letters to be inscribed on the body of the Buddha. Also, the “Commentary of the Three Siddhis Altar” section explains how *dhāraṇī* relates to the three bodies of the Buddha. The relevant passage reads: “The exiting-*siddhi* corresponds to the part from feet to waist; entering-*siddhi* corresponds to the part from navel to heart; and the secret-*siddhi* corresponds to the part from heart to the crown of the head. The exiting-*siddhi* is the achievement of the manifestation body; the entering-*siddhi* is the achievement of the reward body; and the secret-*siddhi* and *susiddhi* are the achievement of the dharma body” 出悉地從足至腰 入悉地從臍至心 秘密悉地從心至頂 如是三悉地 出悉地化身成就 入悉地報身成就 秘密悉地蘇悉地法身成就.

It has long been assumed that the *pokchang* pouch and the square throat-bell container are not clearly distinguishable and are therefore equivalent. However, they differ in terms of the location where they were installed on a painting and the time period during which they were widely used. The *pokchang* pouch hung on the upper part of the painting's obverse was prevalent throughout the late Chosŏn period. Meanwhile, the square throat-bell container, which was installed independently of a *pokchang* pouch, began to appear in the late 18th century and thereafter became another form for the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings. It is not clear whether the *pokchang* pouch had existed since the Koryŏ period or not, but visual and textual evidence from Korean Buddhist paintings shows that it has been used since the early Chosŏn period at the latest.⁷ For example, an image of the *pokchang* pouch is painted on the upper center of the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell* (1586) in the collection of Kokubunji 國分寺 and the *Nectar* (1589) in the collection of Yakusenji 藥仙寺. Their shape and position are the same as the actual *pokchang* pouches hung on late Chosŏn Buddhist paintings (fig. 2).⁸ In addition to the painted *pokchang* pouch, the *Sākyamuni Buddha* (1565) in the Burke Collection and the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha* (1565) in the National Museum of Korea are inscribed as having had their “eyes dotted in accordance with the method” (*üiböp chöman* 依法點眼), a phrase that recalls the consecration ritual of a Buddha statue.⁹ The “eye-dotting” is a rite that immediately follows the rite of installing *pokchang* objects proper in the Korean consecration ritual for a newly made Buddhist statue or painting. Given that this sequence is also attested in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, the phrase implies a specific connection between the two ritual steps in the Korean Buddhist tradition. The painted *pokchang* pouches and inscriptions highly suggest that the *pokchang* ritual was held and that *pokchang* objects were installed on Buddhist paintings during the early Chosŏn period although there are no extant examples.

7. The *pokchang* deposits of the seated gilt-bronze Amitābha Buddha of Taesūngsa 大乘寺 (datable to between 1301 and 1302), the seated gilt-bronze Amitābha Buddha of Munsusa 文殊寺 (1346), and the seated gilt-bronze Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha of Changgoksa 長谷寺 (1346) yielded incense pouches or silk pouches containing five types of incense. Given these examples, the pouches inserted within statues as part of the *pokchang* deposits seem to have a connection to the practice of using a pouch to install a throat-bell container for a Buddhist painting.

8. Besides the *pokchang* pouches drawn in the upper part of Buddhist paintings, the appearance of terms like “bright mirror” (*myōnggyōng* 明鏡) and “silk pouch” in the dedicatory inscription of the *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (1582) in the collection of Tanjōji 誕生寺 recall the hanging of a *pokchang* pouch and a bronze mirror together. Pak Ūn-gyōng, “Koryŏ purhwa ūi pyōnjuk,” 52; Pak Ūn-gyōng, *Chosŏn chŏn'gi purhwa yŏn'gu* 조선 전기 불화 연구 (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2008), 458–66.

9. The phrase “eyes dotted in accordance with the method” is also used in the dedicatory inscriptions of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru* (1565) housed at Hōjuin 寶壽院 and the *Bhaiṣajyaguru* in the collection of Ryūjōin 龍乘院 in Japan. See Songch'ŏn 송천 et al., eds., *Han'guk ūi purhwa hwagi chip* 韓國의佛畫書記集 (Yangsan: Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn, 2011), 283–85.



Fig. 2. *Nectar*. Colors on hemp. 169.3 × 158.2 cm. Dated 1589. Yakusenji, Hyōgo Prefecture, Japan. After T'ongdosa sōngbo pangmulgwan, *Chosōn sidae Kamnot'aeng: Kamno* (Yangsan: T'ongdosa sōngbo pangmulgwan, 2005), vol. 2, 60, fig. 1.

The actual details of the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings can be examined through the surviving examples from the late Chosōn period. Although comprehensive research on the *pokchang* of late Chosōn Buddhist paintings has yet to be conducted, a great number of individual cases have been discovered to date. Many of them were discovered during repairs and disassembly of paintings (table 1).¹⁰ As in the previous era, the late Chosōn period initially maintained the practice of installing

10. I have arranged examples of the *pokchang* yielded from Buddhist paintings based on a series of research reports, entitled *Han'guk ūi sach'al munhwajae* 한국의 사찰문화재. The series is based on a comprehensive survey of artifacts housed in Buddhist monasteries nationwide conducted by the Cultural Heritage Administration (Munhwajae ch'ōng 문화재청) and the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage (Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso 불교문화재연구소)

the *pokchang* pouch on the upper part of paintings. Over time, however, installing the throat-bell container on the back of the painting came to be preferred. As mentioned above, two different forms of *pokchang*—enshrining objects within a pouch hung on the painting's surface or installing them on the back of the painting—are relatively well documented, but the reason why these two different methods were developed and how the change of installation space influenced the *pokchang* have not been discussed.¹¹ When installing the *pokchang* for Buddhist paintings, the first issue to be decided is where the throat-bell container should be placed. The installation space varies according to the mounting style. When a Buddhist painting is completed, it is mounted in order to be safely hung inside or outside a hall, as well as to make it more beautiful. Mounting formats are classified into two types: the hanging scroll, which has rods at the top and bottom of the scroll, and the framed picture, in which a wooden frame supports the four sides of the painting. In terms of installing *pokchang* items, a three-dimensional Buddhist statue has enough space within to insert a number of objects, including the throat-bell container. However, a two-dimensional Buddhist painting does not provide sufficient space for installing the *pokchang*. Hanging the pouch containing a throat-bell container at the top of the painting may have been invented in order to resolve this structural problem.

Based on current investigations, Buddhist paintings mounted as hanging scrolls were mainly produced in the 17th and 18th centuries, while the number of framed paintings, which first appeared in the late 18th century, rapidly increased during the 19th century. The *pokchang* pouch was attached to the front of hanging scrolls, whereas the back of a painting was the preferred location of the *pokchang* deposit for framed paintings (table 1). The size of the pouch and the types of items enshrined varied considerably in accordance with the size of Buddhist paintings (fig. 3). For a Buddhist painting of considerable size, the location where the *pokchang* is enshrined varies, since the *pokchang* pouch for such a piece is fairly large (though not as large as that for a Buddhist statue) and made of paper and fabric. For this reason, *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs*, as well as throat-bell containers, were inserted in the large pouch of huge banner paintings (*kwaebul* 掛佛) and altar paintings. For example, the *Buddhas of the Three Worlds* at Kapsa 甲寺 (1730), which is 440 × 280 cm in size, has a 29 × 30 cm pouch. In the pouch were found copies of the *Sūramgama Sūtra* (Ch. *Shou lengyan jing* 首楞嚴經), *Lotus Sūtra* (Ch. *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經), *Collected*

from 2002 to 2013. The number of examples will certainly grow as the survey of the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings continues.

11. For discussions of the notion that the *pokchang* items are to be inserted within a *pokchang* pouch draped over the front of the painting or in the space somewhere on the back of the painting, see Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong), “Purhwa e kiroktoen pŏmja wa chinŏn e kwanhan koch'al,” 127–28; Chŏng Myŏng-hŭi 鄭明熙, “Pongan konggan kwa ūirye ūi kwanjŏm esŏ pon Chosŏn sidae *Hyŏnwangdo yŏn'gu*: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang Sŏngbulsu *Hyŏnwangdo rŭl chungshim ūro*” 봉안 공간과 의례의 관점에서 본 조선시대 현왕도 연구: 국립중앙박물관 소장 <成佛寺現王圖>를 중심으로, *Misul charo* 78 (2009): 107. In particular, the *pokchang* items of the *King Yama* of Sŏngbulsu were found in the upper rod of its mounting in the hanging scroll format, a fact that supports a possibility of inserting *pokchang* items in the upper rods of Koryŏ Buddhist paintings in the same format, see Pak Ūn-gyŏng, “Koryŏ purhwa ūi pyŏnjuk,” 54.



Fig. 3. *Indra* of Sönamsa. Colors on silk. 150 x 137 cm. Dated 1753. Sönamsa Museum, Sunch'ön City, South Ch'olla Province. Photograph by the author. Courtesy of Sönamsa Museum.

Essentials of the Manual for the Nondiscriminatory Equal Retreat of [All Beings] of Water and Land (Ch. *Shuilu wuzhe pingdeng zhaiyi zuanyao* 水陸無遮平等齋儀纂要), and handwritten *dhāraṇīs*, along with a throat-bell container and a dedicatory inscription.¹² *Dhāraṇī* sheets, *sūtra* copies, and textiles were enshrined in order to fill the

12. It is rare to find Buddhist texts in the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings. Manuscript or xylograph copies of the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas*

pouch and make the throat-bell container wrapped in yellow silk remain upright.¹³ Thus, a small *pokchang* pouch may include either the throat-bell container by itself or the throat-bell container wrapped with one or two sheets of untreated paper or *dhāraṇī*. Copies of *dhāraṇī* and *sūtras* used for fixing the container inside the pouch disappeared when the mounting format changed from hanging scrolls to framed paintings. Framed paintings include only the throat-bell container inside the pouch.

The framed mounting of Buddhist paintings seems peculiar when we consider it *vis-à-vis* traditional Korean paintings of secular subject matters that are usually mounted as hanging scrolls or screens. Given that framed Buddhist paintings are produced in a manner similar to that of the folding screen, in which sheets of paper are affixed to a wooden frame, it seems that the framed mounting was derived from the folding screen.¹⁴ The framed mounting became a preferred format for Buddhist paintings from the late 18th century. As is exemplified by the *King Yama* of Sōngbulsu 成佛寺 (1798), Buddhist paintings in the hanging scroll format continued to be produced, but framed paintings, like the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell* of Munsusa 文殊寺 (1774) and the *King Yama* of T'ongdosa 通度寺 (1775), gradually increased. From the 18th century onward, the framed format was preferred for small or medium-sized Buddhist paintings, and in the 19th century, most Buddhist paintings hung in temple halls were framed, except for those of considerable size (table 1). Examinations of Buddhist paintings, mounted as hanging scrolls and hung inside worship halls, have revealed considerable damage. These paintings often came to have horizontal streaks as the upper rod could not bear the weight of painting, or they were warped due to the temperature and humidity of the mountains and valleys surrounding their home temples. These damages are less frequently shown on framed Buddhist paintings since the frames support them on all sides. The reason why framed mountings came to be preferred may be related to the enshrining of Buddhist paintings, which are rarely moved once enshrined.

As Buddhist paintings were increasingly mounted in frames, the installation space of the throat-bell container shifted from a *pokchang* pouch hung on the top

(*Ilch'e yōrae chōnsin sari pohyōp tarani* 一切如來全身舍利寶篋陀羅尼) have been found among the *pokchang* items prepared for Buddhist paintings. But it is a *mantra* that is used in relation to the throat-bell container in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. There are only a few paintings such as the *Buddhas of the Three Worlds* at Kapsa, the *Fifty-Three Buddhas* (1725) of Songgwangsa 松廣寺, and the *Three-Matrix Bodhisattvas* (1742) of Hūngguksa 興國寺 that have yielded Buddhist scriptures among their *pokchang* items. However, these paintings merely include individual sheets rather than full volumes of Buddhist statues.

13. The Yongch'ōnsa and Nūnggasa editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* say that the belly of the Buddha should be filled with sheets of untreated paper (*saengji* 生紙) printed with the *Poch'i chinōn* 寶齒真言 in Indic script and some of the *Chōnsin sari poch'i chinōn* in Indic script (“... 佛腹盛滿爲限以生紙梵書寶齒真言若干每幅引出梵書全身舍利寶齒真言若干數...”). The *Poch'i chinōn* is a scribal error for the term *Pohyōp chinōn* 寶篋真言.

14. Two mounting formats, hanging scroll and frame, were used for Buddhist paintings to be hung on the wall during late Chosōn. Sometimes, several pieces of small Buddhist paintings for ritual use were mounted into a screen. It is notable that the wooden structure of a frame bears similarities with that of a screen.

front of the painting to the backside (fig. 4). Because a framed painting is affixed to a square wooden frame, the back of the painting has an empty flat space with a depth of approximately 2 to 5 cm. As the *pokchang* assemblage was installed in this space on the back of the painting, the sheets of untreated paper, *dhāraṇī* and *sūtra* copies that were previously used to fix the container inside the pouch disappeared. In other words, only the throat-bell container enveloped in yellow silk wrapper was installed on the back of the painting. The copies of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* that had been used to wrap the container were replaced by *dhāraṇīs* inscribed or printed on the backing paper attached after installing the throat-bell container.



Fig. 4. Throat-bell container installed on the backside of the *Land and Sea of Lotus-Treasury World of Pöpkyesa*. Cotton and paper. Painting: 162 × 241.5 cm. Dated 1911. Pöpkyesa, Ansöng City, Kyönggi Province. Courtesy of Pöpkyesa and Ansöngmatch'um Museum.

When Buddhist paintings were mounted in hanging scroll format, it was structurally difficult to install the *pokchang* items inside the painting. Therefore, the items were placed in a pouch that was draped over the upper part of the painting. In the late 18th century, as Buddhist paintings were increasingly mounted in frames, the *pokchang* moved to the back of the painting. Installing the throat-bell container on the back not only meant a spatial change in the location of the *pokchang*, but also it restored the symbolism of the *pokchang* ritual by locating the container near the Buddha's belly, bringing the practice into accord with the prescriptions for the *pokchang* of Buddhist statues found in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

The Throat-Bell Container for the *Pokchang* of Buddhist Paintings

Based on the passage in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, it has generally been assumed that the throat-bell container for Buddhist paintings is square. However, the cylindrical throat-bell container used for Buddhist statues is also found in association with Buddhist paintings. The use of the cylindrical container is mainly seen in 18th-century paintings, as exemplified by the *Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* of Pōphwasa 法華寺 (1724), the *Three-Matrix Bodhisattvas* of Kuryongsa 九龍寺 (1727), the *Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* of Sōnamsa 仙巖寺 (1753), the *Indra* of Sōnamsa (1753), the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell* of Munsusa (1774), the *King Yama* of T'ongdosa (1775), and the *Banner Painting of a Buddha* of Chikchisa 直指寺 (1800). The use of cylindrical containers decreased sharply during the 19th century (table 2).

The cylindrical throat-bell container of the Pōphwasa painting is a flat round wooden box, while that of the *Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* of Sōnamsa is made of metal, like the containers installed in Buddhist statues. However, these are exceptional—in most cases, the throat-bell containers used for paintings were made of paper and had a cylindrical shape. Preference for paper as a throat-bell container material might have been related to the weight of the painting when the *pokchang* pouch with the container is hung on the top or installed on the back.

The most notable change in the cylindrical throat-bell container used in Buddhist paintings is found in the form of its cover. Previous investigations have revealed that a lid without a “throat-hole” (*bubyōl* 喉穴, a hole drilled in the lid of the throat-bell container) was used for such containers until the first half of the 18th century and that use of a lid with a throat-hole that was developed into the form of a stem-like open spout gradually increased after that. For example, an eight-petaled lid without a hole was used for the *Nectar* of Kuryongsa (1727) and the *Indra* of Sōnamsa (1753), whereas a lid with a throat-hole in the stem-like shape was used for the *Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* of Sōnamsa (1753) and the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell* of Munsusa (1774) (table 2).¹⁵ The first textual reference to the throat-hole appears in the Nūnggasa

15. The “Commentary on the Sequence of the Various Objects to Be Enshrined in the Eight-Petaled Silver Throat-Bell Container of the *Pokchang*” (*Pokchang buryōng p'aryōp t'ong ūnbap soip chemul ch'aje ch'orok* 腹藏喉鈴八葉筒銀盒所入諸物次第抄錄) section in the Nūnggasa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (1677) states: “. . . Next, one should enshrine the five treasure bottles. One should pull out each of the five colored threads from a lid within the silver case; one should tie the four sides of the two round mirrors [positioned] at the mouth of the five treasure bottles and then combine them into one; they are ten or fifty feet long. Having drilled a hole into the eight-petaled lid [to pull out the threads], cover the eight-petaled throat-bell container. One should hang mirrors symbolizing the four directions at the four corners of the container on its exterior with those five colored threads and again coil them around the eight-petaled container” 次以五瓶所納 五色絲各牽出銀合內蓋 五瓶口兩面圓鏡之四邊 . . . 合爲一條 長十尺或五十尺 透穿八葉蓋穴然後 蓋之喉鈴八葉筒 以其五色絲四方鏡筒外四方懸之仍爲結環八葉筒也. Given the passage with instructions to drill a hole in the eight-petaled lid,



edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, published in 1679. As for throat-bell containers used for Buddhist statues, lids with and without a throat-hole coexisted during the early Chosŏn period, and containers with a long tube-shaped hole became standard after the 17th century.

Despite being made of paper, the throat-bell containers for Buddhist paintings show a number of affinities with those of Buddhist statues, notably their cylindrical form as well as the type of objects and *dhāraṇīs* inserted in them. Cylindrical throat-bell containers for paintings have primarily been discovered in *pokchang* pouches. The lidded, bowl-shaped round containers, which had appeared in the Koryŏ period, seem to have been used continuously since such pouches were sufficiently large (though not as large as those of Buddhist statues). They are similar to the throat-bell containers for Buddhist statues not only in their shape but also in their enshrined items. The cylindrical throat-bell container installed in the pouch of the *Indra* of Sŏnamsa (1753) encased the “five treasure bottles” (*o pobyŏng* 五寶瓶), the “five-wheel seed syllables” (*oryun chongja* 五輪種子), the “true-mind seed syllables” symbolizing the five Buddhas (*chinsim chongja* 真心種子), two round mirrors, five-color threads, and the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket for the Entire Body* (*Chŏnsin pobyŏbin tarani* 全身寶篋印陀羅尼). The “mirrors of the five directions” (*obang kyŏng* 五方鏡) were attached on the surface of the container. The dedicatory inscription was placed beneath the container, and then the container was enveloped in a yellow silk wrapper inscribed with the *Spells of the Four Directions* (*Sabang chu* 四方呪).¹⁶

While cylindrical throat-bell containers were thus used for both Buddhist statues and Buddhist paintings, in the 19th century, it was prescribed that cylindrical containers should be used for Buddhist statues and square ones for Buddhist paintings. This change coincides with the transition of the mounting style from the hanging scroll to the framed painting. After a period of transition when various mounting formats and containers coexisted, the mounting styles and the form of the container became standardized. Examples from the transitional period in the late 18th century include the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell* of Munsusa (1774) and the *King Yama* of T’ongdosa (1775) (tables 1–2). The cylindrical throat-bell containers of these two paintings, both mounted in frames, are installed on the reverse side of the painting within the frames. The bronze *pokchang* container in the shape of a pouch (1722), which was made for a banner painting at Chijangsa 地藏寺

the throat-hole seems to have been devised and functionally established sometime between the late 16th and mid-17th centuries. Examples of throat-bell containers with a cylinder include the silver throat-bell container (1490) found in the inner recess of a seated wooden Vairocana Buddha statue at Haeinsa 海印寺 and the throat-bell container from the clay Buddhas of the Three Worlds (1626) at Pŏpjusa 法住寺. These throat-bell containers, as prescribed in the Nūnggasa edition, have a round body; are covered by a lid with a hole; and are coiled with the mirrors symbolizing the five directions by the five colored threads. For the changes seen in the throat-bell containers of Buddhist statues, see Yi Yong-yun (Lee Yongyun) 李容胤, “Pulsang pongan ūsik ūi chŏngsu, pokchang” 불상 봉안의식의 精髓, 腹藏, in *Pulbokchang ūsik hyŏnhwang chosa pogosŏ*, ed. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn’guso, 16–29.

16. I will examine the throat-bell container and objects installed within the yellow cloth wrapper for the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings of the 18th century in the next section.



and predates the Munsusa and T'ongdosa examples, encased a square throat-bell container. The banner painting on which this bronze pouch was originally hung is no longer extant, but considering the large scale of banner paintings, the work probably was mounted as a hanging scroll. The throat-bell container discovered in the bronze "pouch" is flat, square-shaped, and has a lid with the throat-hole. Each side of the container bears a Chinese character denoting one of the four cardinal directions, "East," "South," "West," and "North," together with an inscription of the corresponding character from the *Spells of the Four Directions* in Siddham script. Items placed outside of the throat-bell container include the yellow silk wrapper, the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, and sheets inscribed with red *mantras* including the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal* (*Pöbin chu* 法印呪) and the *Spell of Cundī* (*Chunje chu* 准提呪) (fig. 5).¹⁷ The square throat-bell container and the *pokchang* contents found in the bronze *pokchang* container of Chijangsa are similar to the *pokchang* contents produced in the late 18th century. It seems, therefore, that the modification of the form of the throat-bell container progressed gradually, starting from the early half of the 18th century.¹⁸

The earliest extant square-shaped throat-bell container on a framed Buddhist painting is found on the *Host of Guardian Deities* of T'ongdosa (1792). The practice became widespread in the early half of the 19th century, as seen in the *King Yama* of Kwanūmsa 觀音寺 (1811), the *Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* of Kūngnagam 極樂庵, Yongmunsa 龍門寺 (1812), and the *Host of Guardian Deities* of P'agyesa 把溪寺 (1824) (fig. 6, table 1). As the throat-bell container was now installed on the back of the painting, the location of the container changed from the spot above the Buddha's head in the hanging scroll painting to the navel of the Buddha in the framed painting. This location, as we saw above, corresponds to the original placement of the *pokchang* according to the prescriptions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. It seems that this new *pokchang* method became preferred, as it restored the symbolic meaning associated with the location of the *pokchang*, which is to be installed in the abdomen of statues. Accordingly, the throat-bell container began to take the form of a flat square, a shape that is more suitable for the installation on the back of a painting.

17. Small pieces of paper each inscribed with the *mantra* for the north and the *mantra* for the south are affixed on the corresponding sides of the throat-bell container, probably because the *mantras* for the four directions may have been miswritten at the time of the production of the throat-bell container. The bronze *pokchang* container of Chijangsa was discovered during a survey conducted by the Research Institute of Sungbo Cultural Heritage (Sōngbo munhwajae yōn'guwōn 성보문화재연구원) in 2001, and its dedicatory inscription has been examined in Yi Chong-su, "Ch'ōngdong pokchang nang ūi sillye," 133–32. For the enshrined objects including the dedicatory inscription, see Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso, ed., *Han'guk ūi sach'al munhwajae: Kyōngsangbuk to II* 한국의 사찰문화재: 경상북도 II (Seoul: Pulgyo munhwajae yōn'guso, 2007), 418.

18. Besides the dedicatory inscription, the form, contents, and *mantras* of the throat-bell container yielded by the bronze *pokchang* container of Chijangsa bear resemblance to those produced in the 19th century. Therefore, there is a possibility that the throat-bell container may have been enshrined later.



Fig 5. (Left) *Pokchang* container of the banner painting of Chijangsa. Bronze. 58.5 × 47.7 cm. Dated 1722. (Right) *Pokchang* objects discovered inside the container. Paper. 13 × 7.8 × 1.5 cm. Dated 1722. Chijangsa, Üisöng County, North Kyöngsang Province. Photograph by the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage.



Fig. 6. (Left) *Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* at Kūngnagam, Yongmunsa. Colors on silk. 139 × 188 cm. Dated 1812. (Right) Throat-bell container discovered on the backside of the painting. 7.7 × 7.4 cm. Paper. Dated 1812. Yongmunsa, Yech'ön County, North Kyöngsang Province. Courtesy of Yongmunsa.

To summarize, the throat-bell containers of Buddhist paintings began to take a new form around the beginning of the 19th century. The modification in the installation space of the throat-bell container from the *pokchang* pouch to the back of the painting coincided with changes in the mounting format from the hanging scroll to the framed format. This transformation prompted the development of a square throat-bell container format unique to Buddhist paintings and distinct from that of Buddhist statues. All of these changes are reflected in the Yujömsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, published in 1824, which stipulates that the square container is to be used for Buddhist paintings.

The Contents of the Throat-Bell Container and Installation Sequence

Along with the changes in the form and location of the throat-bell container, the objects installed inside and outside the container, together with the sequence of their installation, gradually changed as well. Unlike the transformation of the throat-bell container's form, the change in its contents seems to have been prompted by Buddhist thought rather than mere structural considerations. The reasons for these changes, however, are still not entirely clear.

Contemporary *pokchang* rituals are primarily focused on the production of the objects to be enshrined in the throat-bell container. The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* offer detailed explanations of the meaning of the enshrined objects and the procedures for their installation during the ritual. When we compare different editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, we find that the editions published between the 16th and the 18th centuries—including the earliest Yongch'önsa edition—show no remarkable change in the prescribed sequence of installing objects in the throat-bell container. In the Yujömsa edition of 1824, however, the number of objects increases, and the installation procedures become more complicated.¹⁹

Let us examine the “Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Container” (T'ong nae chang ch'aje 筒內藏次第) section of the Nünggasa edition (1679) as an example of what is stipulated in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* published between the 16th and 18th centuries. According to that text, the five-wheel seed syllables, true-mind seed syllables, and silk pouches in five colors are sequentially installed in the throat-bell container; a *śarīra* reliquary, a heart-jewel (*simju* 心珠),

19. For a table comparing the objects to be enshrined as prescribed in various editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, see Taegyöng sūnim, *Chosang kyöng*, 30. Extant copies of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* published during the Chosön period are classified into the Yongch'önsa and Hwajangsa editions, the Nünggasa and Kimnyongsa editions, and the Yujömsa edition. Among these, the Nünggasa and Kimnyongsa editions are a later reprint of the Yongch'önsa edition, whereas the Yujömsa edition includes re-editing and reorganization of the Yongch'önsa edition. For a study of the extant printed editions and manuscript copies of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, see Nam Kwön-hüi 남권희, “*Chosang kyöng* p'anbon üi söjjök yön'gu” 『造像經』板本の書誌的研究, in *Chönt'ong pulbokchang üisik mit chöman üisik*, ed. Pulgyo munhwajae yön'guso, 142–94, and Richard McBride II's article in this issue.

five-color threads, and a round mirror are placed above them. The five-wheel seed syllables and the true-mind seed syllables are then also written on the lid of the throat-bell container, and the *Spells of the Four Directions* are written on the surface of the container. The *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket Seal* and the dedicatory inscription are placed under the container, and the whole set is reverently wrapped with a yellow silk wrapper. Finally, the wrapped container is sealed with the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal* (table 3).²⁰

In the case of the *Indra* of Sōnamsa (1753), a *mantra* sheet of five-wheel seed syllables, the five treasure bottles, a two-sided round mirror, and five-color threads were found in the throat-bell container, and the *Spells of the Four Directions* were inscribed on its surface. The container was wrapped in a yellow silk wrapper inscribed with the *Spells of the Four Directions* and sealed with the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal* (table 4). The *Banner Painting of Sākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* of Sōnamsa (1753), which was produced along with the aforementioned painting, however, has a lid that has a throat-hole and an eight-petaled form. This type of lid conforms to the *Illustration of the Eight-Petaled Lid of the Silver Throat-Bell Container* (*Huryōng ūnhap p'aryōp t'ong kae chi to* 喉鈴銀合八葉筒蓋之圖) included in the Nūnggasa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. The *mantras* in the illustration correspond with those written on the center and each petal of the throat-bell container's eight-petaled lid from the Sōnamsa banner painting (table 5). In short, the form, content, and *mantras* of the throat-bell containers of the Sōnamsa paintings produced in 1753 reflect the ritual steps explained in the Nūnggasa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, which was based on the earlier Yongch'ōnsa edition.

The sequence of installing the contents changed as the shape of the throat-bell container was modified from the cylindrical to the square form. The five treasure bottles, which had been circularly arranged around the yellow bottle at the center of the cylindrical container, were instead arranged at the cardinal directions in the square container; the yellow stood for the center, the blue for the east, the red for the south, the black for the north, and the white for the west. Various changes occurred in the contents of the container and the *mantras*, as well. Items used to wrap the throat-bell container—the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*—began to appear, while the *Spell of Cundī* was added as the *mantra* to seal the container along with the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal*.

The change in the contents and the system of the throat-bell container that took place between the late 18th and early 19th centuries is reflected in the Yujōmsa edition (1824) of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. In this edition, the explanation of the sequence of installing objects in the container was divided into the “Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Throat-Bell Container”

20. It is worth asking what these different spells and objects do for the enlivening of the image. However, based on the current state of research it is very hard to answer the question in relation to the logic of this installation procedure. I hope to delve into this issue in a separate study.

(*Huryōng t'ong nae allip ch'aje* 喉鈴筒內安立次第) and “Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Yellow Silk Wrapper” (*Hwangch'o p'okcha nae allip ch'aje* 黃絹幅子內安立次第) sections. In the earlier editions, these two sections were not separated. The sequence of installing objects in the throat-bell container is prescribed as follows: the five-wheel seed syllables, the *Mantra of the Reward-Body* (*Posin chu* 報身呪), the *Mantra of the Transformation-Body* (*Hwasin chu* 化身呪), the true-mind seed syllables, the *Spell of Cundī*, a two-sided round mirror, the five treasure bottles, a *śarīra* reliquary, and a mind-jewel without a hole are inserted into the bottom of the container. The mouth of each of the five treasure bottles is covered with the two-sided round mirror. Beneath the throat-bell container is placed the Round Mirror of the Center (*Chunghang wōn'gyōng* 中方圓鏡) and the container is then wrapped with the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*. The *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals* and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* are placed on top of it. The five-color threads from the throat-bell container should pass through the center of the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals* and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*. Afterwards, just as the sky wraps around the earth, the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* is wrapped around the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* that is placed underneath the throat-bell container. Meanwhile, the “Sequence of Installing Objects in the Yellow Silk Wrapper” prescribes that after the throat-bell container is wrapped with the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* and *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*, the dedicatory inscription and the *Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket* are placed beneath the container. All of these objects are then wrapped with the yellow silk wrapper. The wrapped deposit is tied with the five-color threads coming out from the throat-bell container. The *Spell of Cundī* seals it vertically and the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal* seals it horizontally. Lastly, the name of the “verifier” (*chūngmyōng* 證明) is inscribed on the south side (table 6).

In the cases of the *King Yama* of Kwanūmsa (1811), the *Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak* of Kūngnagam, Yongmunsa (1812), and the *Host of Guardian Deities* of P'agyesa (1824), the throat-bell containers are wrapped with the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*, and they are tied with the five-color threads. As for the *King Yama* of Pogwangsa 普光寺 (1863) and the *Assembly of Vairocana Buddha* of Pongūnsa 奉恩寺 (1886), the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* is put under the throat-bell container, and the five-color threads from the container pass through the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals* and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*. The content and installation procedures correspond with the prescriptions in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Image* (table 7, fig. 7). In addition, the method of sealing the yellow silk wrapper enveloping the throat-bell container with the *Spell of Cundī* and the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal* was applied to square throat-bell containers produced between the late 18th and 19th centuries, as seen in the examples of the *Host of Guardian Deities* of T'ongdosa (1792), the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell* of T'ongdosa (1812), the

Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Paengnyön'am 白蓮庵 at T'ongdosa (1863), and the *Assembly of Vairocana* of Pongūnsa (1886). In the case of the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell* of T'ongdosa, the phrase “reverently sealed by the verifier-monk Sin'gyōng” 證明比丘 信瓊謹封 is written on the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal*, which horizontally sealed the *pokchang* deposit as described in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. In other words, the *pokchang* used for 19th-century paintings correspond to the prescriptions of the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* not only in their manner of sealing the yellow silk wrapper with the *Spell of Cundī* and the *Spell of the Dharma-Seal*, but also in the contents of their throat-bell container and the sequence of their installation.



Fig. 7. (Left) *King Yama* of Pogwangsa. Colors on silk. 123.4 × 100.5 cm. Dated 1836. (Right) Throat-bell container discovered on the backside of the painting. Paper. Container: 5.4 × 6.6 cm, *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*: d. 14.2 cm, *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*: d. 11.4 cm. Dated 1836. Pogwangsa, P'aju City, Kyōnggi Province. Photograph by the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage.

In short, the cylindrical throat-bell containers used for 18th-century Buddhist paintings in the hanging scroll format followed the prescriptions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* published between the 16th and 18th centuries. The *Illustration of the Eight-Petaled Lid of the Silver Throat-Bell Container* in the Nūnggasa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* was often applied to the making of the cylindrical container as well. During the late 18th and

early 19th centuries, as framed Buddhist paintings began to appear and the square throat-bell container gained wide currency, the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*, which wrapped this type of throat-bell container, were recorded in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* as the items to be installed in the throat-bell container.

The ritual manual entitled the *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings* (*Pimil kaegan chip* 秘密開刊集), published in 1784 at Sudoam 修道菴 of Ssanggyesa 雙磎寺, Kimch'ōn, is worth noting for its mention of objects to be installed outside the throat-bell container and its related installation system.²¹ The *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings* records various *mantras* for Buddhist rituals. The *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*, which are related to the *pokchang* ritual, are also included in this manual. Its *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals* is almost identical to that of the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, while its *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* has a much more complicated inner composition. The names of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas and their arrangement in its *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* are also different from those of the Yujōmsa edition.

Among the Buddhist paintings produced around the publication of the *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings*, the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of Munsusa* (1774), the *King Yama of Kwanūmsa* (1811), and the *Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Kūngnagam of Yongmunsa* (1812) yielded items closely comparable to the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* featured in the *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings* (tables 8 and 2). The throat-bell container of the Munsusa painting, which is cylindrical, has an eight-petaled lid with a throat-hole based on the Nūnggasa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. At the same time, however, the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* from the *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings* were used as the exterior items for this throat-bell container. The coexistence of old and new styles of *pokchang* seen in the throat-bell container from the Munsusa painting indicates that the contents and system of the *pokchang*, as well as the form of the container, changed gradually

21. The ritual manual, also known as *Milgyo kaegan chip* 密教開刊集, was compiled in 1784 at Sudoam by the three monks: Sōrak 雪嶽 (d.u.), Yōnp'a 戀坡 (d.u.), and Mongūn 夢隱 (d.u.). Although it was modeled upon the Mangwōlsa 望月寺 edition of the *Collection of Mantras* (*Chinōn chip* 眞言集), it includes the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals* and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*, as well as the methods of contemplation and Cundī veneration and worship that were practiced at Buddhist temples at the time. See Yi T'ae-sūng 이태승 and An Chu-ho 안주호, "Pimil kaegan chip ūi ch'egye wa p'yogi e kwanhan yōn'gu" 『秘密開刊集』의 체계와 표기에 관한 연구, *Paedal mal* 32(2003): 161–84.



(tables 1, 2, 8). In other words, when the Munsusa painting was produced, the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* were already in use, whereas the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals* was not. Instead of the latter, the eight-petaled lid of the container, which bears formal and functional similarities to the diagram, was used. Here we can infer that the eight-petaled lid later evolved into the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*. In later *pokchang*, the exterior items of the throat-bell container are arranged in the sequence of the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī*, and then the five-color threads from the five treasure bottles, passing through the throat-hole of the lid, are directly linked to the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*.

To sum up, the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth*, the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* and the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, which came to be used as the exterior items of the throat-bell container for Buddhist paintings in the late 18th century, were included in the *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings* as new *pokchang* items. In the 19th century, these diagrams became compulsory items for the throat-bell container, as is reflected in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.



Conclusion



By comparing the *pokchang* objects recovered from late Chosŏn Buddhist paintings to prescriptions in ritual manuals, this paper has explored the changes in the installation location of the *pokchang*, the form of the throat-bell container, and the contents and installation sequence of the *pokchang*. Unlike the *pokchang* for Buddhist statues, where the objects are enshrined within the statue, there are spatial constraints with regard to the installation of the *pokchang* for Buddhist paintings. This spatial limitation led to the *pokchang* for paintings being focused on the throat-bell container and the omission of most of the *dhāraṇī* sheets, *sūtra* copies, and textiles used to fill the remaining space of a statue's inner recess. The result of these changes was the formulation of a distinctive *pokchang* tradition for Buddhist paintings. Moreover, it is known that square throat-bell containers were used for Buddhist paintings, while cylindrical containers were the norm for Buddhist statues. However, it turns out that cylindrical containers were also used for paintings until the late 18th century, after which the square ones prevailed. One external factor that induced this change in the form of the throat-bell container was the change in the mounting formats of Buddhist paintings. Around the late 18th century, the mounting format for Buddhist paintings shifted from hanging scrolls to framed pictures. For paintings mounted as hanging scrolls, the throat-bell container was inserted in a *pokchang* pouch hung on the front of the painting, while the container was installed on the reverse side for framed paintings.

This paper inferred that the shape of the throat-bell container was altered in accordance with the space available for its installation. In other words, as the



installation location moved to the reverse of the painting, the cylindrical throat-bell container previously enshrined in the *pokchang* pouch became square to better fit the space available on the back side of the wooden framed painting. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the shape of the throat-bell container underwent this transformation, the contents enshrined within and outside the container also changed, and their installation sequence was modified accordingly. The contents of the container became more explicitly specified. Exterior items, such as the eight-petaled lid, evolved into the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*, while the *Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth* and the *Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī* were new additions. These changes in the form, content, and installation sequence of the throat-bell container are clearly reflected in the *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings* and the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* published in the late Chosŏn period.

Tables and Illustrations

Table 1. *Pokchang* for Buddhist Paintings from the Early 18th to the Early 19th Century

Title and Provenance	Date	Mounting Format	Method of Installing the Throat-Bell Container	Form of the Throat-Bell Container	Enshrined Items (Including Those within the Throat-Bell Container)
<i>Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Chungnimsa</i> 竹林寺	1622	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	none	Unknown
<i>Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Chungnimsa</i>	Late 17th c.	Hanging scroll	Unknown	none	Śāriṃa relics Head part of a Buddha statue Dedicatory inscription
<i>Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Hūngguksa</i>	1689	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	none	Unknown
<i>Amitābha's Assembly of Pongjōngsa</i> 鳳停寺	1713	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	none	Unknown
<i>Buddhas of the Three Worlds of Kirimsa</i> 祇林寺	1719	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	none	Unknown

<i>Banner Painting of a Buddha of Chijangsa</i>	1722	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	Square, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (inscription in ink, paper) Throat-bell container (“ <small>摩</small> ” is written on the south, “ <small>阿</small> ” is written on the east) <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> <i>Mantra of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Taiāgatas</i> <i>Spell of Cundī</i> <i>Dhāraṇī of Mañjuśrī Who is Able to Dispel Particular Forms of Karma</i> (文殊私利能消定業陀羅尼) Subsequent entering- <i>siddhi</i> (次入悉地) Three producing- <i>siddhi</i> (三出悉地) <i>Mantra of the Mithūnāngbanga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇkāya of Amitābha of North</i> (北方尾乞囊恒迦大明王阿彌陀化身真言)
<i>Sixteen Arhats of Hūngguksa</i>	1724	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	Unknown
<i>Fifty-Three Buddhas of Songgwangsa</i>	1725	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	The <i>pokchang</i> pouch is filled with sheets of a xylographed <i>sūtra</i> .
<i>Three-Matrix Bodhisattvas of Kuryongsa</i>	1727	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	Cylindrical, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (south, fabric) Throat-bell container (south) Bundle of <i>mantras</i> including the <i>Spell of Entering-siddhi</i>
<i>Sākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Pongnimsa</i> 鳳林寺	1727	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	Cylindrical, wood	Yellow silk wrapper (<i>Spells of the Four Directions</i> , paper) Throat-bell container Five-color threads Sheets of paper (each inscribed with characters reading <i>taehwang</i> 大黃, <i>hwanggae</i> 黃芥, or <i>taehwang</i> in ink), which seem to have been yielded by the throat-bell container <i>Mantra</i> (inscribed in red)




<i>Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of Tonghwasa</i> 桐華寺	1728	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	Unknown
<i>Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Haeinsa</i>	1729	Frame	Backside	Cylindrical pouch, silk	Throat-bell container encasing the five treasure bottles and five-color threads (bearing an ink inscription reading “Reverently sealed” [Kūnbong 謹封]) Xylographed <i>Mahapratīksara dhāraṇī</i> (carved in 1706) Xylographed <i>dhāraṇī</i> (dated 1706)
<i>Buddhas of the Three Worlds of Kapsa</i>	1730	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	Round mirror Xylographed <i>Sūtraṅgama Sūtra</i> Xylographed <i>Lotus Sūtra</i> Xylographed <i>Collected Essentials of the Manual for the Nondiscriminatory Equal Retreat of [All Beings] of Water and Land Dhāraṇī of the Seal on the Jewel Casket of the Secret Whole-Body Relic of the Essence of All Tathāgatas</i> (manuscript)
<i>Kṣitigarbha of Haeinsa</i>	1739	Frame	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	Unknown
<i>Three-Matrix Bodhisattvas of Hūngguksa</i>	1742	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	Cylindrical, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (east, <i>Spells of the Four Directions</i> , paper) Throat-bell container Five-color threads Xylographed <i>Lotus Sūtra</i> Xylographed <i>Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas</i>

<p><i>Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Sōnamsa</i></p>	1753	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	Cylindrical, metal	<p>Yellow silk wrapper (<i>Spells of the Four Directions</i>, fabric) Throat-bell container (containing a copy of the <i>Diagram of the Throat-Bell Silber Container with Eight-Petaled Lid</i>) Five treasure bottles (mixed with the original contents such as inscriptions of <i>mantra</i>, <i>vajra</i>, etc.) Xylographed <i>Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas</i> Xylographed <i>Diagram of the True-Mind Seed Syllables</i> Xylographed <i>Diagram of the Entering-siddhi</i></p>
<p><i>Indra at the Great Dharma Hall, Sōnamsa</i></p>	1753	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	Cylindrical, paper	<p>Yellow silk wrapper (inscribed with a character “South”) Xylographed <i>Dhāraṇī of Mañjuśrī Who Is Able to Dispel Particular Forms of Karma</i> Xylographed <i>Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas</i> (found beneath the throat-bell container) Throat-bell container (inscribed with the <i>Spells of the Four Directions</i>, mirrors of the five directions) Throat-bell container (inscribed with <i>mantras</i>) Two-sided round mirrors Five treasure bottles (each colored in yellow, blue, red, white, black and xylographed <i>Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas</i>) Five-color threads True-mind seed syllables (placed beneath the five treasure bottles)</p>
<p><i>Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Sut’asa 壽陀寺</i></p>	Unknown	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	<i>Śāra</i> relics
<p><i>Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Ch’uksōsa 鷲嶽寺</i></p>	1768	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	Presumably metal	<p><i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> Metal plates that are presumably the mirrors of the five directions</p>

<i>Banner Painting of Śakyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Namjangsa</i>	1767	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	Round mirror
<i>Banner Painting of Śakyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Namjangsa</i>	1788	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	None
<i>Ksitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of Munsusa</i>	1774	Frame	Backside	Cylindrical, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (inscribed with the <i>Spells of the Four Directions</i> and a phrase reading, “Reverently sealed by Kungmil” [Kūnbong Kungmil 謹封菊密]) <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> Round mirror Throat-bell container (containing the five treasure bottles, and seven śarīra relic grains; and inscribed with various mantras on its lid) Five-color threads <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i> Dedicatory inscription
<i>Amitābha’s Assembly of Hyangch’ōnsa</i> 香泉寺	Unknown	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	None
<i>King Yama of T’ongdosa</i>	1775	Frame	Backside	Cylindrical, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (bearing an ink inscription reading “Verifier” [<i>Chūngmyōng</i> 證明], paper) Throat-bell container wrapped with a sheet of the <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i>
<i>Host of Guardian Deities of T’ongdosa</i>	1792	Frame	Backside	Square, paper	Throat-bell container packed with yellow silk wrapper (inscribed with a phrase reading “Reverently sealed,” the <i>Spell of the Dharmā-Seal</i> , and the <i>Spell of Cundī</i> , fabric)

King Yama of Sŏngbulsa in the collection of the National Museum of Korea	1798	Hanging scroll	Upper rod of the hanging scroll	None	Grains Seeds Pieces of metal and glass Colored threads Colored paper Dhāraṇī inscribed in red
Vairocana of Pŏmōsa 梵魚寺	Late 18th– early 19th century	Unknown	Unknown	None	Yellow silk wrapper (inscribed with the phrase “Reverently sealed,” and the <i>Spell of the Dharmā-Seal</i> , paper) <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i>
Indra of Kangch’ōnsa 剛泉寺	1800	Frame	Backside	None	A sheet of sealing paper inscribed by the verifier Sōltae 說對 Throat-bell container <i>Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tābhāgatas</i> (manuscript and xylograph copies) Various <i>mantras</i>
Banner Painting of a Buddha of Chikchisa	1801	Hanging scroll	Pokchang pouch	Cylindrical, paper	A sheet of paper inscribed “Reverently sealed” Throat-bell container Dhāraṇī manuscript
Buddhist painting of Hyeguksa 惠國寺**	1804	Frame	Backside	Presumably square, paper	Xylographed <i>Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tābhāgatas</i>
Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Okch’ōnsa 玉泉寺	1808	Hanging scroll	Pokchang pouch	None	Yellow silk wrapper (paper) <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> Two-sided round mirrors Dedicatory inscription <i>Vājra</i> (made of paper) <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i>

King Yama of Kwannūmsa	1811	Frame	Backside	Square, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (bearing inscriptions reading “Verifier” in ink and of <i>mantra</i> in red, paper) <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i> <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> Throat-bell container Five treasure bottles Five-color threads Two-sided round mirrors <i>Dhāraṇī of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tābhāgatas</i>
Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Kūngnagam, Yongmūnsa	1812	Frame	Backside	Square, paper	<i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i> <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> Five-color threads Throat-bell container (installed with five treasure bottles)
Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of Yongmūnsa	1812	Frame	Backside	Square, paper	<i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i> <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> Five-color threads Throat-bell container Five treasure bottles
Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of T'ongdosa	1812	Frame	Backside	Square, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (bearing an inscription reading “Reverently sealed by the verifier-monk Sin'gyōng” [Chūngmyōng pigu Sin'gyōng kūnbong 證明比丘信瓊謹封]) <i>Spell of the Dharmā-Seal</i> <i>Spell of Cundī</i> A throat-bell container and two-sided round mirrors enveloped with the yellow silk wrapper

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- Host of Guardian Deities of P'agyesa* 1824 Frame Backside Square, paper
 Yellow silk wrapper (inscribed with “Reverently sealed by your servant Iae'yöp” [Sin Iae'yöp künbong 臣大韓謹封] and *mantra* in red)
Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī
Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth
 Throat-bell container wrapped with five-color threads (presumably encasing the *Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals*)
 Dedicatory inscription
- King Yama of Pogwangsa* 1836 Frame Backside Square, paper
 Yellow silk wrapper (fabric)
Spell of Cundī
Spell of the Dharmā-Seal
Spell of the Jewel Casket
 Dedicatory inscription
 Throat-bell container (with five-color threads)
Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals
Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī
Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth
- Avalokiteśvara of Hyöndūngsa 懸燈寺* 1850 Frame Backside Square, paper
 Dedicatory inscription
 Throat-bell container
Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals
Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī
Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth
 Yellow silk wrapper
 A sheet of paper sealing the *pokchang* objects (inscribed with the phrase reading “Avalokiteśvara reverently sealed . . . by the verifier, your servant Hyeso” [Chūngmyōng sin Hyeso künbong 證明 臣 懸昭 . . . 謹封])
Spell of Cundī
Spell of the Dharmā-Seal
- 

<i>Buddhas of the Seven Stars</i> of Hyöndungsa	1861	Frame	Backside	Square, paper	Throat-bell container (containing the five treasure bottles and wrapped with five-color threads) <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i> Yellow silk wrapper A sheet of paper sealing the <i>pokchang</i> (inscribed with the phrase reading “Reverently sealed . . . by the verifier [monk]” [Chüngmyöng pi . . . künbong 證明比 . . . 謹封]) <i>Spell of Cundī</i> <i>Spell of the Dharma-Seal</i>
<i>Amitābha’s Assembly</i> of Myogaksa 妙覺寺	1863	Frame	Backside	Square, paper	Yellow silk wrapper (“Reverently sealed by the verifier Injōn” [Chüngmyöng Injōn künbong 證明 璘典 謹封], traces of the <i>Spell of Cundī</i> and <i>Spell of the Dharma-Seal</i> , paper) <i>Dhāraṇī</i> manuscript <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i> Throat-bell container (mirrors of the five directions, and the <i>Spells of the Four Directions</i>) Five treasure bottles










Vairocana of Pongŭnsa 奉恩寺	1886	Frame	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch (decoration) backside	Square, paper	Yellow silk wrapper A paper sheet sealing the <i>pokchang</i> (inscribed with “the verifier . . .”) <i>Spell of Cundī</i> <i>Mantra of the Dharmā-Seal</i> Throat-bell container (containing the five treasure bottles, five-color threads) <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundī</i> Five-color threads
<i>Banner Painting of a Buddha</i> of Mangwŏlsa	1887	Hanging scroll	<i>Pokchang</i> pouch	None	None

Note: A number of Buddhist paintings dating from the late 19th to early 20th centuries still retain their *pokchang* pouches. Buddhist paintings of considerable size, such as banner paintings, were sometimes installed with the throat-bell container, but in most cases, only *dhāraṇī* inscriptions without the throat-bell container were used for *pokchang* and the name(s) of the patron(s) were written on the *pokchang* pouch. These cases were not included in the list above.

* The *Nectar of Kuryongsa* was in the hanging scroll format when it was investigated in 2001, but it has recently been remounted into the framed format.

** It is unclear whether this *pokchang* deposit was discovered from the *Sākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak*, or the *Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell*, or the Buddhist painting of Hyeguksa, which were all produced in 1804.

Table 2. Cylindrical Throat-Bell Containers Yielded by Buddhist Paintings of the Late Chosŏn Period

Title and Date	Pokchang Objects		
	Pokchang Pouch	Throat-Bell Container	Yellow Silk Wrapper
<i>Sākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Pōphwasa (1724)</i>			
<i>Three Matrix Bodhisattvas of Kuryongsa (1727)</i>			
<i>Banner Painting of Sākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Sōnamsa (1753)</i>			



Indra of Sönamsa (1753)

Kṣiṅgarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of Munsusa (1774)



King Yama of T'ongdosa (1775)

Banner Painting of a Buddha of Chikchisa (1800)

Table 3. Sequence of Installing Objects in the Throat-Bell Container Prescribed in the Yongch'onsa, Nünggasa, Hwajangsa, and Kimnyongsa Editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

The Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Container (<i>T'ong nae chang ch'aje</i> 筒內藏次第)	
Items to Be Enshrined in the Throat-Bell Container	Items to Be Placed outside the Throat-Bell Container
Five-wheel seed syllables → true-mind seed syllables → silk pouches in five colors ← (cover) <i>sārīra</i> reliquary, heart-jewel, five-color threads, and round mirror	One should write the true-mind seed syllables on the lid of the container (<i>Chinsim chongja t'ong kae sŏ</i> 眞心種子筒蓋書). Then, one should write the <i>Mantras of the Four Directions</i> on the surface of the container (<i>Ch'a t'ong oe sŏ sabang chinŏn</i> 次筒外書四方眞言). Having completed the installation, one should seal [the container] with the <i>Spell of the Dharma-heart-jewel</i> , five-color threads, and round mirror <i>pŏhin pong nūng so chŏngŏp ya</i> 畢藏後次呪法印封能消定業也). <i>Dhāraṇī of Mañjuśrī Who is Able to Dispel Particular Forms of Karma</i>

Table 4. Sequence of Unpacking Objects in the Throat-Bell Container Yielded by the Host of Guardian Deities (1753) of Sŏnamsa

Throat-Bell Container	Unpacking the Yellow Silk Wrapper	Unpacking the Throat-Bell Container	Enshrined Items
			

Note: Photographs provided by Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong).

Table 5. Comparison between the *Diagram of the Throat-Bell Silver Container with Eight-Petaled Lid* from the Nūnggasa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (1679) and the *Throat-Bell Container Yielded by the Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Sōnamsa* (1754)

Diagram of the Throat-Bell Silver Container with Eight-Petaled Lid

Banner Painting of Śākyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Sōnamsa

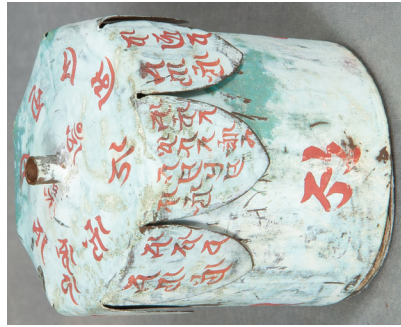
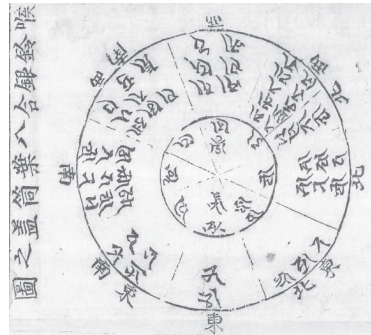



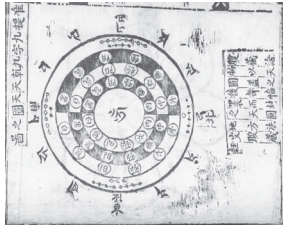
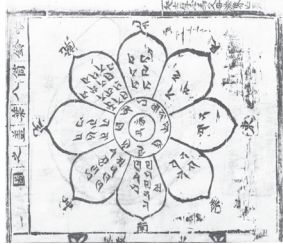
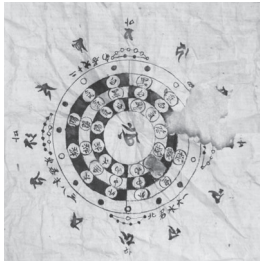
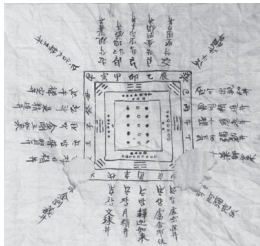
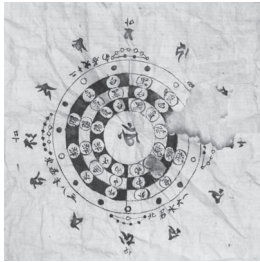
Table 6. Sequence of Installing Objects in the Throat-Bell Container Prescribed in the Yujomsa Edition of the Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images

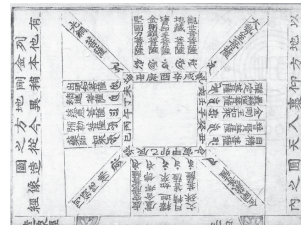
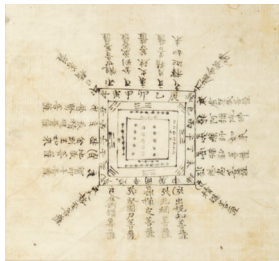
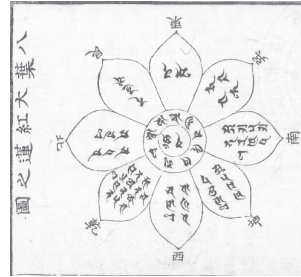
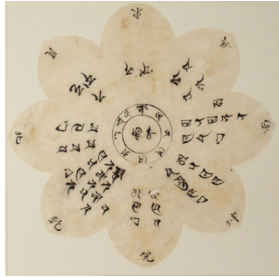
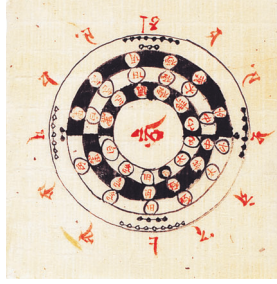
Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Throat-Bell Container	
Interior of the Container	Exterior of the Container
<p>Five-wheel seed syllables → <i>Spell of Reward Body</i> · <i>Spell of Transformation Body</i> · True-mind Seed Syllables · <i>Spell of Cundi</i> → <i>śarīra</i> reliquary (containing seven <i>śarīra</i> grains) · a heart-jewel without a hole → Place a round mirror (<i>hamyōn wōn'gyōng</i> 下面圓鏡) → The five treasure bottles are placed on the round mirror → Put another round mirror on the mouths of the five treasure bottles → Five-color threads (<i>O pobyōng hap chi palch'ul ō t'onggae</i> 五寶瓶合之 瓶出於筒蓋)</p>	<p>Wrap the container with the <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> → Place the <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> on the container → Place the <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundi</i> upturned → Five-color threads pass through the <i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i> and <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundi</i> → The <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundi</i> wraps the <i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> → Seal the deposit by the yellow silk wrapper</p>
Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Yellow Silk Wrapper	
<p>Dedicatory inscription → <i>Spell of the Jewel Casket</i> → Wrap the throat-bell container with [the <i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle</i> and [<i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i> → Wrap [the container] with the yellow silk wrapper → Coil the top of the yellow silk wrapper and five-color threads together and attach it to the back. The wrapped deposit is tied with the five-color thread widthwise and lengthwise. The <i>Spell of Cundi</i> seals it vertically → The <i>Spell of the Dharma-Seal</i> seals it horizontally → On the south side, write “Reverently sealed by the verifier, [your] servant.”</p>	

Table 7. Square Throat-Bell Containers Yielded by the Late Chosŏn Buddhist Paintings

<p><i>Host of Guardian Deities of T'ongdosa (1792)</i></p>	<p><i>Kṣitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of T'ongdosa (1812)</i></p>	<p><i>King Yama of Kwanŭmsa (1811)</i></p>	<p><i>Host of Guardian Deities of P'agyesa (1824)</i></p>	<p><i>Śakyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Paengnyŏnam, T'ongdosa (1863)</i></p>
<p>Figures</p>				
<p><i>Pokchang Object</i></p>				

Table 8. Diagrams from the *First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings* and the *Yujomsa Edition of the Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* and Matching Examples Yielded by Buddhist Paintings

Exterior Items of the Throat-Bell Container	
<p><i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i></p>  <p><i>First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings (1784)</i></p>	<p><i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundi</i></p>  <p><i>Yujomsa Edition of the Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images (1744)</i></p>
<p><i>Diagram of a Great Red Lotus with Eight Petals</i></p>  <p><i>First Published Collection of Esoteric Teachings (1784)</i></p>	<p><i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundi</i></p>  <p><i>Yujomsa Edition of the Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images (1744)</i></p>
<p><i>Diagram of the Arrayed Adamantine Square Earth</i></p>  <p><i>Ksitigarbha with the Ten Kings of Hell of Munsusa (1744)</i></p>	<p><i>Diagram of the Heaven-Shaped Circle of the Nine Letters of Cundi</i></p>  <p><i>Yujomsa Edition of the Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images (1744)</i></p>



King Yama of Kwanūmsa (1811)

Sakyamuni Preaching at Vulture Peak of Kūngnagam, Yongmūnsa (1812)

Yujōmsa Edition of the Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images (1824)



THE *POKCHANG* RITUAL FOR BUDDHIST PAINTINGS*

LEE Seonyong

Le terme « cache ventrale » (pokchang 腹藏) fait référence aux objets insérés à l'intérieur d'une statue bouddhique avant l'enchâssement de cette statue dans une salle de culte. Ces derniers se composent d'inscriptions dédicatoires, un contenant en forme de clochette dans la gorge, des soutras et des formules magiques (dhāraṇī) imprimées. Ce terme fait également référence au rituel qui a été effectué pour insérer ces objets dans une statue. Avec le rituel du pointage des yeux (chōman 點眼), cette pratique a pour fin d'animer les images, les transformant en Bouddha. Contrairement à celui des autres pays tels que la Chine et le Japon, le rituel de la cache ventrale en Corée est basé sur les différentes versions du Chosang kyōng 造像經 (Soutra de la production d'images bouddhiques). Ce soutra prescrit le type d'objets insérés dans les statues et les procédures rituelles à accomplir. Au cours du rituel de la cache ventrale, chaque formule sacrée (mantra) est récitée cent huit fois et certaines d'entre elles sont inscrites sur les images principales et dans les marges des peintures bouddhiques.

*Bien que ce soit différent de l'insertion d'objets dans les statues, les peintures bouddhiques sont également dotées de vitalité grâce à l'inscription de mantras et de lettres du syllabaire Siddham. Autrement dit, tout comme l'exécution du rituel du pointage des yeux après avoir inséré des reliques du Bouddha et un contenant en forme de clochette représentant le cœur, l'inscription sur la peinture de lettres du Siddham, symboles de reliques, est aussi une méthode pour animer les peintures bouddhiques afin de rendre possible le culte. Par conséquent, les lettres du Siddham et les mantras inscrits sur les peintures sont des représentations formelles des rituels de la cache ventrale et du pointage des yeux**.*

* Translated into English by Yoon Ah Hwang.

** Translated into French by Long Junxi 龍俊希.



Introduction

The term *pokchang* 腹藏 primarily refers to the objects inserted inside a Buddhist statue (*pokchang mul* 腹藏物) before the statue is enshrined in a worship hall.¹ They include dedicatory inscriptions, a throat-bell container (*buryōng t'ong* 喉鈴筒), *sūtra* copies, and *dhāraṇī* prints. The same term also refers to the ritual accompanying the installation (*allip* 安立) of such objects.² Along with the ritual of dotting the eyes (*chōman* 點眼), the *pokchang* ritual transforms a material statue into a living Buddha. Therefore, these are the two most important consecration rituals for Buddhist statues, which are central to Buddhist religious belief and devotion.

The *pokchang* ritual was also practiced for paintings in Korea. The *pokchang* items for Buddhist paintings are enshrined in a pouch known as *pokchang nang* 腹藏囊 hung in front of the painting, and also placed on the backside, or inside of the painting.³ Moreover, dedicatory inscriptions for Buddhist paintings not only record the painting's production, but also list offerings donated for the production of the painting that are similar to the *pokchang* items used for statues. Offerings mentioned in such inscriptions include *pokchang*, incense pouches (*hyang nang* 香囊), throat-bell containers, Buddha-spirit containers (*purūyōng t'ong* 佛靈通), throat-spirit containers (*buryōng t'ong* 喉靈通), rings (*wōnhwan* 圓環), pearls (*chinju* 眞珠), round mirrors (*wōn'gyōng* 圓鏡), and lotus leaves (*hayōp* 荷葉). Most extant *pokchang* examples from Buddhist paintings date from the eighteenth century onward. However, a *dhāraṇī* print attached to the backside of the late Koryō 高麗 (918–1392) painting of Amitābha, now in the collection of the Shōbōji 正法寺 in Japan, was discovered during its conservation. The *dhāraṇī* was placed near the Buddha's chest area. This example suggests that *pokchang* were used for the consecration of paintings and statues since the late Koryō period.

1. The *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* 東國李相國集, *Tongmunsōn* 東文選, and the dedicatory inscriptions written in the Koryō period used the term *pokchang*. On the other hand, the terms *zhuangzang* 裝藏 and *nōnyūbin* 納入品 were respectively used in China and Japan.

2. The term *anch'i* 安置 was frequently used as a verb that means to place something inside a Buddhist statue. The term *nabip* 納入, which was used in Japan, also appears in Korean documents. The term *allip* 安立 was used in the “Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Throat-Bell Container” (*Huryōng t'ong nae allip ch'aje* 喉鈴筒內安立次第) section and the “Sequence of Installing [Objects] in the Yellow Silk Wrapper” (*Hwangch'o p'okcha nae allip ch'aje* 黃絹幅子內安立次第) section in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

3. The *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings was disclosed for the first time to the public through the following publications. See Onyang minsok pangmulgwan 溫陽民俗博物館, ed., *1302 nyōn Amit'a pulbokchangmul ūi chosa yōn'gu* 1302年阿彌陀佛腹藏物の調査研究 (Seoul: Kyemongsa, 1991); and Sudōksa kūnyōk sōngbogwan 修德寺權域聖寶館, *Chisim kwim'yōngnye: Han'guk ūi pulbokchang* 至心歸命禮: 韓國의 佛腹藏 (Yesan: Sudōksa kūnyōk sōngbogwan, 2004). Guest Editors' note: See also Lee Yongyun's article in this volume for a discussion of the *pokchang* items of Buddhist paintings.



Unlike other cultures in East Asia, the practice of *pokchang* in Korea was based on the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyōng* 造像經).⁴ This group of texts explains the types of *pokchang* objects and the rituals accompanying their installation. Each prescribed *mantra* should be recited 108 times during the *pokchang* ritual. In the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, the phonetic value of *mantras* that are originally inscribed in Siddham letters are transliterated into Chinese characters and into Korean vernacular scripts. Inscriptions of the Siddham letters and *dhāraṇīs* were also used as *pokchang* objects. Such *mantras* and Siddham letters have been discovered on the front and back sides of some Buddhist paintings, which makes the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings different from that of Buddhist statues. However, previous studies have only mentioned the existence of Siddham letters without identifying what these *mantra* or seed syllables might represent or analyzing the meaning of their very existence. Therefore, by comparing the Siddham letters written on Buddhist paintings with those listed in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, this essay sheds new light on their relation to the *pokchang* ritual and the eye-dotting ritual.

Ritual and the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

The *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, the scriptural authority for the *pokchang* and eye-dotting ceremonies, was one of the indispensable texts for Korean Buddhist communities since it invested Buddhist statues and paintings enshrined within worship halls with religious meaning through those two ceremonies. Currently, the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* are known to have five extant editions and various copies, including the Yongch'ōnsa 龍泉寺 edition (1575) and the Yujōmsa 楡岾寺 edition (1824).⁵ Except for the Yujōmsa edition's addition of the section, titled "Writing on Eye Dotting" (*Chōman mun* 點眼文), the overall structure of these editions is nearly identical. Their contents include sections entitled, the "Sūtra of the Great Canon in One Glance" (*Taejang illam kyōng* 大藏一覽經), which is a compendium of *sūtras* pertinent to the production of Buddhist statues; the "Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects within [Images of] All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas" (*Che pulbosal pokchangdan ūisik* 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式, hereafter "Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects"), which prescribes the types of inserted objects and their meanings; the "Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime

4. For Korean *pokchang* based on the instructions in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, see Yi Sōn-yong (Lee Seonyong) 李宣鎔, "Pulbokchangmul kusōng hyōngsik e kwanhan yōn'gu" 佛腹藏物 구성형식에 관한 연구, *Misulsabak yōn'gu* 美術史學研究 261 (2009): 77–104.

5. The editions of *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* discovered thus far are the Yongch'ōnsa edition (1575, titled *Chosang kyōng* 造像經), the Nūnggasa 楞伽寺 edition (1697, titled *Kwansang ūigwe* 觀相儀軌), the Hwajangsa 華藏寺 edition (1720, titled *Hwāōm chosang* 華嚴造像), the Kimnyongsa 金龍寺 edition (1746, titled *Chosang kyōng*), and the Yujōmsa edition (1824, titled *Chosang kyōng*). The five editions' content and detailed section divisions are mostly identical, although there are some different expressions. Scholars usually conduct their research based on the Yujōmsa edition.





and Auspicious” (*Myogilsang taegyowang kyōng* 妙吉祥大教王經), which contains a ritual process performed by a *dharma* master of spell chanting (*songju pōpsa* 誦呪法師), a preceptor (Skt. *ācārya*, *asari* 阿闍梨), and ritual masters of the five directions (*obang pōpsa* 五方法師); and the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” (*Sam silchidan sōk* 三悉地壇釋), which describes ritual altars (*ūsiktan* 儀式壇). Manuscript copies of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, which are prone to editing and correction, have additional diagrams and spells. This suggests that the ritual may have been performed differently by different ritual officiants or their monastic lineages.

The “Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects” section explains that the *Spells of the Four Directions* (*Sabang chu* 四方呪), the five-wheel seed syllables (*oryun chongja* 五輪種子), *Sambhogakāya Mantra* (*Posin chu* 報身呪), *Nirmāṇakāya Mantra* (*Hwasin chu* 化身呪), and the true-mind seed syllables (*chinsim chongja* 真心種子) become *pokchang* objects when each Siddham letter is inscribed in the five (or four) directions. The “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section advises a *dharma* master of spell chanting to recite a prescribed *mantra* 108 times in accordance with each *pokchang* object listed in the “Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects.” It also describes a consecration ritual (Skt. *abhiṣeka*, *kwanjōng* 灌頂), which is performed simultaneously with the recitation. This whole sequence is the *pokchang* ritual. For example, it explains that if the treasure bottle made of blue agate (*ch’ōngsaek mano pobyōng* 青色瑪瑙寶瓶) representing the east among the five treasure bottles (*o pobyōng* 五寶瓶) is prepared and the *dharma* master of spell chanting performs the consecration by reciting the *Mantra of Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva* (*Kūmgang paramil posal chinōn* 金剛波羅蜜菩薩真言) 108 times, the recipient of the ritual will gain an indestructible body like a diamond.⁶ In other words, the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* contains descriptions of ritual process, which are performed according to prescribed sequences and rules through intangible ritual actions using *mantras* and tangible objects to be installed.

The “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section comprises the following parts: “Producing-Siddhi” (*Ch’ul silchi* 出悉地), “Entering-Siddhi” (*Ip silchi* 入悉地), “Secret-Siddhi” (*Pimil silchi* 秘密悉地), “List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Appearing after] Tathāgata Adamantine King” (*Yōl Kūmgang wang yōrae* 列金剛王如來),⁷ “Method of Dotting with a Brush” (*Chōmp’il pang* 點筆方), and “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” (*Chunje kuja* 准提九字). The first three are meant to

6. Yujōmsa edition (1824) of *Chosang kyōng*, “*Myogilsang taegyowang kyōng*” section. “東方青色瑪瑙寶瓶 表金剛波羅蜜菩薩 以菩薩真言 加持一百八遍 二羽金剛縛 忍願堅如針 各金剛心印 金剛波羅蜜菩薩真言 唵 薩怛縛 縛日里 吽 加持寶瓶 授大灌頂 獲金剛不壞堅固之身 誦呪法師 誦金剛波羅蜜菩薩真言一百八遍 後 阿闍梨 以此五寶瓶 共盛一器 持吉祥草 洒水灌頂呼瓶名云 東方青色瑪瑙寶瓶 東方法師 應答受瓶 立於槃上東方位 阿闍梨 又如是次次呼名云 南方某瓶 西方某瓶 北方某瓶 中方某瓶 五方法師 亦如上次次應答受瓶 立於本位 五瓶如法安立 後其下諸物 呼名應答 安布皆做此。” Except for the Yujōmsa edition, all the other editions including the Yongch’ōnsa edition do not have detailed records of the sequence of the ritual performed by the *dharma* master of spell chanting, the preceptor, and the ritual masters of the five directions.

7. Guest Editors’ note: This part is titled “List of the Arrayed Adamantine Kings” (*Yōl Kūmgang wang* 列金剛王) in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.



enliven the Buddhist image through an altar ritual, which transforms them into a *nirmānakāya* by chanting the producing-*siddhi*, a *saṃbhogakāya* by the entering-*siddhi*, and a *dharmakāya* by the secret-*siddhi*. According to the *Secret Dhāraṇī Method of the Three Siddhis That Destroy Hell and Reverse Karmic Hindrances in the Three Worlds* (Ch. *Sanzhong xidi podiyu zhuan yezhang chu sanjie mimi tuoluoni fa* 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界秘密陀羅尼法, T 905), the producing-*siddhi* is related to the section of the body from the feet to the waist, the entering-*siddhi* is from the belly button to the heart, and the secret-*siddhi* is from the heart to the top of the head.⁸ This positioning is also closely related to the eye-dotting ritual. The “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and “Nine Letters of *Cundi*” enumerate Siddhaṃ letters pertaining to body parts including the top of the head, the middle of the forehead, eyebrows, eyes, pupils, neck, shoulders, chest, and feet.

Therefore, the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* can be characterized as a manual for the *pokchang* and eye-dotting rituals. The texts included in the collection explain the types of inserted objects and their meanings, the sequence of the *pokchang* ritual, the accompanying *mantras*, and the Siddhaṃ letters pertinent to the eye-dotting ritual (table 1).⁹

Table 1. Mantras and Inserted Objects in the Form of Siddhaṃ Letters in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

Sections	Mantras and Inserted Objects
The “Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects within [Images of] All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” section 諸佛菩薩腹藏壇儀式	<p><i>Mantra of Accumulated Fires</i> 火聚真言 (唵·薩·縛·播·波普·吒·那·訶·那·縛·日羅·野·沙婆訶)</p> <p><i>Spells of the Four Directions</i> 四方呪 (阿·摩·羅·訶)</p> <p>Five-wheel seed syllables 五輪種子 (暗·覽·鑊·哈·坎)</p> <p>True-mind seed syllables 真心種子 (吽·恒洛·紇里·惡·鑊)</p> <p><i>Dhāraṇī of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva’s Dharma-Seal That Can Extinguish Karma</i> 文殊菩薩法印能消定業陀羅尼 (唵·婆·計·陀·那·摩·沙婆·訶)</p>

8. “出悉地從足至腰 入悉地從臍至心 秘密悉地從心至頂 如是三悉地 出悉地化身成就 入悉地報身成就 秘密悉地蘇悉地法身成就,” requoted from Kim Yōng-dōk 김영덕, “Samjong silchi p’a chiok chōn ōpchang ch’ul samgye pimil tarani pōp” 三種悉地破地獄轉業障出三界秘密陀羅尼法, *Pulgyo wōnjōn yōn’gu* 佛教原典研究 12 (2010): 159–60.

9. Table 1 was created using the contents shared in all the five editions of the “Altar Ritual of Inserting Objects within [Images of] All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” section, the “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section, and the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Using the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* as the standard, I inserted a dot (·) between each phonetic value, and included relevant names of buddhas and bodhisattvas listed in the “Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Appearing after] Tathāgata Adamantine King” part.

Sections		Mantras and Inserted Objects	
The “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section 妙吉祥大教王經	Five treasure bottles 五寶瓶	Treasure bottle of the East in blue agate 東方青色瑪瑙寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 金剛波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·薩·怛縛·縛·日里·吽)
		Treasure bottle of the South in yellow Cintāmaṇi 南方黃色摩尼寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Ratnasambhavaṣāradhara Bodhisattva</i> 寶生波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·羅·怛曩·嚩·日里·怛朗)
		Treasure bottle of the West in red coral 西方紅色珊瑚寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Padmapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 蓮花波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·達·摩·縛·日里·紇哩)
		Treasure bottle of the North in green glass 北方綠色琉璃寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Karmapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 羯摩波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·羯·磨·縛·日里·惡)
		Treasure bottle of the Center in white crystal 中方白色水晶寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Mūlapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 根本波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·商·迦·里·扇·底·羯·里·虞·吒·賴·佉·吒·野·薩·縛·撻·薩·馱·野·沙波·訶)
Five kinds of grains 五穀		<i>Mantra of Akṣobhya Buddha</i> 阿閼佛真言 / <i>Mantra of Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 金剛波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·惡·芻·毘夜·吽)	
Five treasures 五寶		<i>Mantra of Ratnasambhava Buddha</i> 寶生佛真言 / <i>Mantra of Ratnasambhavaṣāradhara Bodhisattva</i> 寶生波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·羅·怛那·三·婆·縛·怛洛)	
Five medicines 五藥		<i>Mantra of Amitābha Buddha</i> 無量壽佛真言 / <i>Mantra of Padmapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 蓮華波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·阿·彌·哆·婆·紇哩)	
Five incenses 五香		<i>Mantra of Amoghasiddhi Buddha</i> 不空成就佛真言 / <i>Mantra of Karmapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 羯摩波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·阿·謨·伽·悉·弟·惡)	
Five yellow products 五黃		<i>Mantra of Vairocana Buddha</i> 毘盧遮那佛真言 / <i>Mantra of Mūlapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 根本波羅蜜菩薩真言 (唵·縛·日羅·馱·都·鑊)	
Five Mustard seeds 五芥子	East 東方		<i>Mantra of the Yamantaka Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 焰曼怛迦大明王阿閼化身真言 (唵·縛·日羅·屈魯·馱·吽·吽·登·吒·縛·吒·縛·吒·焰·曼·怛·矩·哈)
	South 南方		<i>Mantra of the Pallaniyadalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Vairocana</i> 鉢鑠拏也怛迦大明王毘盧化身真言 (鉢羅·陽·怛·矩·哈)

Sections	Mantras and Inserted Objects
West 西方	<i>Mantra of the Palnapmadalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Ratnasambhava</i> 鉢納摩怛迦大明王寶生化身真言 (鉢·納摩·怛·矩·哈)
North 北方	<i>Mantra of the Mibūlnangdalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Amitābha</i> 尾屹曩怛迦大明王阿彌陀化身真言 (尾·屹曩·怛·矩·哈)
Southeast 東南方	<i>Mantra of the T'ajiraya Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Amoghasiddhi</i> 陀枳羅惹大明王不空化身真言 (唵·吒·枳·吽·囉)
Southwest 西南方	<i>Mantra of the Nyōng(?)nanūngna Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 顛攞能拏大明王阿閼化身真言 (唵·顛·攞·縛·日羅·難·拏·吽)
Northwest 西北方	<i>Mantra of the Mahāmāra Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 摩訶摩羅大明王阿閼化身真言 (唵·塢·日羅·戍·羅·野·吽)
Northeast 東北方	<i>Mantra of the Ajwaranangt'a Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Amitābha</i> 阿左攞曩他大明王阿彌陀化身真言 (阿·左·羅·乞里·摩·訶·鉢羅·縛·賀·戶·吽·吽·吽·登·吒)
Bottom 下方	<i>Mantra of the Pangna(?)p'adara Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Amitābha</i> 縛羅播多羅大明王阿彌陀化身真言 (惡·達·縛·日羅·達·魯·攞·俄·底里·路·枳野·乞羅·拏·洒·薩·迦·鉢羅·乞里·瑟吒·尾·羅·毘·摩·黎·魯·拏·楞·迦·尾·乞羅·吽)
Top 上方	<i>Mantra of the Osūlwaejakkhūllapangnīje Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 塢瑟灑作訖羅縛里帝大明王阿閼化身真言 (唵·曩·謨·三·滿·多·迦·縛·迦·即·多·縛·日羅·南·唵·戍·禮·祢·吽·沙波·訶)
Five colored banners 五彩色幡	<i>Mantra of Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva</i> 金剛手菩薩真言 (唵·縛·日羅·鉢·拏·曳·沙波·訶)
Five colored threads 五色絲	<i>Mantra of Mahāpratisara Who Is the Master at the Center</i> 中方本尊隨求真言 (唵·縛·日羅·馱·都·縛·日羅·素·怛羅·半·左·洛·訖羅·尾·馱·顛·那·吽·吒)
Five seasonal flowers 五時花	<i>Mantra of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva</i> 虛空藏菩薩真言 (唵·伽·謁·婆·野·吽·沙波·訶)
Five Bodhi Tree leaves 五菩提樹葉	<i>Mantra of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva</i> 地藏菩薩真言 (唵·薩·縛·拏·縛·那·尾·設釳·婆·曳·吽)
Five auspicious grasses 五吉祥草	<i>Mantra of Five Auspicious Grasses</i> 五吉祥草真言 (唵·縛·日羅·摩·訶·矩·舍·鉢·尾·怛羅·穆·棄·阿·鼻·誑·左·怛罔)
Five canopies 五傘蓋	<i>Mantra of White Canopy</i> 白傘蓋真言 (唵·薩·縛·怛·他·俄·怛·提·怛羅·布·惹·銘·伽·三·母·捺羅·沙頗·羅·拏·三·摩·曳·吽)

Sections	Mantras and Inserted Objects
“Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section 三悉地壇釋	Secret- <i>siddhi</i> 秘密悉地 (<i>am</i> 暗 · <i>vām</i> 鑿 · <i>rām</i> 噴 · <i>bām</i> 哈 · <i>kbām</i> 坎) Entering- <i>siddhi</i> 入悉地 (<i>ā</i> 阿 · <i>vā</i> 縛 · <i>rā</i> 羅 · <i>bā</i> 訶 · <i>kbā</i> 佉) Producing- <i>siddhi</i> 出悉地 (<i>a</i> 阿 · <i>ra</i> 羅 · <i>va</i> 縛 · <i>ca</i> 左 · <i>na</i> 那) Method of Dotting with a Brush (唵 · 阿 · 吽 · 暗 · 鑿 · 噴 · 哈 · 坎) Nine Letters of <i>Cundī</i> (<i>om</i> 唵 · <i>ca</i> 左 · <i>le</i> 嚇 · <i>cu</i> 注 · <i>le</i> 嚇 · <i>cun</i> 准 · <i>ti</i> 提 · <i>svā</i> 娑婆 · <i>bā</i> 訶) List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adamantine King 列金剛王如來 (Tathāgata Adamantine King 金剛王 如來 · Samantabhadra Bodhisattva 普賢菩薩 · Sun- Essence Bodhisattva 日精菩薩 · Vajragarbha Bodhi- sattva 金剛藏菩薩 · Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva 文殊菩薩 · Moon-Essence Bodhisattva 月精菩薩 · Tathāgata Śākyamuni 釋迦如來 · Vairocana Buddha 盧舍那佛 · Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva 虛空藏菩薩 · Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛 · Tathāgata Bhaiṣajyaguru 藥師 如來 · Maitreya Bodhisattva 彌勒菩薩 · Bod- hisattva Compassion and Wisdom 慈惠菩薩 · Bod- hisattva Seminal Progression 精進菩薩 · Bod- hisattva Manifestation of Knowing 出現知菩薩 · Bodhisattva Shining Net 光網菩薩 · Solid- Power Bodhisattva 堅固力菩薩 · Vajrasphoṭa Bod- hisattva 金剛鑠菩薩 · Ratna-mudrā-hasta Bod- hisattva 寶印手菩薩 · Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva 地藏菩薩 · Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva 觀世音 菩薩 · Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva 大勢至 菩薩 · Bodhisattva Meditative Concentration 禪定 菩薩 · Bodhisattva Most Seminal Progression 最精進菩薩)

Ritual Manifested in the Form of the Inscriptions

There are two different ways to write Siddhaṃ letters on Buddhist paintings. First, they are found at the paintings' four margins. Second, they are also written directly on the images of the buddhas and bodhisattvas. Through a comparison of Siddhaṃ letters with the instructions in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, I would like to find out if the letters have any pertinent relationship with the *pokchang* and eye-dotting rituals. Besides those found in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (1824), the forms of Siddhaṃ letters in the Nūnggasa, Hwajangsa, and Kimnyongsa editions are identical since

these three editions are reprints of the Yongch'onsa edition (1575). This hinders us from examining the thirty-three Buddhist paintings under discussion, which were produced between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, in relation to different editions of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. Therefore, the following discussion focuses on the kinds of Siddham letters and the corresponding rituals.

The Pokchang Ritual and Mantras

Siddham letters inscribed on the margins have thus far been found on twenty-nine Buddhist paintings (table 2).¹⁰ The letters were written not on the mounting but in a space reserved intentionally for them. The letters in the left and right margins were written from top to bottom. The letters in the top and bottom margins were written either towards the left or towards the right.

Table 2. List of Buddhist Paintings Inscribed with Siddham Letters

Number	Title	Date	Type
1	Banner Painting ¹¹ of Changgoksa 長谷寺	1673	I
2	Banner Painting of Magoksa 麻谷寺	1687	II
3	<i>Preaching Amitābha</i> at Tonghwasa 桐華寺	1699	II
4	<i>Nectar</i> at Namjangsa 南長寺	1701	I
5	Banner Painting of Kimnyongsa 金龍寺	1703	I
6	Banner Painting of Sudosa	1704	NA
7	Banner Painting of Yongmunsa 龍門寺	1705	II
8	Banner Painting of Pogyōngsa 寶鏡寺	1708	I
9	Banner Painting of Pōpchusa 法住寺 in Kunwi 軍威	1714	I
10	Banner Painting of Ch'ōngnyangsan	1725	-
11	<i>Three-Matrix Bodhisattvas</i> of Taedunsa	1740	-
12	<i>Preaching Śākyamuni Buddha</i> of Chikchisa 直指寺	1744	I
13	<i>Preaching Amitābha</i> of Chikchisa	1744	I
14	<i>Preaching Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha</i> of Chikchisa	1744	I

10. The banner painting (1704) of Sudosa 修道寺 only has the Siddham letter *om* 唵 on either side of the phrase, reading “Rocana Buddha, the Complete Saṃbhogakāya” (Wōnman posin Nosanabul 圓滿報身盧舍那佛), inscribed on the upper part of the painting. This banner painting therefore was categorized as of the miscellaneous type in table 2. As for the banner painting (1725) of Ch'ōngnyangsan 清涼山, the banner painting (1740) of Taedunsa 大菴寺, and the banner painting (1799) of Ssanggyesa 雙溪寺, I have only checked the presence of Siddham letters and need to conduct further research.

11. Guest Editors' note: A banner painting, or *kwaebul* 掛佛, refers to a monumental type of Buddhist painting that was produced to function as the object of worship in outdoor ritual services during the latter half of Chosōn period.

Number	Title	Date	Type
15	Banner Painting of Pusōksa 浮石寺	1745	II
16	Banner Painting of Kwangdōksa 廣德寺	1749	II
17	Banner Painting of Ŭnhaesa 銀海寺	1750	II
18	<i>Preaching Śākyamuni Buddha</i> of Changnyuksa 莊陸寺	1764	II
19	Banner Painting of Pōpchusa 法住寺 in Poūn 報恩	1766	I
20	Banner Painting of T'ongdosa 通度寺	1767	I
21	<i>Sixteen Visualizations from the Sūtra of the Meditation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life</i> of Kaesimsa 開心寺	1767	II
22	Banner Painting of Ch'uksōsa 鷺棲寺	1768	I
23	<i>Preaching Śākyamuni Buddha</i> of Pulguksa 佛國寺	1769	II
24	<i>Host of Spirits</i> of Kobangsa 高方寺	1770	II
25	<i>Preaching Amitābha</i> of Ch'ōnūnsa 泉隱寺	1776	II
26	Banner Painting of Namjangsa	1788	I
27	<i>Sixteen Arhats</i> of Namjangsa	1790	II
28	Banner Painting of Ssanggyesa	1799	-
29	<i>Sixteen Arhats</i> of T'ongdosa	1926	I

After comparing these Buddhist paintings to the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, I found that they can be divided into two types. The first are the type I paintings in table 2, which show the mixed use of Siddham letters listed in relation to the inserted objects mentioned in the “Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects” section, the *mantras* from the “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section, and the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” sections.¹² Representative examples of type I are the gigantic banner painting of Changgoksa (1673, listed as no. 1 in table 2) and a set of three altar paintings each describing a preaching assembly of Śākyamuni, Amitābha, and Bhaiṣajyaguru of Chikchisa (1744, nos. 12–14 in table 2).

The *mantras* written on the Changgoksa painting can be analyzed as follows (fig. 1).

12. This is type I in table 2.



Fig. 1. Mantras inscribed on the banner painting of Changgoksa. Ink and color on hemp. 809 × 566 cm. Dated 1673. Changgoksa, Ch'öngyang County, South Ch'ungch'öng Province. Photograph and identification by the author.

At the center of the upper margin is inscribed the *Mantra of Vairocana Buddha* (*Pirojanabul chinön* 毘盧遮那佛真言), which is recited when installing the five yellow products (*ohwang* 五黃)—*hibiscus mutabilis* (*taehwang* 大黃), red arsenic (*unghwang* 雄黃), “small yellow” (*sohwang* 小黃), orpiment (*chahwang* 雌黃), and cow bezoar (*ubwang* 牛黃)—inside a Buddhist image. According to the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, if one recites this *mantra* 108 times and then receives consecration, the ritual recipient will be liberated from *samsara* and obtain a purified body.¹³ Other *mantras* inscribed on this painting are primarily from the “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section, which are recited when *pokchang* objects are installed in a statue according to the prescribed ritual sequence. In addition, there are also the *Spells of the Four Directions*, the *Dhāraṇī of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva’s Dharma-Seal That Can Extinguish Karma*, the true-mind

13. Yongch'önsa edition (1575), “Myogilsang taegyowang kyöng” section. “五黃 五藏物 用一牛乳酪 不得別牛及酥糞 糞小便 共盛淨器中 以毘盧遮那佛及根本波羅蜜菩薩真言 一百八遍 於五瓶內 各置小許授 大灌頂 得越輪迴 獲清淨之身 毘盧遮那佛真言 唵 縛日羅 馱都鏗。” And Yujömsa edition (1824), “Myogilsang taegyowang kyöng” section. “五黃 東 大黃 南 雄黃 西 小黃 北 雌黃 中 牛黃 五藏物 用一牛乳酪 不得別牛及酥糞 阿闍梨 以糞小便 共盛淨器 灑水灌頂 然後 誦呪法師 以毘盧遮那佛真言及根本波羅蜜菩薩真言等 各加持一百八遍 毘盧遮那佛真言 唵 縛日羅 馱都鏗 菩薩真言如前 既加持已 阿闍梨 自東方黃 次呼五方黃名 五方法師 亦次次應答 以其黃 於五瓶內 各置小許授大灌頂 得越輪迴 獲清淨之身。”

seed syllables, the five-wheel seed syllables from the “Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects” section, and the *Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja* (*Yukcha tae myōng chinōn* 六字大明真言).

The “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section is a citation from fascicle 1 of the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching of Visualization Methods Which Are Auspicious, Universal, Secret, and Superlative* (Ch. *Miaojixiang pingdeng mimi zuishang guanmen dajiaowang jing* 妙吉祥平等祕密最上觀門大教王經; hereafter the *Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious*). It mainly discusses the *abhiṣeka* with the water of the five bottles and the issue of how to empower (*kaji* 加持) the four precious powders, five seeds, five-colored threads, and so on. Each object is empowered by the recitation of a *mantra* by a *dharma* master of spell chanting and the *abhiṣeka* performed by the preceptor. These objects are to be enshrined by the ritual masters of the five directions. Since the esoteric *abhiṣeka* ritual was introduced to the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, it was appropriated for the installation of objects within Buddhist statues and the spells to be recited during the *abhiṣeka* ritual were inscribed on Buddhist paintings. Accordingly, the *abhiṣeka* ritual in the “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section can be understood as a process during which the body of an icon is completed into a Buddha through the symbolic steps of empowerment and *abhiṣeka*.

In contrast to other paintings on which letters are inscribed from top to bottom, the position of the letters forming the *mantras* on the Changgoksa painting varies depending on where they are inscribed. As for the *mantras* located on the painting’s top margin, the aforementioned *Mantra of Vairocana Buddha* is written from left to right, while the *Mantra of the Pallaniyadalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Vairocana* of the South and the *Mantra of the Palnapmadalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Ratnasambhava* of the West from the “Five Mustard Seeds” (*o kaeja* 五芥子) part of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* are rotated 90 degrees. Letters in the latter two *mantras* are also rotated 90 degrees, so that they face each other. As shown in the *Mantra of the Yamantaka Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Akṣobhya* of the East, when the *mantra* was inscribed on the top register, the letters were rotated 90 degrees. On the other hand, when it was located on the edge of the viewer’s right side, the direction was unchanged. These examples show that the *mantra*’s location determined the direction of its letters. The Changgoksa painting demonstrates that it not only includes the *mantras* from the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*; it also shows the intentional rotation of the *mantras* in accordance with their location and writing direction, proving that their function is not merely decorative.

Each painted panel of the Chikchisa triptych has *mantras* inscribed on all four margins.¹⁴ Among the three paintings, the following *mantras* are inscribed on the

14. Hō Il-bōm pointed out that the *mantras* inscribed on the set of three altar paintings of Chikchisa belong to the type of *mantras* used in the demarcation of a ritual arena (*kyōlgye chinōn* 結界真言), and that these *mantras* are largely identical with those written on the ceiling of the main hall where the paintings are enshrined. Hō suggested that the *mantras* were inscribed on



Preaching Śākyamuni: the producing-*siddhi*, the secret-*siddhi*, the entering-*siddhi*, the Nine Letters of *Cundī*, *om* 唵 · a 啊 · *hūm* 吽, the *Spells of the Four Directions*, and the true-mind seed syllables from the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section. There are also *mantras* from the “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section, such as the *Mantra of Akṣobhya Buddha* (*Ach’okpul chinōn* 阿閼佛真言) that is to be recited when the five kinds of grains (*ogok* 五穀)—barley, millet, rice, mung bean, and hemp seeds—are installed in the five treasure bottles.¹⁵ Next, the *Preaching Bhaisajyaguru* has inscriptions of identical *mantras* from the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section, such as the three *siddhis* and the Nine Letters of *Cundī*, but this painting further includes *mantras* from the “List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adamantine King” part of this section. In addition, inscriptions include the five-wheel seed syllables, the *Mantra of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas* (*Ilch’e yörae chōsin sari pohyōp chinōn* 一切如來全身舍利寶篋真言), as well as the *mantras* for five treasure bottles and five canopies from the “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section. By comprehensively reviewing the *mantras* inscribed on the Chikchisa triptych, I have determined that the *Preaching Amitābha* includes *mantras* that do not appear on the other two paintings comprising the set. They are the *mantras* of directions such as “northeast,” “top,” and “bottom” from the “Five Mustard Seeds” part in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. In other words, the *mantras* from the “Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects,” “Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious,” and “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” sections are respectively written on the three paintings of Chikchisa (table 3). This fact shows that the distribution of the *mantras* inscribed on each of the three paintings was carefully planned, indicating that the composition of this triptych was thoroughly calculated from the beginning based on the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

these paintings’ four edges to protect the realm of the Buddha, and the same kind of *mantras* inscribed on the ceiling of the main hall form a double protection zone together with the paintings’ *mantra* inscriptions. See Hō II-bōm 許一範, *Han’guk ūi chinōn munhwa* 한국의 진언문화 (Seoul: Haeinhang, 2008), 205.

15. Yongch’ōnsa edition (1575), “Myogilsang taegyowang kyōng” section. “五穀 此真言五如來呪 以此五穀 共盛一器 以阿閼如來金剛波羅密菩薩真言等 各加持一百八遍 既加持已 安五瓶內 . . . 授大灌頂 常住不滅儀也 阿閼佛真言 唵 嚩 芻 毘 夜 吽.”



Table 3. *Mantras Written on the Chikchisa Triptych (1744)*

Textual Bases (Sections from the <i>Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i>)			List of Objects and <i>Mantras</i>	<i>Preaching</i> <i>Śākyamuni</i>	<i>Preaching</i> <i>Bhaiṣajyaguru</i>	<i>Preaching</i> <i>Amitābha</i>
“Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects within [Images of] All the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” section			<i>Mantra of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas</i> 一切如來全身舍利寶篋真言		●	
			Five-wheel seed syllables 五輪種子			●
			True-mind seed syllables 真心種子	●		
			<i>Spells of the Four Directions</i> 四方呪	●		
“Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section 妙吉祥大教王經	Five treasure bottles 五寶瓶	Treasure bottle of the East in agate 東方瑪瑙寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Vajrapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 金剛波羅密菩薩真言			●
		Treasure bottle of the South in Cintāmaṇi 南方摩尼寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Ratnasambhavaṣaṅkara Bodhisattva</i> 寶生波羅密菩薩真言			●
		Treasure bottle of the West in coral 西方珊瑚寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Padmapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 蓮華波羅密菩薩真言			●
		Treasure bottle of the North in glass 北方琉璃寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Karmaṣaṅkara Bodhisattva</i> 羯摩波羅密菩薩真言			●
		Treasure bottle of the Center in crystal 中方水精寶瓶	<i>Mantra of Mūlapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> 根本波羅密菩薩真言			●
Five kinds of grains 五穀			<i>Mantra of Akṣobhya Buddha</i> 阿閼佛真言	●		
Five treasures 五寶			<i>Mantra of Ratnasambhava Buddha</i> 寶生佛真言	●		



Textual Bases (Sections from the <i>Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i>)		List of Objects and Mantras	<i>Preaching Śākyamuni</i>	<i>Preaching Bhaiṣajyaguru</i>	<i>Preaching Amitābha</i>
	Five medicines 五藥	<i>Mantra of Amitābha Buddha</i> 無量壽佛真言	●		
	Five incenses 五香	<i>Mantra of Amoghasiddhi Buddha</i> 不空成就佛真言	●		
	Five yellow products 五黃	<i>Mantra of Vairocana Buddha</i> 毘盧遮那佛真言	●		
Five Mustard seeds 五芥子	East 東方	<i>Mantra of the Yamantaka Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 焰曼怛迦大明王 阿闍化身真言	●		
	South 南方	<i>Mantra of the Pallaniyadalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Vairocana</i> 鉢鐮拏也怛迦大明王 毘盧化身真言	●		
	West 西方	<i>Mantra of the Palnapmadalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Ratnasambhava</i> 鉢納摩怛迦大明王 寶生化身真言	●		
	North 北方	<i>Mantra of the Mihūlnangdalga Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Amitābha</i> 尾屹囊怛迦大明王 阿彌陀化身真言	●		
	Southeast 東南方	<i>Mantra of the Tājiraya Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmāṇakāya of Amoghasiddhi</i> 陀枳羅惹大明王 不空化身真言	●		



























Textual Bases (Sections from the <i>Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i>)	List of Objects and Mantras	Preaching Śākyamuni	Preaching Bhaiṣajyaguru	Preaching Amitābha
Southwest 西南方	<i>Mantra of the Nyōng(?)nanūngna Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 顛攞能拏大明王 阿闍化身真言	●		
Northwest 西北方	<i>Mantra of the Mahāmāra Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 摩訶摩羅大明王 阿闍化身真言	●		●
Northeast 東北方	<i>Mantra of the Ajwaranangī'a Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Amitābha</i> 阿左攞曩他大明王 阿彌陀化身真言			●
Bottom 下方	<i>Mantra of the Pangna(?)p'adara Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Amitābha</i> 縛羅播多羅大明王 阿彌陀化身真言			●
Top 上方	<i>Mantra of the Osūswaejakhūllapangnije Vidyārāja Who Is a Nirmānakāya of Akṣobhya</i> 塢瑟灑作訖羅縛里帝 大明王阿闍化身真言			●
Five colored banners 五色彩幡	<i>Mantra of Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva</i> 金剛手菩薩真言		●	
Five colored threads 五色絲	<i>Mantra of Mahāpratisara Who Is the Master at the Center</i> 中方本尊隨求真言	●		



Textual Bases (Sections from the <i>Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images</i>)	List of Objects and Mantras	<i>Preaching Śākyamuni</i>	<i>Preaching Bhaiṣajyaguru</i>	<i>Preaching Amitābha</i>
Five seasonal flowers 五時花	<i>Mantra of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva</i> 虛空菩薩真言		●	
Five leaves of the Bodhi Tree 五菩提樹葉	<i>Mantra of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva</i> 地藏菩薩真言		●	
Five auspicious grasses 五吉祥草	<i>Mantra of Auspicious Grass</i> 吉祥草真言		●	
Five canopies 五傘蓋	<i>Mantra of White Canopy</i> 白傘蓋真言	●	●	
The “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section 三悉地壇釋	Secret- <i>siddhi</i> 秘密悉地	●	●	●
	Entering- <i>siddhi</i> 入悉地	●	●	●
	Producing- <i>siddhi</i> 出悉地	●	●	●
	Nine Letters of <i>Cundī</i> 准提九字	●	●	
	List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adaman-tine King 列金剛王如來			●
	<i>om a hūm</i> 唵啊吽	●	●	

In contrast to the Changgoksa painting and the Chikchisa triptych, there are examples of Buddhist paintings that contain just a few selected, simply arranged *mantras*. The banner painting of Pogyōngsa (1708, listed as no. 1 in table 2) and other paintings illustrated in table 4 are such examples.

Table 4. Selective Application of Mantras


Painting	Textual basis	Mantra Inscribed	Photograph and Transcription of the Mantra
Nectar of Namjangsa (1701)	“Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects” section	<i>Mantra of the Jewel Casket of the Whole-Body Relic of All Tathāgatas</i>	 (唵·縛·日羅·婆·舍·迦·哩·誡·那·輪·羅·吽)
	“Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section	Secret-siddhi	 (am 暗·vām 鏗·rām 噴·hām 哈·khām 坎)
		Entering-siddhi	 (ā 阿·vā 縛·rā 羅·hā 訶·khā 佉)
		Producing-siddhi	 (a 阿·ra 羅·va 縛·ca 左·na 那)
Banner Painting of Pogyōngsa (1708)	“Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section	Five kinds of grains	 <i>Mantra of Akṣobhya Buddha</i> 阿闍佛真言 (唵·惡·芻·毘夜·吽)
	“Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section	Producing-siddhi	 (a 阿·ra 羅·va 縛·ca 左·na 那)
		<i>Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja</i>	 (唵·麼·扼·鉢·那·銘·吽)
Banner Painting of Pōpchusa (1766), Poñn	“Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects” section	Five-wheel seed syllables	 (暗·噴·鏗·哈·坎)
		True-mind seed syllables	 (吽·恒洛·紇里·惡·鏗)
	“Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section	Entering-siddhi	 (ā 阿·vā 縛·rā 羅·hā 訶·khā 佉)
		Producing-siddhi	 (a 阿·ra 羅·va 縛·ca 左·na 那)
		Nine Letters of Cundī	 (ca 左·le 嚇·cu 注·le 嚇·cun 准·ce 提·svā 娑婆·hā 訶·om 唵)
	<i>Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja</i>	 (唵·麼·扼·鉢·那·銘·吽)	

Painting	Textual basis	Mantra Inscribed	Photograph and Transcription of the Mantra
Banner Painting of Tongdosa (1767)	“Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects” section	True-mind seed syllables	 (唵·恒·洛·紇·里·惡·鑊)
		Spells of the Four Directions	 (阿·摩·羅·訶)
		Dhāraṇī of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva’s Dharma-Seal That Can Extinguish Karma	 (唵·婆·計·陀·那·摩·沙·婆·訶)
“Sūtra on the King of the Great Teaching Which Is Sublime and Auspicious” section	Five incenses	 <i>Mantra of Amoghasiddhi Buddha / Mantra of Karmapāramitā Bodhisattva</i> (唵·阿·謨·伽·悉·弟·惡)	
	Five Canopies 五傘蓋	 <i>Mantra of White Canopy</i> (唵·薩·縛·恒·他·俄·恒·提·恒·羅·布·惹·銘·伽·三·母·捺·羅·沙·頗·羅·拏·三·摩·曳·吽)	
“Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section	Secret-siddhi	 (<i>am</i> 暗 · <i>vām</i> 鑊 · <i>rām</i> 囉 · <i>bām</i> 囉 · <i>khām</i> 囉)	
	Entering-siddhi	 (<i>ā</i> 阿 · <i>vā</i> 縛 · <i>rā</i> 羅 · <i>hā</i> 訶 · <i>khā</i> 法)	
	Producing-siddhi	 (<i>a</i> 阿 · <i>ra</i> 羅 · <i>va</i> 縛 · <i>ca</i> 左 · <i>na</i> 那)	
	Nine Letters of Cundī	 (<i>om</i> 唵 · <i>ca</i> 左 · <i>le</i> 囉 · <i>cu</i> 注 · <i>le</i> 囉 · <i>cun</i> 准 · <i>ti</i> 提 · <i>svā</i> 娑婆 · <i>hā</i> 訶)	
Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja		 (唵·麼·拏·鉢·那·銘·吽)	
		 Either <i>Mantra of Precious Tooth</i> (<i>Poch'i chinōn</i> 寶齒真言) or <i>Mantra of Small Jewel Casket</i> (<i>So pohyōp chinōn</i> 小寶篋真言)	

Painting	Textual basis	Mantra Inscribed	Photograph and Transcription of the Mantra
Sixteen Arbats of T'ongdosa (1926)	“Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects” section	<i>Spells of the Four Directions</i>	 (阿·摩·羅·訶)
	“Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section	Nine Letters of <i>Cundī</i>	 (<i>bā</i> 訶 · <i>svā</i> 娑婆 · <i>ti</i> 提 · <i>cun</i> 准 · <i>le</i> 囉 · <i>cu</i> 注 · <i>le</i> 囉 · <i>ca</i> 左 · <i>om</i> 唵)

The type II paintings in table 2 are the ones inscribed with the Siddham letters from the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section (table 5).¹⁶ The left and the right margins of the banner painting of Yongmunsa (1705, listed as no. 7 in table 2) are inscribed with the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*,” the secret-*siddhi*, the entering-*siddhi*, the producing-*siddhi*, and all the Siddham letters from the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and “List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adamantine King” parts. All these come from the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section. Some examples from the type II paintings show use of these *mantras* mixed with other *mantras*. For instance, on the banner painting of Magoksa (1687, listed as no. 2 in table 2), 13 Siddham letters out of 24 from the “List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adamantine King” part are written on the top margin, and the *Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja* is written on the central Buddha’s halo. The most popular *mantras* applied from the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section are the three *siddhis* (the secret-*siddhi*, the entering-*siddhi*, and the producing-*siddhi*), which empower images with vitality from the three bodies of the Buddha (the *nirmāṇakāya*, the *sambhogakāya*, and the *dharmakāya*).¹⁷ Some paintings, on the other hand, only have the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” on their top margins.













Table 5. Inscriptions Based on the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

Painting	Mantra Inscribed	Photograph and Transcription of the Mantra
Banner Painting of Magoksa (1687)	List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adamantine King	 (Sun-Essence Bodhisattva · Moon-Essence Bodhisattva · Bodhisattva Seminal Progression · Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva · Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva · Maitreya Bodhisattva · Tathāgata Śākyamuni · Tathāgata Bhaiṣajyaguru · Tathāgata Amitābha · Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva · Samantabhadra Bodhisattva · Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva · Vairocana Buddha)






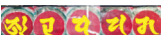






16. This is the type II in table 2.

17. The *Preaching Amitābha* (1699) at Tonghwaso consists of three panels. The upper margin of the central painting is inscribed with the secret-*siddhi*, the right painting with the entering-*siddhi*, and the left painting with the producing-*siddhi*.






Painting	Mantra Inscribed	Photograph and Transcription of the Mantra
	Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja	 (om 唵 · ma 麼 · ni 拏 · pad 鉢 · me 那銘 · būṃ 吽)
Preaching Amitābha at Tonghwasa (1699)	Secret-siddhi	 (am 暗 · vām 釁 · rām 嚩 · hām 哈 · kbām 坎)
	Entering-siddhi	 (ā 阿 · vā 縛 · rā 羅 · hā 訶 · kbā 佉)
	Producing-siddhi	 (a 阿 · ra 羅 · va 縛 · ca 左 · na 那)
Banner Painting of Yongmunsa (1705)	Secret-siddhi	 (am 暗 · vām 釁 · rām 嚩 · hām 哈 · kbām 坎)
	Entering-siddhi	 (ā 阿 · vā 縛 · rā 羅 · hā 訶 · kbā 佉)
	Producing-siddhi	 (a 阿 · ra 羅 · va 縛 · ca 左 · na 那)
	Nine Letters of Cundī	 (om 唵 · ca 左 · le 囉 · cu 注 · le 囉 · cun 准 · ti 提 · svā 娑婆 · hā 訶)
Method of Dotting with a Brush	 (om 唵 · a 阿 · būṃ 吽 · kbām 坎 · hām 哈 · rām 嚩 · vām 釁 · am 暗)	
List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adamantine King	 (Vairocana Buddha · Amitābha Buddha · Tathāgata Gold Wheel-Turning King 金輪王如來 · Tathāgata Śākyamuni · Tathāgata Bhaisajyaguru · Bodhisattva Shining Net 光網菩薩 · Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva · Samantabhadra Bodhisattva · Sun-Essence Bodhisattva · Moon-Essence Bodhisattva · Vajragarbha Bodhisattva · Bodhisattva Seminal Progression · Bodhisattva Manifestation of Knowing · Bodhisattva Compassion and Wisdom · Solid-power Bodhisattva · Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva · Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva · Ratna-mudrā-hasta Bodhisattva · Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva)	
Banner Painting of Pusōksa (1745)	Secret-siddhi	 (am 暗 · vām 釁 · rām 嚩 · hām 哈 · kbām 坎)
	Entering-siddhi	 (ā 阿 · vā 縛 · rā 羅 · hā 訶 · kbā 佉)



Painting	Mantra Inscribed	Photograph and Transcription of the Mantra
	Producing- <i>siddhi</i>	 (a 阿 · ra 羅 · va 縛 · ca 左 · na 那)
	Mantra of Cundī 准提眞言	 (om 唵 · ca 左 · le 囉 · cu 注 · le 囉 · cun 准 · ti 提 · svā 娑婆 · hā 訶 · bulin 部臨)
	List of the Arrayed [Buddhas and Bodhisattvas Who Appear after] Tathāgata Adamantine King	 (Samantabhadra Bodhisattva · Sun-Essence Bodhisattva · Vajragarbha Bodhisattva · Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva · Moon-Essence Bodhisattva · Tathāgata Śākyamuni · Rocana Buddha · Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva · Amitābha Buddha · Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddha · Maitreya Buddha · Bodhisattva of Kindness · Śūra Bodhisattva · Bodhisattva Named Manifestation of Knowing · Bodhisattva with the Shinging Net · Solid-Power Bodhisattva · Vajrasphoṭa Bodhisattva · Ratna-mudrā-hasta Bodhisattva)
Banner Painting of Kwangdōksa (1749)	Secret- <i>siddhi</i>	 (am 暗 · vām 鑊 · rām 嚩 · hām 哈 · kbām 坎)
	Entering- <i>siddhi</i>	 (ā 阿 · vā 縛 · rā 羅 · hā 訶 · kbā 佉)
	Producing- <i>siddhi</i>	 (a 阿 · ra 羅 · va 縛 · ca 左 · na 那)
Preaching Śākyamuni Buddha at Changnyuksa (1764)	Secret- <i>siddhi</i>	 (am 暗 · vām 鑊 · rām 嚩 · hām 哈 · kbām 坎)
	Entering- <i>siddhi</i>	 (ā 阿 · vā 縛 · rā 羅 · hā 訶 · kbā 佉)
	Producing- <i>siddhi</i>	 (a 阿 · ra 羅 · va 縛 · ca 左 · na 那)
Preaching Śākyamuni Buddha at Pulguksa (1769)	Nine Letters of Cundī	 (om 唵 · ca 左 · le 囉 · cu 注 · le 囉 · cun 准 · ti 提 · svā 娑婆 · hā 訶)
Host of Spirits of Kobangsa (1770)	Nine Letters of Cundī	 (svā 娑婆 · ti 提 · cun 准 · le 囉 · cu 注 · le 囉 · ca 左 · om 唵)
Preaching Amitābha at Ch'ōnūnsa (1776)	Nine Letters of Cundī	 (om 唵 · ca 左 · le 囉 · cu 注 · le 囉 · cun 准 · ti 提 · svā 娑婆 · hā 訶)



Painting	Mantra Inscribed	Photograph and Transcription of the Mantra
Sixteen Arbats at Namjangsa (1790)	Secret- <i>siddhi</i>	 (<i>am</i> 暗 · <i>vām</i> 鑊 · <i>rām</i> 囉 · <i>hām</i> 哈 · <i>khām</i> 坎)
	Entering- <i>siddhi</i>	 (<i>ā</i> 阿 · <i>vā</i> 縛 · <i>rā</i> 羅 · <i>hā</i> 訶 · <i>khā</i> 佉)
	Producing- <i>siddhi</i>	 (<i>a</i> 阿 · <i>ra</i> 羅 · <i>va</i> 縛 · <i>ca</i> 左 · <i>na</i> 那)

As these examples show, the *mantras* inscribed on the Buddhist paintings are identical to those to be recited for enlivening Buddhist images and those to be used during the installation of individual *pokchang* objects inside Buddhist statues, such as the five treasure bottles, the five kinds of grains, the five incenses, and the five medicines. The foregoing analysis demonstrates that these inscriptions are based on the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* and are also closely connected to the *pokchang* ritual.

Dotting of Eyes and Siddham Letters

Siddham letters impose meaning on the characters themselves, and they are sometimes inscribed directly on the representations of buddhas and bodhisattvas in Buddhist paintings. These letters are identified on four paintings executed by the monk-painter Ŭigyōm 義謙 (d.u.): the banner painting of Ch'ōnggoksa 靑谷寺 (1722), the banner painting of Unhūngsa 雲興寺 (1730), the banner painting of Tabosa 多寶寺 (1745) (fig. 2), and the banner painting of Kaeamsa 開巖寺 (1749).

The Siddham letters are mostly found at the top of the head, face, and body. A few examples are inscribed in black ink, but in most cases, they are written in red.

It is in the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” parts in the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section that describe the Siddham letters and their locations corresponding to facial features and body parts (table 6).¹⁸ The “Method of Dotting with a Brush” prescribes Siddham letters that should be inscribed on the top of the head, the facial features, and the chest. The eyes are broken down into three parts: above the eyes, the pupils, and below the eyes. The “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” part systematically arranges the *siddham* letters,

18. The “Sam silchidan sōk” section in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, unlike other editions, has additional parts entitled “Nahan yukt'ong sammyōng” 羅漢六通三明 and “Ch'ōnwang siwang ot'ong oryōk” 天王十王五通五力. The “Nahan yukt'ong sammyōng” part records the Siddham letters used for the eyes, shoulders, armpits, naval, legs, and feet of arhats. The “Ch'ōnwang siwang ot'ong oryōk” part records the Siddham letters used for the top of the head, mouth, neck, shoulders, and chest of Heavenly Kings and the Ten Kings of the Underworld. Respective Siddham letters are identical to the corresponding letters recorded in the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” parts included in the “Sam silchidan sōk” section.



Fig. 2. Arrangement of Siddham letters inscribed on the banner painting of Tabosa. Ink and color on hemp. 1,077 × 777.5 cm. Dated 1745. Tabosa, Naju City, South Chölla Province. After Söngbo munhwajae yön'guwön 정보문화재연구원, *Han'guk üi purbwa* 韓國의 佛畫 37 (Yangsan: Söngbo munhwajae yön'guwön, 2007), 76 (white dots and circles by the author).



focusing on the top of the head and the body parts. The Siddham letters for the top of the head, the pupils, and the chest are repeated in both the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*,” which implies that these locations were considered far more important than other body parts. The complete body of an icon from the top of the head to its feet thus emerges when one considers the locations to be inscribed with Siddham letters in the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” together. Such features are shown in the four banner paintings mentioned above. Table 7 compares the Siddham letters from the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” with actual Siddham letters inscribed on four Buddhist banner paintings (table 7).¹⁹





























19. Table 7 includes the Siddham letters from four Buddhist banner paintings, and the letters were emboldened with red and black color by the present author to enhance their visibility. The Siddham letters of Ch'önggoksa's banner painting were inscribed with black ink before coloration, which makes it difficult to find them with the naked eye underneath a layer of coloring. Although the manner of inscription differs, the inscribed letters hold meaning identical to those inscribed in red on other paintings. Therefore, it is possible that more Siddham letters will be discovered from this banner painting if more detailed investigation is conducted in the future.

Table 6. Siddham Letters for Dotting Eyes in the “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section

Textual Basis	Location													
	The top of the head	The middle of the forehead	Eye-brows	Above the eyes	Pupils	Below the eyes	Mouth	Neck	Chest	Shoulders	Naval pits	Arm-pits	Legs	Feet
Method of Dotting with a Brush	ॐ om 唵	ॐ am 暗	ॐ vāṃ 鏹	ॐ rāṃ 贗	ॐ hām 哈	ॐ kām 坎	ॐ a 阿	ॐ bām 畔	ॐ cu 注	ॐ le 嚇	ॐ cu 准	ॐ ti 提	ॐ sū 綵	ॐ hā 訶
Nine Letters of Cundī	ॐ om 唵				ॐ ca 左			ॐ le 嚇	ॐ cu 注	ॐ le 嚇	ॐ cu 准	ॐ ti 提	ॐ sū 綵	ॐ hā 訶

Table 7. Comparison of the Siddham letters inscribed on the Banner Paintings by Üigyöm and those appearing in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*

Location/ Placement	Paintings				SPBI	
	Banner painting of Ch'onggoksa (1722)	Banner Painting of Unhüngsa (1730)	Banner Painting of Tabosa (1745)	Banner Painting of Kaeamsa (1749)	Method of Dotting with a Brush	Nine Letters of <i>Cundī</i>
The Top of the Head 頂上 (om 庵)	Top of the <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>					
	Top					
The middle <i>uṣṇīṣa</i>						
Hairline 髮際線						
Middle of the Forehead 眉 (am 暗)						
Eyebrows 眉上 (vām 鑿)						
Above the eyes 眼上 (rām 曠)						
Pupils (bām 哈 / ca 左)						
Below the eyes (khām 坎)						
Mouth (a 阿)						

Neck (<i>le</i> 囉)						
Chest (<i>būm</i> 吽 / <i>cu</i> 注)						
Shoulders (<i>le</i> 囉)						
Naval (<i>cun</i> 准)						
Armpits (<i>ti</i> 提)						
Legs (<i>svā</i> 娑婆)						
Feet (<i>bā</i> 訶)						

The Siddham letter *bā* 訶 is inscribed on both feet, and the letter *le* 囉 is written on the shoulders and neck. These two letters on the three body parts are the most constant among the Siddham letters. The letter *svā* 娑婆 for the legs is found on Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra in the banner painting of Unhūngsa (fig. 3).



Fig. 3. The Siddham letters inscribed on the legs of Samantabhadra in the banner painting of Unhūngsa. Left and right images show close ups of the letters marked with black circles in the central image. Ink and color on hemp. 1,052 × 726 cm. Dated 1730. Unhūngsa, Kosōng County, South Kyōngsang Province. Photography and black circles by the author.

The *cun* 准, indicating the naval, is present on the images of Samantabhadra, Avalokiteśvara, and Amitābha in the Unhūngsa painting, and on that of Samantabhadra and Prabhutaratna in the banner painting of Tabosa. In most cases, the *ti* 提 character is placed on each armpit symmetrically. If the letters are inscribed on the body parts covered by clothing, then they are written on the garments so that one can guess the location. For example, the letter for the legs or armpits is inscribed on the robe or the skirt, and the letter for the naval is written on the skirt or the chest area. In these cases, the inscriber follows the prescribed contents of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* but applies flexibility when it comes to the letter's location.

Next, among the facial features, *vām* 夔 is inscribed on the eyebrows, and *am* 暗 is inscribed in the middle of the forehead. An inscription of the letter *a* 阿 for the mouth has not been discovered on an actual painting. It is notable, however, that the *Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja* is written on the lips of Mahāsthāmaprāpta in the banner painting of Kaeamsa.

The most notable Siddhaṃ letters are located on the top of the head, the eyes, and the chest. Even though *om* 唵 is the only Siddhaṃ letter for the top of the head, Mahāsthāmaprāpta in the Unhūngsa painting is further inscribed with the letters *khām* 坎 and *om* 唵 right below the letter *om* 唵. In the case of Prabhutaratna and Amitābha in this painting, the set of characters, *om-om-khām* are arranged symmetrically. The Tabosa painting also exhibits the same combination of the three Siddhaṃ letters, *om-om-khām*, in a different order on the top jewel on Śākyamuni's head, the crowns of Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, and the middle jewel of Amitābha's head.

The Siddhaṃ letters for the eyes are inscribed above the eyes, on the pupils, and below the eyes. The “Method of Dotting with a Brush” prescribes writing *khām* 坎 below the eyes and *rām* 嚩 above the eyes. It also suggests inscribing the letter *hām* 哈 on the pupils, as opposed to writing *ca* 左, as prescribed by the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*.” Some Buddhist paintings display exactly what the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” suggests, but the Kaeamsa banner painting shows mixed letters in each eye: *ca* 左 and *hām* 哈 on the left eye and *hām* 哈 and *ca* 左 on the right eye, in that order (fig. 4).

The letter *hām* 哈 is written in the location closer to the nose of all the buddhas and bodhisattvas. In the Tabosa banner painting, *hām* 哈 and *ca* 左 are vertically inscribed on both pupils of Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, and Samantabhadra in the front row, whereas the same letters are horizontally inscribed on the pupils of Prabhutaratna, Amitābha, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and Avalokiteśvara, just as seen on the Kaeamsa banner painting.

Even though the *būm* 吽 from the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and the *cu* 注 from the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” should be inscribed on the chest, other letters are also found there. The earliest painting in this group, the Ch'ōnggoksa banner painting, has a letter *am* 暗 inscribed on the chest. In the case of Śākyamuni and Mañjuśrī in the banner painting of Unhūngsa, the letters *rām*, *cu*, *būm*, and *am* are vertically inscribed (fig. 5).



Fig. 4. (Above) Siddham letters inscribed on the pupils of Mahāsthāmaprāpta in the banner painting of Kaeamsa. Ink and color on hemp. 1,208 × 868.5 cm. Dated 1749. Kaeamsa, Puum County, North Chōlla Province. (Below) Letters reconstructed in white by the author. Photograph and modification by the author.

The chest of each buddha and bodhisattva in this painting is inscribed with three or four letters out of the six syllables—*rām* 囉, *cu* 注, *būm* 吽, *am* 暗, *khām* 坎, and *vām* 鑊. The Tabosa banner painting, on the other hand, displays simpler combinations with two or three syllables using *būm* 吽, *rām* 囉, and *cu* 注. On the banner painting of Kaeamsa, which postdates the other three hanging scrolls, *cu* is written below *būm* on the chest. As shown above, various groups of Siddham letters are found on the chest, but the fact that *būm* and *cu* are almost always included implies that the inscriber(s) clearly understood the contents of the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” from the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

Besides Ūigyōm’s paintings from the eighteenth century, the letter *būm* 吽 has been found on the chest of Amitābha on *Amitābha Triad* (1476) enshrined at the Kūngnakpojōn 極樂寶殿 of Muwisa 無爲寺 (fig. 6).

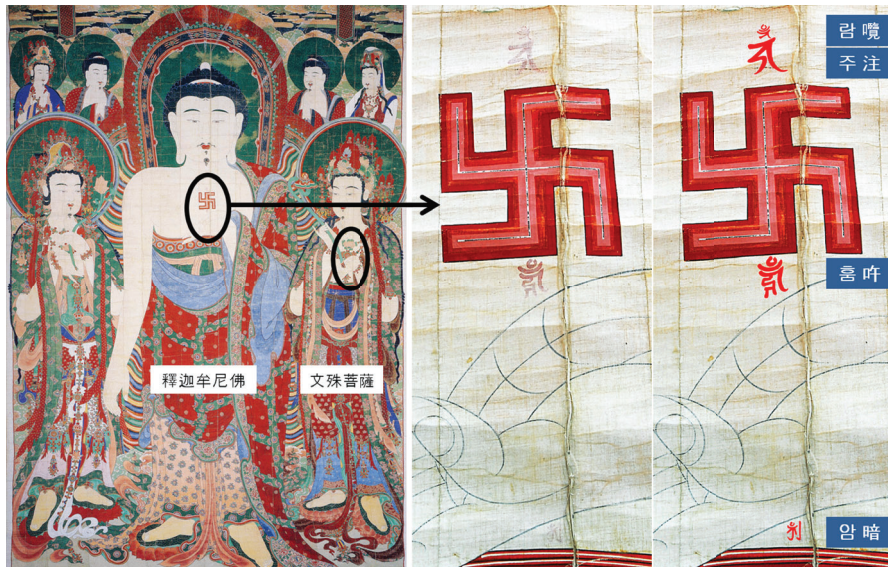


Fig. 5. (Left) Banner painting of Unhŭngsa. Ink and color on hemp. 1,052 × 726 cm. Dated 1730. Unhŭngsa, Kosŏng County, South Kyŏngsang Province. After Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'guk ūi purhwa* 26 (Yangsan: Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn, 2002), 11 (identification and black circles by the author). (Center) Siddham letters inscribed on the chest of Śākyamuni Buddha in the left image. (Right) Reconstruction and identification of the letters in the central image by the author.

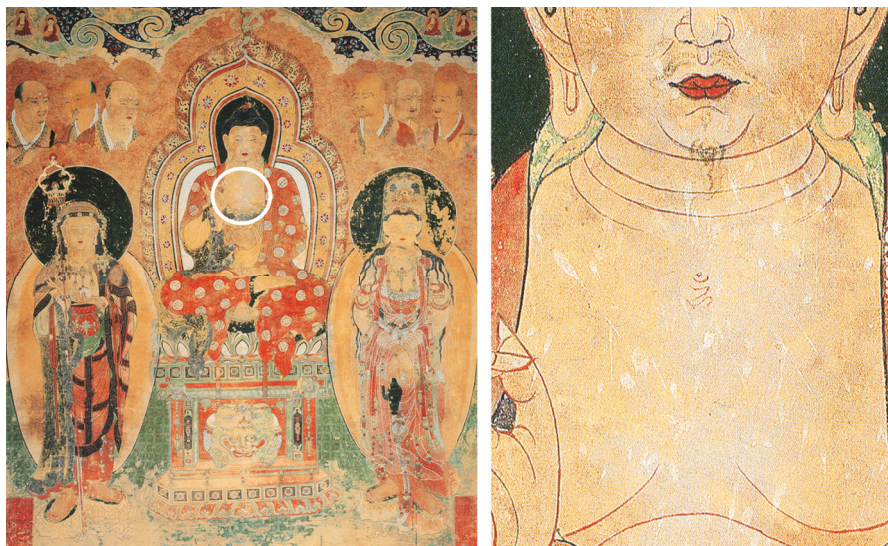


Fig. 6. (Left) *Amitābha Triad*. Ink and color on a clay wall. 270 × 210 cm. Dated 1476. Kŭngnakbojŏn, Muwisa, Kangjin County, South Chŏlla Province. After Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn, *Han'guk ūi purhwa* 35 (Yangsan: Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn, 2004), 35–36. (Right) Detail showing the letter *būm* inscribed on the chest of Amitābha.



There are no other letters found on this painting besides the one in the chest area. However, the fact that the letter *hūṃ* was written at the prescribed location suggests that the Siddham letter-writing practice based on the dotting of eyes ritual may have begun in the early Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910) period.

As shown above, the Siddham letters directly inscribed on the images of buddhas and bodhisattvas in the banner paintings, although with some variations, generally follow the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*.” These letters are closely related to the eye-dotting ritual. The Ch’ōnggoksa banner painting (1722) simply bears several Siddham letters. However, the Unhūngsa banner painting painted 8 years later represents a transitional phase, as its Siddham letters include peculiar letters on the chest and the pupils while following the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. This phenomenon is also observed on the Tabosa banner painting. But the Kaeamsa banner painting (1747) shows the standardization of the practice that faithfully follows the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. All these suggests that Ŭigyŏm was already fully aware of the eye-dotting ritual as explained in these *sūtras* and various ritual manuals when he worked on the banner painting of Ch’ōnggoksa.²⁰

The Meaning of *Pokchang* Examined in Light of Siddham Letters and *Mantras*

Mantras inscribed on the four margins of various paintings replace inserted objects and the recitation of *mantras*, which are the main components of the *pokchang* ritual explained in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. In the *Sixteen Arhats* at T’ongdosa, the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” and the *Spells of the Four Directions*—*a* 阿, *ma* 摩, *la* 羅, *hā* 訶—are inscribed at the margins, and correspond to the “Diagram of Round Heaven Comprising *Cundī*’s Nine Letters” (*Chunje kujja ch’ŏnwŏn chi to* 准提九字天圓之圖) (fig. 7).

20. For more on this, see Chŏng Myŏng-hŭi 鄭明熙, “Ch’ōnggoksa kwaebul t’aeng kwa *Ojong pŏmŭm chip*” 靑谷寺 掛佛幀과 『五種梵音集』, in *T’ongdosa sŏngbo pangmulgwan kwaebul t’aeng t’ŭkpyŏlchŏn* 통도사성보박물관 괘불탱 특별전 10, ed. T’ongdosa sŏngbo pangmulgwan 통도사성보박물관 (Yangsan-si: T’ongdosa sŏngbo pangmulgwan, 2003); Chŏng Myŏng-hŭi, “Ŭisikchip ũl t’onghae pon kwaebul ũi tosangjŏk pyŏnyong” 儀式集을 통해 본 掛佛의 圖像의 변용, *Pulgyo misulsabak* 불교미술사학 2 (2004): 5–28; Chŏng Myŏng-hŭi, “Kŏbul chŏlch’a wa kangnim ũi sigakhwa: Naesosa kwaebul kwa hwasŭng Ch’ŏnsin” 舉佛절차와 降臨의 시각화: 來蘇寺 掛佛과 畫僧 天信, in *T’ongdosa sŏngbo pangmulgwan kwaebul t’aeng t’ŭkpyŏlchŏn* 23, ed. T’ongdosa sŏngbo pangmulgwan (Yangsan-si: T’ongdosa sŏngbo pangmulgwan, 2010). According to Chŏng Myŏng-hŭi’s articles, the Ch’ōnggoksa banner painting, created under the leadership of the monk Ŭigyŏm, depicts the assembly on Vulture Peak, and its main figure is Śākyamuni Buddha surrounded by Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, Samantabhadra Bodhisattva, Prabhūtaratna Buddha, Amitābha Buddha, Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva and Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. Chŏng argued that this iconography of the assembly on Vulture Peak became widespread after the monk Ŭigyŏm adopted it from ritual manuals such as the *Collection of the Five Kinds of Sanskrit Sounds* (*Ojong pŏmŭm chip* 五種梵音集).





Fig. 7. (Left) *Sixteen Arhats at T'ongdosa*. Ink and color on silk, 225 × 289 cm. Dated 1926. T'ongdosa, Yangsan City, South Kyongsang Province. After Songbo munhwajae yon'guwön, *Han'guk üi purhwa 2* (Seoul: Puljisa, 1996), 95 (identification by the author). (Right) *Diagram of Round Heaven Comprising Cundi's Nine Letters*. Woodblock print on paper. Dated 1825. Yujomsa edition of the *Süttras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

The eye-dotting ritual is replaced by writing the Siddham letters directly on the images of buddhas and bodhisattvas in the paintings.

In the banner paintings of Kaeamsa, eight Siddham letters are written below the letter om in the top jewel on Śākyamuni's head (fig. 8).



Fig. 8. (Left) *Nine Letters of Cundi* inscribed on the top of the *ushñisa* of Śākyamuni Buddha from the banner painting of Kaeamsa. Ink and color on hemp. 1,208 × 868.5 cm. Dated 1749. Kaeamsa, Puam County, North Chölla Province. (Right) *Reconstruction of the letters* by the author. Photograph and modification by the author.

Below the crown of Avalokiteśvara on the same painting, nine Siddham letters are inscribed on either side of the letter *om* 唵. They are *om* 唵, *ca* 左, *le* 囉, *cu* 注, *le* 囉, *cun* 准, *ti* 提, *svā* 娑婆, and *hā* 訶 from the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” (fig. 9).



Fig. 9. (Above) Nine Letters of *Cundī* inscribed below the crown of Avalokiteśvara on the banner painting of Kaeamsa. Ink and color on hemp. 1,208 × 868.5 cm. Dated 1749. Kaeamsa, Puum County, North Chōlla Province. (Below) Reconstruction of the letters by the author. Photograph and modification by the author.

There is a case in which the Nine Letters of *Cundī* are inscribed on the back of the painting, in the place corresponding to the main images for veneration on the front side. This inscription of the Nine Letters of *Cundī* seems to have served the same function as those inscribed on the Buddha’s head and the bodhisattva’s crown. The same *mantra* is also found on the *dhāraṇī* sheet from the *pokchang* pouch of the banner painting of Sōnamsa 仙巖寺 (1753).²¹ On this printed *dhāraṇī* sheet, the letters *om* 唵, *a* 阿, and *hūm* 吽 are placed in the middle; four groups of the Siddham letters (the five-wheel seed syllables, the entering-*siddhi*, the producing-*siddhi*, and the true-mind seed syllables) are scripted in a roundel form; the letters of *rām* 囉 and *hūm* 吽 and the *Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja* are on the right side; the eight letters from the “Nine Sacred Siddham Letters of *Cundī*” (*Chunje kusōng pōmja* 准提九聖梵字, omitting the letter *om* 唵) are on the left side (fig. 10).

21. For more on the *pokchang* of the Sōnamsa banner painting, see Yi Yōng-suk 李英淑, “Sōnamsa kwaebul kwa pokchang nang e kwanhan koch’al” 仙巖寺 掛佛과 腹藏囊에 관한 考察, *Munhwasa hak* 文化史學 21 (2004): 875–901.

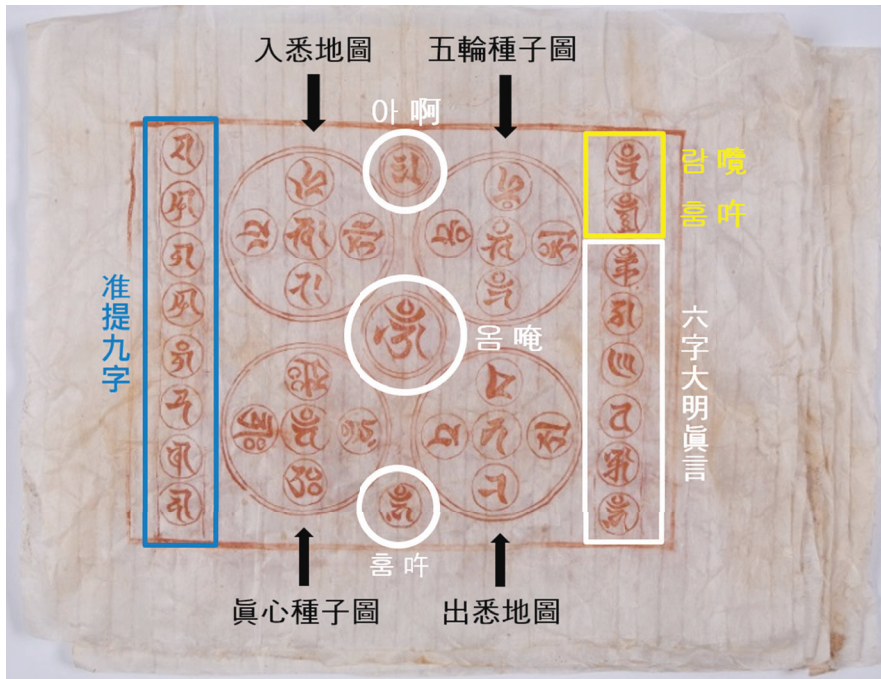


Fig. 10. *Dhāraṇī*. Woodblock print on paper. 39.3 × 48.5 cm. Dated 1753. Discovered in the *pokchang* pouch of the banner painting of Sōnamsa. Photograph courtesy of Buddhist Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (identification by the author).

The “Nine Letters of *Cundī*,” which was typically inscribed on Buddhist paintings, was installed as part of *pokchang* objects materialized in the form of a *dhāraṇī* sheet. Actual examples of the diagram are found in the *pokchang* of some Buddhist paintings (fig. 10).

The “Method of Dotting with a Brush” and the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” parts of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* consider the pupils, chest, and the top of the head as the important parts. They explain that the letter *om* 唵, as the final stage of *dharmā* accomplishment, serves as one of thirty-two auspicious marks and symbolizes wisdom. Some banner paintings demonstrate the use of the letter *khām* 坎 instead of the letter *om* 唵, probably because the former symbolizes Vairocana, the chief Buddha in the Buddhist realm, and his wisdom.²² Eyes see the

22. Yujōmsa edition (1824) of *Chosang kyōng*, “Sam silchidan sōk” section. “秘密悉地 秘密悉地者謂最初五法身也 暗字者是金剛部 於五臟中主則肝 佛則東方阿閼 智則大圓鏡智亦名金剛智 識則第八識是謂金剛地輪 故山河大地從阿字出生也 東暗字青色方形 鑲字是蓮華部 主則肺 佛則西方無量壽 智則妙觀察智亦名蓮華智 識則第六識 是金剛水輪 故山河萬類從此字出生也 西鑲字白色圓形 嚙字者寶生部 主則心 佛則南方寶生 智則平等性智亦名灌頂智 識則第七識 是金剛火輪 故金玉珍寶日月星像火珠光明 從此字出生也 南嚙字赤色三角形 哈字者是羯摩部 主則腎 佛則北方不空成就 智則成所作智亦名羯摩智 識則前五識 是為金剛風輪 故百穀花類從此字出生也 北哈字黑色半月形 坎字者是佛部 主則脾 佛則中方大日王 智則法界出生智亦名方便究竟智 識則如來藏識 是為大空輪真空無相而具衆妙



truth, and the chest embodies the heart's vitality. Thus, the Siddham letters in these three locations are critical for enlivening the images of buddhas and bodhisattvas.

The “Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar” section elucidates separately the connotations of the letters *om* 唵 on the top of the head, *a* 阿 in the mouth, and *hūm* 吽 on the chest. It explains that from these letters one can obtain enlightenment of all cosmic wisdom and principles,²³ and that each letter is equivalent to the Buddha's relic. This explains the reason why the letters *om* 唵, *a* 阿, and *hūm* 吽 are written at the center of the banner painting of Sönamsa. The two letters in front of the *Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja*, *rām* 嚩 and *hūm* 吽, are found on the chest in the banner paintings of Unhūngsa and Tabosa. The Siddham letter *rām* 嚩, which is not mentioned in either the “Method of Dotting with a Brush” or the “Nine Letters of *Cundī*” parts, was inscribed, probably because it symbolizes the chest among the five viscera as well as Ratnasambhava Buddha of the South.²⁴ Therefore, the Siddham letters are symbolically equivalent to the bodily relics of the Buddha as far as they pertain to the empowerment, *abhiṣeka*, and eye-dotting. They transform a painted image into an object of worship as the dharma relic of the Buddha that signifies enlightenment.

The “Method of Dotting with a Brush” part describes five eyes (*oan* 五眼), which allow the Buddha to become awakened.²⁵ The Buddha with the five eyes finally sees all truth through the inexhaustible eye (*mujinan* 無盡眼) of the *om* inscribed on the top of the head. According to the *Record of the Making of Buddhist Paintings (Pulsa sōnggong rok* 佛事成功錄) from Namjangsa,²⁶ the inexhaustible eye leads to righteous

故人天長養顏色滋美端正相貌福德富貴從此字出生也中坎字黃色圓上來五字者是為金剛般若亦名五字福田亦名五分法身一切萬法攝於五字故尊勝佛頂頌云五字即是五輪智五智變成五分身五輪盡攝法界輪三密即是三身故也此五字輪即是四輪王之法身故般若理趣經云從此字流出四輪王也又菩薩心論云從四智出四波羅密菩薩為生育三世一切賢聖之母四波羅密菩薩即是四輪王也此五字輪是為法身成就之義故不空請佛文云常住法界真身宮中般若海會五輪寶網世界清淨法身法性身暗鑿嚩哈坎大教主毘盧遮那佛是為大日王如來”(emphasis are mine).

23. Yujōmsa edition (1824) of *Chosang kyōng*, “Om a hum ūhae” 唵啊吽義解 part in the “Sam silchidan sōk” section. “頂上 唵字則菩提不動也口中 啊字則不生般若也胸中 吽字則觀四六法界也又 唵字則百萬乾坤一時吞也啊字則山河大地萬像森羅萬行覺也吽字則一念不動還源之到家也又云 人人不知梵字漢字始得是外道人也梵字者 字字點點皆舍利也 可學梵書如諺一一奉行始得矣。”

24. Refer to footnote 22.

25. The Siddham letter *khām* under the eyes means the physical eyes (*yugan* 肉眼), or the eyeballs of a physical body. The Siddham letter *hām* in the pupils means the heavenly eyes (*ch'ōnan* 天眼) that can unrestrictedly see near and far, front and back, above and below, and day and night. The Siddham letter *rām* above the eyes means the wisdom eyes (*hyean* 慧眼) that lucidly see the truth without any attachment and discrimination. The Siddham letter *vām* on the eyebrows means the *dharmā* eyes (*pōban* 法眼) that clearly and distinctly observe all the *dharma*s. The Siddham letter *am* in the middle of the forehead means the Buddha eyes (*puran* 佛眼) that see the reality of all things that is in accord with the *dharmā*.

26. The *Record of the Making of Buddhist Paintings* includes writings such as the “Record of a Newly Made Banner Painting of Namjangsa” (Namjangsa kwaebul sin hwasōng ki 南長寺掛佛新畫成記), the “Dedicatory Inscription of *Pokchang* for the Banner Painting” (Kwaebul pokchang wōnmun 掛佛腹藏願文), the “Dedicatory Inscription of *Pokchang* for a Newly Made Painting of Kṣitigarbha, the Leader of the Underworld” (Yumyōng kyoju Chijang taesōng sin hwasōng



enlightenment from which one realizes the principles of unchangeable truth, one's own Buddhahood, and eventually awakening.²⁷ Also, the meaning of each Siddham letter constituting the “Nine Letters of *Cundi*” is explicated in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*: as one inscribes each letter and reaches the point of dotting the letter *om* on the top of the head, the physical eyes of the represented buddhas and bodhisattvas become transformed into the three bodies (Skt. *trikāya*) and obtain enlightenment to the truth as the buddhas and bodhisattvas obtain the inexhaustible eye. The “*Mantra of the Three Siddhis*” part in the “*Commentary on the Three Siddhis Altar*” section also illuminates the Buddha who is born through the *dharma* embodied in the *mantras*.

The “*All the Mantras in the Writing for Dotting Eyes*” (*Chōman mun che chinōn* 點眼文諸眞言) section in the Yujōmsa edition of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* mentions the *Mantra for Opening Eyes with Bright Light* (*Kaeon kwangmyōng chinōn* 開眼光明眞言), the *Mantra for Establishing Buddha's Eyes* (*An puran chinōn* 安佛眼眞言), the *Mantra for Installing an Image* (*An sang chinōn* 安像眞言), and the *Mantra for Establishing Adornment* (*An changōm chjinōn* 安莊嚴眞言), followed by the *Mantra for Thirty-Two Marks* (*Samsibi sang chinōn* 三十二相眞言) and the *Mantra for Eighty Minor Marks* (*P'alsip chongbo chinōn* 八十種好眞言). This list of *mantras* suggests that the image of the Buddha will be completed with thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks when the *mantras* are recited and the Siddham letters are inscribed.

The Siddham letters and the *mantras* correspond to all the inserted objects—such as the five treasure bottles, the five kinds of grains, the five medicines, the five treasures, the five canopies, the throat-bell container, and diagrams—found in Buddhist statues. When elucidating the concepts of the thing (*mul* 物), the task (*sa* 事), and the principle (*ri* 理), the “*Explanation and Two Divisions of All the Inserted Objects*” (*Pokchang chemul haesōk punje igwa sōl* 腹藏諸物解釋分齊二科說) part in the “*Altar Ritual for Inserting Objects*” section of the Yujōmsa edition explains that installing the “thing,” which is equivalent to a “task,” in the statue will endow it with a “principle.”²⁸ This explanation emphasizes and restates the ultimate importance of the meaning of *pokchang*.

pokchang wōnmun 幽冥教主地藏大聖新畫成腹藏願文), and the “*Record of Ceremonially Installing Money, Grains, and Various Offerings*” (*Pulsa chōn'gok chammul tūng ipki* 佛事錢穀雜物等入記), and the “*List of Those Who Participated in the Production of the Painting*” (*Yōnhwa chil* 緣化秩). The “*Record of a Newly Made Banner Painting of Namjangsa*” states, “當時名德大宗師南嶽暎悟括虛取如敷座入定明觀正證各出點筆之妙用成就無盡眼與法界怨親同就釋迦老子肚裏乾坤轉入毘盧藏海逍遙於法法全眞之岸且道法身是耶化身是耶不離化身薦取法身則法身化身亦是人人分上爲甚麼長淪生死而昧○自己法身大須着眼。” For more on this record, see Yi Yong-yun (Lee Yongyun) 이용운, “*Pulsa sōnggong rok ūl t'onghae pon Namjangsa kwaebul*” 『佛事成功錄』을 통해 본 남장사 괘불, in *T'ongdosa sōngbo pangmulgwan kwaebul t'aeng t'ūkpyōlchōn* 통도사성보박물관 괘불탱 특별전 6, ed. T'ongdosa sōngbo pangmulgwan (Yongsan-si: T'ongdosa sōngbo pangmulgwan, 2001).

27. Yi Yong-yun (Lee Yongyun), “*Pulsa sōnggong rok ūl t'onghae pon Namjangsa kwaebul*,” 5.

28. Yujōmsa edition (1824) of *Chosang kyōng*, “*Pokchang chemul haesōk punje igwa sōl*” part in the “*Che pulbosal pokchangdan ūisik*” section. “夫物者事也 易曰通變之謂事 所以爲通變者理也



Since the first Japanese invasion of Chosŏn ordered by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1592 and the Qing Invasion of Chosŏn in 1636, numerous Buddhist rituals for the deceased were practiced. This change is reflected in the Buddhist bells inscribed with the *mantras* for rebirth such as the *Six-Syllable Mantra of the Vidyārāja*, the *Mantra for Destroying Hell* (*P'a chiok chinŏn* 破地獄真言), and the *Mantra of Cundī* (*Chunje chinŏn* 准提真言). Earlier examples also exist, including the Buddhist bell of Pongsŏnsa 奉先寺 and that of Naksansa 洛山寺 (1469) from the early Chosŏn period. Therefore, the fact that the mainstream *mantras* and Siddham letters inscribed on Buddhist paintings signify the *pokchang* and the eye-dotting rituals, indicates that they were made for a special purpose. As shown in this paper, such inscriptions more frequently appear on giant Buddhist banner paintings than on paintings of smaller size enshrined in worship halls. It is probably because these banner paintings were hung outside when a ritual is performed, serving as the main object of worship and a proxy for Buddhist statues.

Conclusion

The *mantras* and Siddham letters inscribed on Buddhist paintings should be understood within the context of a consecration ritual. Such inscriptions on paintings replaced the installation of consecrated objects in Buddhist statues. Just as ritually dotting eyes on statues before their enshrinement, writing Siddham letters directly on painted images functioned as the ritual of dotting eyes for the painting. The rituals of *pokchang* and eye dotting, which are symbolized by these *mantras* and Siddham letters, are based on the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

The Siddham letters are the Buddha's relics, as explicated in the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. The writing of the letters is equivalent to the installation of relics. In other words, just as the enshrinement of the throat-bell container along with relics in a statue, the inscription of *mantras* and Siddham letters, including *mantras* symbolizing the Buddha's thirty-two marks and eighty minor marks, on a Buddhist painting transforms a mere flat image into the true Buddha. Therefore, although the act of inscribing the letters and *mantras* onto the painting is different from the insertion of objects into a statue, I argue that it is in fact another form of a *pokchang* and eye-dotting ritual, which gives life to the painted images.

This study has only discussed the Siddham letters inscribed on Buddhist paintings based on the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*. However, the method of placing Siddham letters on the human body is explicated in several middle- and late-phase esoteric Buddhist scriptures including the *Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhi Sūtra* (T 848), the *Dhāraṇī of Cundī Who Is Greatly Radiant, the Mother of Seven Koṭi Buddhas* (Ch. *Foshuo qi juzhi fomu Zhunti daming tuoluoni jing* 佛說七俱胝佛母准提大明陀羅尼經, T 1075), the three *siddhi* texts whose authorship is traditionally

事之行處 理固存也 故 事得理融 理隨事變 唯除靈知絕得之心 法身向上之理外 天下豈有棄事獨存之理 沒理自成之事也 凡所以像設之法太近於事 然更那裏自有理 偏於事門 事偏於理門也。”



attributed to Śubhākarasiṃha (*T* 905, *T* 906, and *T* 907), and the *Manual for the Practice of the Yoga Method of Uṣṇīṣavijayā* (Ch. *Zunsheng foding xiu yuqie fa yigui* 尊勝佛頂修瑜伽法軌儀, *T* 973) among others. I hope to further my investigation on the relation between the Siddhaṃ letters and Korean Buddhist art and rituals in general in the future.

Keywords: pokchang, eye-dotting ritual, Chosang kyōng, Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images, mantra, Siddhaṃ letters, relics.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *POKCHANG* STUDIES

KIM Soyeon

1. Onyang minsok pangmulgwan 溫陽民俗博物館

- 1991 *1302 nyŏn Amit'abul pokchangmul ūi chosa yŏn'gu* 1302 年阿彌陀佛腹藏物的調查研究 [Investigative Research on the *Pokchang* Objects of the Amitābha Statue Dated 1302]. Onyang: Onyang minsok pangmulgwan. 425 pages.

In the early phase of *pokchang* 腹藏 studies, which started in the late 1960s, individual *pokchang* artifacts yielded from Buddhist statues were reported as case studies in different disciplines, such as art history or bibliography. This publication is indicative of the next phase of *pokchang* studies, since it is one of the earliest examples of comprehensively dealing with various *pokchang* objects discovered from a statue. The *pokchang* objects, such as inscriptions, *dhāraṇī*, clothing, textiles, and organic materials, yielded from an Amitābha Buddha statue dated 1302, are the primary focus of this study. While this statue is no longer existent, its *pokchang* objects remain and have attracted the attention of scholars. This volume includes five essays presented at a symposium on the *pokchang* objects from the statue. Two essays concern *pokchang* in general, and include detailed photos of the *pokchang* objects. This volume is significant in that it promoted the importance of the *pokchang* tradition at a time when it was attracting little attention in Korean Buddhist studies.

2. Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn, 성보문화재연구원, ed.

- 1997 *Haeinsa kŭmdong Pirojanabul pokchang yumul ūi yŏn'gu* 해인사 금동 비로자나불복장 유물의 연구 [Research on the *Pokchang* Objects from the Gilt-Bronze Vairocana Buddha of Haeinsa]. Yangsan: Sŏngbo munhwajae yŏn'guwŏn. 188 pages.

This is a collection of essays presented at a conference on the *pokchang* objects yielded from a gilt-bronze Vairocana Buddha statue at Haeinsa 海印寺 in 1997. These *pokchang* objects were discovered in the process of repairing the statue. At that time it was thought to be improper to remove the *pokchang* objects from a Buddha statue that was still an object of worship, most of the objects, except the *kŭmja kyech'ŏp* 金字戒牒 (a transcription of an ordination certificate in gold ink) and several kinds of textiles, were reinstalled. This book contains photographs of *kŭmja kyech'ŏp* and the textiles as well as four essays about them. This volume evinces the devotional attitude toward *pokchang* objects during the early stages of their study.

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3. KIM Yöng-suk 金英淑

1997 *Chosön chön'gi pulbokchang chingmul üi ihae: Hüksöksa Amit'abul pokchang chingmul* 朝鮮前期 佛腹藏織物の理解: 黒石寺 阿彌陀佛 腹藏織物 [Understanding the *Pokchang* Textiles of the Early Chosön Period: The *Pokchang* Textiles from Amitābha Buddha of Hüksöksa]. Seoul: Misul munhwa. 103 pages. ISBN 89-86353-09-1 (93630).

This is the first book to deal with *pokchang* textiles. The author tries to reconstruct various aspects of early Chosön period textiles by focusing on textile artifacts yielded from the Amitābha Buddha statue of Hüksöksa 黒石寺, Yöngp'ung 榮豊. The *pokchang* textiles discovered in the statue included cloths previously worn by the patrons, *pojagi* 보자기 (cloth wrappers for *sarira* relics and books), and cloths containing inscriptions. These textiles are historically significant in that they were installed within a precisely dated statue. The author examines the various kinds of textiles, weaves, and patterns, and provides detailed photographs. This volume was also translated into Japanese (See Kim Yöng-suk, *Chösen zenki butszuzō nōnyū orimono no kenkyū: Fukusokusa Amida butszuzō nōnyū orimono o chūshin ni* 朝鮮前期 仏像納入織物の研究: 黒石寺阿彌陀仏像納入織物を中心に, trans. Nakamura Katsuya 中村克哉, Tōkyō: Sairyūsha, 2007, ISBN 978-4-7791-1279-9).

4. Hö Hüng-sik 許興植 et al.

1999 *Koryō üi pulbokchang kwa yömjik: 1302 nyön chikcho hwan'gyöng kwa chingmul üi t'üksöng* 高麗의 佛腹藏과 染織: 1302年 織造環境과 織物の 特性 [The *Pokchang* and Dyeing of the Koryō Period: Weaving Condition and the Characteristics of Textiles in 1302]. Seoul: Kyemongsa. 327 pages. ISBN 89-06-60001-1 (93630).

This book examines the *pokchang* and dyed textiles of the Koryō period as exemplified by the *pokchang* items yielded from an Amitābha Buddha statue (1302) housed in the Onyang minsok pangmulgwan (Onyang Folk Museum). After the publication of *1302 nyön Amit'abul pokchangmul üi chosa yön'gu* by the Onyang Folk Museum (see title 1), *pokchang* received much attention in academia and further studies were undertaken. This book consists of four research papers and offers in-depth studies of the *pokchang* of the Amitābha statue, with special attention paid to the analysis of the color, pattern, weave, and thread of the textiles used as *pokchang* objects.

5. Pulgyo munhwajae yön'guso 佛教文化財研究所 and Munhwajae ch'öng 文化財廳, eds.
2002– *Han'guk üi sach'al munhwajae* 韓國의 寺刹文化財 [Buddhist Monastery Heritage of Korea]. Taejön: Munhwajae ch'öng; Seoul: Pulgyo munhwajae yön'guso.

In order to better understand the current situation of cultural properties housed in monasteries, in 2002 the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage, Korea (Pulgyo munhwajae yön'guso) and the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea (Munhwajae ch'öng) initiated a large scale project to investigate the Buddhist cultural properties enshrined in every monastery throughout Korea. The results of this

ongoing project, which is scheduled to be completed in 2019, have been published every year under the title, *Han'guk ūi sach'al munhwajae*. This series concerns Buddhist cultural heritage such as sculpture, painting, craftwork, manuscripts, printed texts, and *stūpas*. As the *pokchang* tradition and objects have attracted the attention of Buddhist communities and scholars since the late 1990s, *pokchang* objects owned by each monastery, which were not previously published in similar catalogues of Buddhist cultural heritage, are also included in this series.

6. Chōngam 頂菴 and Sudōksa kūnyōk sōngbogwan 修德寺權域聖寶館, eds.
 2004 *Chisim kuimiyōngnye: Han'guk ūi pulbokchang t'ūkpyōlchōn* 至心歸命禮: 韓國의 佛腹藏 특별전 [Pay Homage to the Buddha with All One's Heart and Mind: Special Exhibition on Korean *Pokchang*]. 2 vols. Yesan: Sudōksa kūnyōk sōngbogwan.

This is a catalogue of a special exhibition on selected *pokchang* objects that are thought to be historically significant. The exhibition primarily included materials designated as objects of “National Cultural Heritage.” It consists of two volumes: volume one is a catalogue of the displayed objects, and volume two is a collection of patterns appearing on the *pokchang* textiles. In volume one, photographs of the *pokchang* objects discovered from Buddhist statues of different monasteries and private collections are shown. This volume also deals with the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings.

7. Yōjin pulgyo misulgwan 여진불교미술관
 2005 *Songgwangsa sojo sambul chwasang mit pokchang yumul suri chosa pogosō* 송광사 소조삼불좌상 및 복장유물 수리조사보고서 [Investigation Report on the Repair of the Seated Clay Buddha Triad Statues at Songgwangsa and Their *Pokchang* Objects]. Taejōn: Munhwajaech'ōng; Chōllabuk-do Wanju-gun: Songgwangsa. 81 pages.

The Śākyamuni Triad—composed of Śākyamuni, Amitābha, and Bhaiṣajyaguru Buddhas—at Songgwangsa 松廣寺, Wanju 完州, are some of the largest clay statues on the Korean peninsula. This report documents the project of repairing the statues and the installment of new *pokchang* that was carried out in 2004. The original *pokchang* items, which had already been moved to a museum, include a throat-bell container, *sūtras*, and an inscription. The inscription, which provides the date 1641 and the purpose of making the statues, gives the statues additional historical significance and affords us a glimpse into the *pokchang* practice during the late Chosōn period.

This publication includes the minutes of three meetings held before and after the project and includes photographs of the statues. The meetings focused on the repair of the statues and their conservation, rather than the *pokchang* objects or associated ritual. The minutes discuss how the statues were to be restored (method and materials) and investigated. They briefly mention that Buddhist *sūtras* and *śarīra* would be inserted—following the protocol of the traditional *pokchang* ritual—within

the statue as new *pokchang* items. Although it does not contain photographs of the original *pokchang* items or the newly inserted ones, this report makes the case that the *pokchang* practice is executed in the traditional way in the process of repairing Buddhist statues today.

8. KANG Sun-ae 姜順愛 et al.

2006 *Songgwangsa sach'ŏnwangsang palgul charyo ūi chonghapchŏk yŏn'gu* 송광사 사천왕상 발굴자료의 종합적 연구 [A Study on the Data Found Inside the Four Heavenly Kings Statues at Songgwangsa]. Seoul: Asea munhwasa. 251 pages. ISBN 89-428-1658-4 (93010).

A comprehensive study of the statues of the Four Heavenly Kings of Songgwangsa 松廣寺, Sunch'ŏn 順川, and the *pokchang* items yielded from them. This is an interdisciplinary collection in which the contributions of different disciplines (bibliography, art history, and conservation) are presented. It contains seven essays and photographs of one of the *pokchang* items, namely the *Fabuaŋjing xuanzan huigu tongjin xinchao* 法華經玄贊會古通今新抄 (A New Copy of the Convergence of Past and Present for the Esoteric Praise of the Lotus Sūtra). The volume contains two essays by Kang Sun-ae, which provide an overview of the *pokchang* items from the statues of the Four Heavenly Kings and an investigation of the *Fabuaŋjing xuanzan huigu tongjin xinchao*. Kim Sang-ho 金相溟 examines the engravers of the books found in the statues. Pak Chi-sŏn's 朴智善 essay is an analysis of the quality of the paper used for conservation of Buddhist scriptures. Im Yŏng-ae's 林玲愛 essays is concerned with the stylistic characteristics of the statues, while their production method is examined by Han Kyŏng-sun 韓京淳. In terms of *pokchang* objects specifically, this publication primarily focuses on the books and scriptures in the deposits.

9. T'aegyŏng Sūnim 태경스님 (Venerable T'aegyŏng)

2006 *Chosang kyŏng: Pulbokchang ūi chŏlch'a wa kŭ soŋe tamgin sasang* 造像經: 불복장의 절차와 그 속에 담긴 사상 [Chosang kyŏng: The Process of the Pokchang Ritual and the Thoughts Contained in It]. Seoul: Unjusa. 372 + 170 pages. ISBN 978-89-5746-157-0 (03220).

In the first part of this book, the author compares and analyses five different editions and one manuscript copy of *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* and discusses the significance of the Yongch'ŏn edition, which is the oldest edition discovered by the author. In addition, she examines various Buddhist scriptures and commentaries that have been incorporated into these compilations, and explains the meaning and thought underlying the *pokchang* items. The second part is a modern Korean translation of the Yujŏmsa 楡岾寺 edition and the author's annotations. Appendices contain photographic reproductions of the Yujŏmsa edition, part of the Nūnggasa 楞伽寺 edition (d. 1677), a manuscript copy (d. 1888) of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, and their modern Korean translations.



10. Pöppo chongch'al Haeinsa 법보종찰 해인사 and Munhwajae ch'öng 문화재청, eds.
2008 *Haeinsa Taejökkwangjön, Pöppojön Pirojanabul pokchang yumul chosa pogosö* 海印寺 대적광전·법보전 비로자나불 복장유물 조사보고서 [Investigative Report on the *Pokchang* Artifacts of Vairocana Buddha Statues in the Hall of Silent Illumination and the Hall of Dharma Treasure, Haeinsa]. Hapch'ön: Pöppo chongch'al Haeinsa. 104 pages.

This volume investigates the *pokchang* objects yielded from two Vairocana Buddha statues enshrined at Haeinsa. These two statues, which are thought to be twin images and possibly the oldest wooden statues in Korea, were re-gilded in 1992. The *pokchang* objects were first discovered in the process of conducting that project but were mostly reinstalled within the statues without further study. In 2005, the *pokchang* objects were recovered during a second re-gilding project. This report is the result of a comprehensive investigation of the objects, which was executed in 2007–8.

The report contains details of various *pokchang* items from the statues and photographs of the contents. From Koryö xylographs to a fifteenth century throat-bell container, these *pokchang* items are an early example of the *pokchang* practice before the completion of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* (*Chosang kyöng* 造像經). The report also includes a study of the textiles used in the *pokchang* objects.



11. Haeinsa söngbo pangmulgwan 해인사성보박물관, ed.
2008 *Haeinsa Pirojanabul pokchang yumul t'ükyölc'hön: Söwön* 해인사 비로자나불 복장유물 특별전: 誓願 [Special Exhibition on the *Pokchang* Artifacts Found in the Vairocana Buddha Statues of Haeinsa: Vow]. Hapch'ön: Haeinsa söngbo pangmulgwan. 176 pages.

This is a special exhibition catalogue of the *pokchang* artifacts from the two Vairocana Buddha statues of Haeinsa. This exhibition is based on the research of *pokchang* materials done in 2007–8 (see title 9). Well-preserved *pokchang* items from the Vairocana statues were opened to the public, and this catalogue presents detailed photographs of those finds.

12. T'aegyöng 泰旻
2008 *Pulbokchang e saegyöjin üimi* 佛腹藏에 새겨진 의미 [The Meaning Immersed within the *Pokchang*]. Seoul: Yangsajae. ix + 23 + 234 pages. ISBN 978-89-960255-1-1 (93220).

This book contains an explication of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images* with photographic reprints of the Yongch'önsa 龍泉寺 (d. 1575) and Yujömsa editions (d. 1824) in the collection of Wön'gaksa 圓覺寺, Koyang 高陽. The Yongch'önsa edition, of which this is the oldest version, served as the basis for later editions. The latest Yujömsa edition is the result of integrating and rearranging many previous editions. The volume includes an introduction to the meaning of making images in Buddhism, a description of the symbolism of the *pokchang* objects, the author's



suggestions for the preservation of the artifacts, and an overview of the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*.

13. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn'guso 불교문화재연구소, ed.

2009 *Andong Pogwangsa mokcho Kwanūm posal chwasang* 안동 보광사 목조관음보살좌상 [Seated Wooden Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva Statue of Pogwangsa, Andong]. Taejŏn: Munhwajaech'ŏng. 97 pages. ISBN 978-89-6325-111-0 (93620).

This volume is an in-depth research report on the Avalokiteśvara statue and its *pokchang* items from Pogwangsa 普光寺 in Andong 安東 discovered in 2007. This statue has been identified as a Koryŏ work. Photographs, an X-ray image, and a 3D-scanned image of the statue are included in this publication. Although many of the *pokchang* objects had already been damaged, this report presents details about the remaining items. For example, esoteric Buddhist texts and a *chŏgori* 저고리 (Korean traditional jacket) yielded from the statue show an important facet of Buddhism and textile culture of the Koryŏ period. Also included are three research articles that each deal with the statue, the Buddhist texts, and the *chŏgori*.

14. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn'guso 불교문화재연구소, ed.

2012 *Pulbokchang ūisik hyŏnhwang chosa pogosŏ* 불복장의식 현황조사보고서 [Investigative Report of the Current Situation of the *Pokchang* Ritual]. Seoul: Taehan pulgyo Chogyejong ch'ongmuwŏn munhwabu. 151 pages.

This report, published by the Korean Buddhist Jogye Order, is aimed at providing basic data and an assessment of the current situation of the *pokchang* ritual and its transmission. It not only introduces the *pokchang* ritual in general, but it also chronicles—with text and photographs—the entire *pokchang* ritual held at Ch'ŏngnyangsa 淸涼寺 in 2012. This volume also includes interviews with five monks who practice the traditional *pokchang* ritual and a list of relevant ritual manuals.

15. SONG Ūn-sŏk 宋殷碩

2012 *Chosŏn hugi pulgyo chogaksa: 17 segi Chosŏn ūi chogaksŭng kwa yup'a* 조선 후기 불교조각사: 17세기 조선의 조각승과 유파 [The History of Buddhist Sculptures in the Late Chosŏn Period: Monk Sculptors and Schools in Seventeenth-Century Chosŏn]. Seoul: Sahoe p'yŏngnon. 578 pages. ISBN 978-89-6435-580-0 (93620).

This book provides an investigation of the five schools of monk sculptors who were active during the early seventeenth century. It is the first attempt in the history of Korean Buddhist sculpture to organize the monk sculptors and analyze their works by schools.

Because this research focuses on the style of Buddhist statues and the lineage of the artists, the *pokchang* itself is not the main concern. However, this publication deals with the inscriptions yielded from the statues as important evidence about

the sculptors. These inscriptions and *pokchang* items provide the date of the statue, the place the statue was enshrined, and the list of participants responsible for the production of the image. Furthermore, they contain the various titles and names of the sculptors. Thus, they are significant for examining the role of each artist and their lineage. All the inscriptions that the author examined are included as an appendix. Meanwhile, the author uses identical *pokchang* objects discovered from two different works as clues to identify who made the anonymous works (p. 315).

16. Tong'a taehakkyo pangmulgwan 동아대학교박물관, ed.
2012 *Pokchangmul: Sunch'ŏn Songgwangsa Kwanūm Posal chwasang* 복장물: 순천 송광사 관음보살좌상 [*Pokchang* Objects: The Seated Avalokiteśvara Statue of Songgwangsa, Sunch'ŏn]. Pusan: Tong'a taehakkyo pangmulgwan. 171 pages. ISBN 978-89-449-0346-5 (03220).

This catalogue is based on a past exhibition: *The Wishes of Prince Sohyŏn's Family* (*Sohyŏn seja kajok ūi chagūn somang* 소현세자 가족의 작은 소망) held at Dong-A University (Tong'a taehakkyo 東亞大學校) in 2011. Each chapter introduces inscriptions, clothing, textiles, and texts yielded from a seated Avalokiteśvara statue at Songgwangsa, which was commissioned in the seventeenth century by a court lady for Prince Sohyŏn's 昭顯 (1612–45) family. This catalogue focuses on the patrons and their wishes by utilizing the dedicatory inscriptions discovered within the statue as well as the *pokchang* objects. Photographs of the progress of collecting the *pokchang* items are provided.

17. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn'guso 불교문화재연구소, ed.
2014 *Chŏnt'ong pulbokchang ūisik mit chŏman ūisik: Chosang kwa yegyŏng* 전통 불복장의식 및 점안의식: 造像과 禮敬 [Traditional *Pokchang* Ritual and Eye-Dotting Ceremony: The Production of Buddhist Images and Veneration]. Seoul: Taehan pulgyo chŏnt'ong pulbokchang mit chŏman ūisik pojonhoe; Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn'guso. 207 pages. ISBN 979-11-954017-0-3 (93220).

This report, which is based on the performance of the *pokchang* and eye-dotting ceremony held in 2014, discusses the modern meaning of the *pokchang* practice and its preservation value. The performance was organized in order to revive and preserve the *pokchang* and eye-dotting ceremony, which has increasingly become simplified. In this volume a preliminary investigation, which includes an examination of today's *pokchang* ritual through participant observation and the establishment of new standards for the ceremonies based on traditional documents, is recorded as well as the performance. The latter part of this report contains four research essays dealing with the *pokchang* ritual or related themes.

18. Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, ed.

2014 *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo* 국립중앙박물관 소장 불교조각 조사보고 [Research on Buddhist Sculptures from the National Museum of Korea]. Vol. 1. Seoul: Kungnip chung'ang pangmulgwan. 359 pages. ISBN 978-89-8164-105-4 (94650).

This volume features the results of a research project initiated in 2012 to investigate five wooden Buddhist statues and a terracotta statue in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. It includes photographs, X-ray photos, and measurement diagrams of these statues. It also contains an in-depth analysis of each statue and details of the preservation process. An examination of *pokchang* objects as well as an analysis of the statues themselves are included. Among these six images, four yielded *pokchang* objects. Although the original shape of the *pokchang* deposit might have been disturbed, this research reveals *pokchang* objects from various periods and how they were installed within the statues. Compositional analysis and photomicrographs of the *pokchang* materials are included in the appendices.

19. Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, ed.

2016 *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan sojang pulgyo chogak chosa pogo* 국립중앙박물관 소장 불교조각 조사보고 [Research on Buddhist Sculptures from the National Museum of Korea]. Vol. 2. Seoul: Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan. 346 pages. ISBN 978-89-8164-157-3 (94650).

This is the second volume of a research report on Buddhist sculpture in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. It features a close examination of four gilt-bronze Buddhist statues, which were produced from the late Koryō to the early Chosōn periods. It offers photos, measurement diagrams, and the analysis of a gilt-bronze Amitābha Triad, a gilt-bronze Avalokiteśvara, and their *pokchang* objects. This report publishes for the first time these *pokchang* objects. Through this research, three statues of the Amitābha Triad and their *pokchang* objects, which came into the museum's collection separately and were thus considered separate works, were determined to be a set. In addition, an investigation of the fabric found inside the Avalokiteśvara statue led to a reconsideration of the statue's production date.

20. Haeinsa sōngbo pangmulgwan 해인사성보박물관, ed.

2017 *Wōndang: Haeinsa Wōndangam Amit'abul pokchang yumul t'ūkpyōlchōn* 願堂: 해인사 원당암 아미타불 복장유물 특별전 [Special Exhibition on the *Pokchang* Artifacts Found in the Amitābha Buddha Statue of Wōndang'am, Haeinsa]. Hapch'ōn: Haeinsa sōngbo pangmulgwan. 175 pages.

In 2017, Haeinsa held a second *pokchang*-themed exhibition, following on the first held in 2008. This catalogue accompanies the exhibition of the *pokchang* objects found inside the wooden Amitābha statue enshrined at Wōndang'am 願堂庵, a sub-temple of Haeinsa. The *pokchang* objects, discovered in the process of repairing the Amitābha triad statues, were first unveiled to the public through this exhibition. This is a rare case in which the *pokchang* deposit, which was in mint condition,

was systematically dissembled. Therefore, this is an academically and religiously significant publication. It is noteworthy that a significant number of manuscripts of the *Flower Garland Sūtra* printed during the Koryŏ period were yielded from the cache. This catalogue provides detailed photographs of the various *pokchang* items and textiles as well as the manuscripts. In research leading up to the exhibition, two bodhisattva statues were not opened in order to preserve them intact. Therefore, this catalogue only includes the objects from the Amitābha statue, but X-ray photos of the two bodhisattva statues provide a glimpse into what was inserted and how they were installed. This catalogue includes two research papers. The author of the first paper points out that the contents of the *pokchang* items and the format of the throat-bell container found in the Amitābha statue are similar to those of the Vairocana statues at Haeinsa, but differ from other examples. This raises the possibility that a unique *pokchang* format was established at Haeinsa. The second paper provides a compositional analysis of the textiles used in the *pokchang* objects.

21. Yu Kŭn-ja 유근자

2017 *Chosŏn sidae pulsang ūi pokchang kirok yŏn'gu* 조선시대 불상의 복장기록 연구 [A Study of the *Pokchang* Documents from the Buddhist Statues of the Chosŏn Period]. Seoul: Pulgwang ch'ulp'ansa. 575 pages. ISBN 978-89-7479-344-9 (93220).

This book aims to prepare the ground for research on Chosŏn Buddhist sculptures by providing the dedicatory inscriptions yielded from them, which are included in an appendix. These inscriptions contain valuable information, such as the date of the statue or the participants who produced the statue. By examining these significant materials, the author is able to reconstruct the nature of Chosŏn period Buddhist communities. The book contains six chapters dealing with the background of the production of Buddhist statues, the format of inscriptions, the titles and roles of the participants (monk sculptors) and their lineages, and patrons.





SLAVES, VILLAGE HEADMEN, AND ARISTOCRATS:
PATRONAGE AND FUNCTIONS OF BUDDHIST SCULPTURE BURIALS
IN LATE KORYŎ AND EARLY CHOSŎN KOREA

Maya STILLER

Cet article comble une lacune dans les études religieuses en donnant un aperçu d'une pratique bouddhique dans la Corée des XIV^e et XV^e siècles, qui consistait, au sein des sociétés locales, à commander de petites sculptures bouddhiques en bronze doré, que l'on cachait ensuite sur les sommets des montagnes. Des études antérieures ont montré que la cour royale et les fonctionnaires du gouvernement central commandaient des sculptures similaires; mais, ici il s'agit de gens n'appartenant pas à l'élite centrale qui, néanmoins, étaient eux aussi les commanditaires d'un bon nombre d'entre elles. L'auteur met en évidence que des chefs de village, des aristocrates et des esclaves mettaient en commun leurs ressources pour la production et l'enterrement des sculptures.

À travers une analyse du contexte spatial des enterrements, menée grâce à l'imagerie de Google Earth et des témoignages scripturaires, nous savons désormais que des groupes qui faisaient des pèlerinages à Kūmgangsan 金剛山 pour vénérer le bodhisattva Dharmodgata (Pōpki posal 法起菩薩) – une figure importante de la tradition du Prajñāpāramitā (Panya paramilta 般若波羅密多) – enterraient des sculptures d'Amitābha (Amit'abul 阿彌陀佛) et de ses deux assistants, Avalokiteśvara (Kwanūm posal 觀音菩薩) et Kṣitigarbha (Chijang posal 地藏菩薩), dans la partie sommitale des collines contiguës à celle dédiée à Dharmodgata, et ceci afin de maximiser leur chance de naître en Terre Pure. Après le retour des pèlerins au village, les sculptures enterrées offertes à Dharmodgata maintenaient ainsi leur connexion avec la divinité et permettaient aux fidèles d'acquérir en permanence des mérites. La recherche présentée dans cet article contribue à approfondir notre connaissance des pratiques religieuses locales en Corée pendant la période d'occupation mongole à la fin du royaume de Koryŏ 高麗 (918-1392) jusqu'au début de la période du Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392-1910). Elle souligne, en même temps, l'importance d'étudier le placement et le contexte spatial des sculptures bouddhiques pour comprendre leur fonction rituelle.

This article explains the social and spatial context of a particular Buddhist practice among people who resided in the provincial regions of the Korean peninsula during the late Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) and early Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910) periods. My research shows that village headmen (*hojang* 戶長), local aristocrats (*yangban* 兩班) and slaves all commissioned and buried Buddhist sculptures at auspicious mountain locations such as Kūmgangsan 金剛山 and Myohyangsan 妙香山 in present-day

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North Korea and Sangwangsansan 象王山 in South Korea.¹ These findings expand the work of Mun Myōng-dae 文明大 and Yi T'ae-ho 李泰浩 who suggested that it was exclusively royal family and central officials from the capital who commissioned sculpture burials.²

Employing an inter-disciplinary approach, I combine established art history methodology such as stylistic analysis with social history methodology through the close study of epigraphy and historical context to argue that the social background of those who commissioned the sculpture burials was much broader than scholars have previously assumed. Furthermore, my spatial analysis of the sculpture burial sites, wherein I combined Geographic Information Systems technology (GIS), Google Earth imagery and archaeological material, will broaden the traditional focus on style and iconography in Korean Buddhist art historical scholarship.

The Broader Context of Sculpture Burials in Asia

For reasons yet unknown, Buddhist sculptures excavated from rock crevices in the Korean mountains date primarily from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.³ More than thirty of the forty sculptures that were discovered in the twentieth century were excavated from Kūmgangsansan in present-day North Korea. Material and written evidence exists for other sites, such as Myohyangsansan in P'yōngan Province 平安道, North Korea, as well as Naksansa 洛山寺 in Kangwōn Province 江原道 and

1. Village headmen were top-ranking *hyangni* 鄉吏 officials. Hereditary *hyangni* who held high social status in Koryō local society were relegated to the inferior status of unsalaried clerks in the district magistrates' administration offices in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, see Kim Sōn-ju (Kim Sun Joo), *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyongnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2007), 21. While McCune-Reischauer Romanization is used throughout this article, where possible I included the received transcription of Korean scholars' names in parentheses when mentioning their work for the first time in order to simplify searching for the scholar's publications in both Korean and English.

2. Yi T'ae-ho (Yi Taeho) 李泰浩, "Kūmgangsansan ūi Koryō sidae pulgyo yujōk" 金剛산의 고려시대 불교유적 [Research on Koryō Period Buddhist Remains at Kūmgangsansan], *Misulsa wa munhwa yusan* 미술사와 문화유산 1 (2012): 194; Mun Myōng-dae (Mun Myungdae) 文明大, "Kūmgangsansan ch'ult'o T'ibet'ū kye Myōng yangsik kyet'ong ūi kūmdong Amit'a samjon pulsang (kūmdong samjon pulsang: pu sōkham) ūi yōn'gu" 金剛산출토 티벳계 명양식 계통의 금동 아미타삼존 불상 (金銅三尊佛像: 附石函) 의 연구 [Research on the Gilt Bronze Amitābha Triad Executed in the Tibetan Ming Style Excavated at Kūmgangsansan: Gilt Bronze Triad inside Stone Container], *Kangjwa misulsa* 강좌미술사 45 (2015): 364.

3. According to Chōng Ūn-u (Jeong Eun-woo) 鄭恩雨, the practice of sculpture burials disappeared in the fifteenth century due to anti-Buddhist measures of the Chosōn government. See Chōng Ūn-u, "Yōmālsōnch'o sogūmdongbul ūi yuhaeng kwa chejakkibōp ūi pyōnhwa" 여말선초 소금동불의 유행과 제작기법의 변화 [The Fashion of Small Gilt Bronze Buddhist Statues and Change of Technique in the Late Koryō and Early Chosōn Period], *Misulsabak* 미술사학 24 (2010): 274. For a different perspective, see the section "Reasons for the Burial of Sculptures" in this article.

Sangwangsans in Ch'ungch'ong Province 忠淸道, South Korea.⁴ These sculptures were typically buried in clusters of three to twelve pieces, each piece having been commissioned by different members of the group that buried the given cluster. The figures, ranging between five and fifteen centimeters in height, were placed inside metal, stone, or ceramic containers and then buried in craggy mountain peaks or in the façade of precipitous rock cliffs, several meters below the cliff's edge. Preparing a sculpture's burial site was difficult because it required cutting a cavity into the hard granite rock of the Korean mountains in order to create an insertion space for the sculpture's storage container.

The Korean practice of burying small gilt-bronze Buddhist sculptures, which modern scholars refer to as *maebul* 埋佛, belongs to a combination of Buddhist and indigenous practices that are part of the broader religious landscape of premodern Korea. Individuals from various social status groups buried not only Buddhist sculptures but also Buddhist relics and scented wood dedicated to the Future Buddha Maitreya (Mirūkpu 彌勒佛).⁵ Additionally, they buried placenta jars at auspicious locations throughout the landscape so that their descendants might receive good fortune, longevity, and a better rebirth.⁶ The burial of canonical texts—a popular practice in Japan from the Heian 平安 period (794–1185) onward—does not seem to have been practiced in Korea.⁷

Sculptures were buried in other parts of Asia as well, albeit for different reasons. At the temple of Banteay Kdei at Angkor, several hundred destroyed Buddhist statues

4. Chōng Ūn-u, “Yōmalsōnch'o sogūmdongbul ūi yuhaeng kwa chejak kibōp ūi pyōnhwa,” 261, 275.

5. Buddhist icons were known in pre-twentieth century Korea under their Korean name, for example Mirūkpu. However, to make this article more accessible to the broader community of Buddhist Studies scholars, I will use Sanskrit terminology when referring to Buddhist names and scriptures.

6. For further research on the burial of reliquaries, incense and placenta jars in the ground and the burial of sculptures in stone pagodas, see Chu Kyōng-mi (Joo Kyeongmi) 周旻美, “Yi Sōng-gye parwōn pulsarijang'ōmgu ūi yōn'gu” 이성계 발원 불사리장엄구의 연구 [Research on the Buddhist Reliquary Container Donated by Yi Sōng-gye], *Misulsabak yōn'gu* 미술사학연구 (2008): 39–40; Yi Hae-jun 李海濬, “Maehyang sinang kwa kū chudojiptan ūi sōnggyōk: sip sa, sip o segi maehyang sarye ūi punsōk” 매향신앙과 그 주도집단의 성격: 14, 15세기 매향사례의 분석 [Incense Burial Belief and the Characteristics of Leading Groups: Analysis of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Examples of Incense Burial], in *Kim Ch'ol-chun paksā hwagap kinyōm sabak nonch'ong* 김철준박사 화갑기념 사학논총, ed. Kim Ch'ol-jun Paksā Hwagap Kinyōm Sahak Nonch'ong Kanhaeng Chunbi Wiwōnhoe 김철준박사 화갑기념 사학논총 간행준비위원회 (Seoul: Chisik Sanōpsa, 1983), 367–90; Kwōn So-hyōn (Kwon So-hyun) 權素玄, “Ceramics and Ritual Vessels of the Royal Household,” in *Treasures from Korea: Arts and Culture of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392–1910* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2014), 36–43; Yi Pun-hūi (Yi Boon-hee) 李芬熙, “Han'guk sōkt'ap pulsang pong'an yōn'gu” 韓國 石塔 佛像 奉安 研究 [Research on Buddhist Sculptures Enshrined in Stone Pagodas in Korea], (PhD diss., Dongguk University, 2016).

7. According to Moerman, *mappō* was a rhetorical trope rather than the actual motivation for sutra burials, see D. Max Moerman, “The Archaeology of Anxiety: An Underground History of Heian Religion,” in *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries*, ed. Mikael Adolphson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 246; 266–67.

were buried, presumably in the thirteenth century, after they had most likely become victims of Hindu iconoclasm.⁸ Perhaps the most famous cache of Buddhist sculptures from Song 宋 period China (960–1279) was found in 1996 in Qingzhou 青州, Shandong Province 山東省. It contained two hundred sculptures—all of which had been broken—mostly dating from the Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534), Eastern Wei 東魏 (534–550), and Northern Qi 北齊 (550–77) periods. Lukas Nickel asserts that after centuries of ritual use, these sculptures had been buried in this cache at some point during the Northern Song 北宋 (960–1126) period because they were damaged and no longer served any religious function.⁹ More comparative research needs to be conducted on similar cases in China and Korea; however, my findings in the Korean case show that donors benefitted from the sacredness of the ground within which they buried their sculptures, and therefore it is likely that the buried sculptures of the Qingzhou cache continually served a similar religious purpose for the temple or community that buried them.

The sculptures used for burials in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Korea were not broken, nor were they centuries older than the date of the burial. Rather, they were made precisely to be buried.¹⁰ Additionally, the Korean sculptures are much smaller than the large caches of sculptures buried in China and South Asia. Small sculptures were convenient for a number of reasons: they cost less to create and were easier to transport and bury.

Stylistic Adaptations from Yuan-Ming China

The following analysis of examples from the Ŭnjŏng Valley sculpture burial and the Sangwangsŏn sculpture burial indicates that differences in terms of quality and style was not related to the social status of the patrons but rather to the location of the sculpture workshops.¹¹ Sculptors employed at workshops in the capital—Kaesŏng in the case of Koryŏ and Hansŏng in the case of Chosŏn—had access to the latest stylistic trends from Yuan-Ming China and created sculptures reflecting these trends. For example, a fourteenth-century gilt-bronze sculpture of a crowned Bodhisattva discovered at Kŭmgangsŏn—which is rarely discussed in the literature

8. Yoshiaki Ishizawa 石澤良昭 and Masako Marui 丸井雅子, “La découverte de 274 sculptures et d’un *caitya* bouddhique lors des campagnes de fouilles de 2000 et 2001 au temple de Banteay Kdei à Angkor,” *Arts Asiatiques* 57 (2002): 215.

9. Lukas Nickel, *Return of the Buddha: The Qingzhou Discoveries* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2002), 42.

10. The sculptures may have served as personal icons of worship for a short time before they were buried. The majority of Kŭmgangsŏn’s buried sculptures were discovered during excavations in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, the Ŭnjŏng Valley cache and the Hyangno Peak cache were excavated in June 1982, while the Panggwangdae cache at Manp’ok Gorge was found in September 1974.

11. The Sinographs for “Ŭnjŏng” are most likely 恩情. Patrons (*parwŏnja* 發願者) commissioned Buddhist artworks and were mainly in charge of the project while donors (*sijuja* 施主者) financially contributed to the project.

due to its current location in the North Korean Haeju 海州 History Museum—bears similarities to a Yuan Chinese Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva sculpture dated 1305 (figs. 1 and 2). Decorated with strands of beads, the slim figure is seated cross-legged on a two-tiered pedestal and wears a crown terminating in a narrow band at the forehead and decorative ribbons behind the ear. However, compared to the Yuan piece, the Koryŏ example depicts Yuan imperial stylistic elements in a simplified, abridged manner. Moreover, while the Yuan artisans depicted Mañjuśrī with a naked upper body, the Koryŏ sculptors covered both of the Bodhisattva’s shoulders with a robe, following a Sinicized version of Newari aesthetics.¹²



Fig. 1. Seated Bodhisattva, 14th century, Koryŏ period (918–1392), gilt bronze, excavated from Inner Kūmgang, Haeju History Museum, Haeju, DPRK. © Nambuk Chŏjjakkwŏn Cent’ŏ.



Fig. 2. Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva, 1305, Yuan dynasty (1271–1368), gilt bronze, H 18.1 cm. Accession no. 故00000156, The Palace Museum, Beijing. © The Palace Museum.

12. In Nepalese language, “Newar” refers to the people living in the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal. Newar artisans were known for their exquisite craftsmanship. They reportedly worked at the Chinese imperial courts during the Yuan and Ming dynasties and inspired the creation of Chinese artworks that selectively adopted Newar aesthetic elements, such as an elongated *uṣṇīṣa* and a two-tiered lotus pedestal. Koreans adopted the aforementioned elements but rejected depictions of almost naked bodies and inlaid gemstones commonly found in Newari sculpture.

The gilt-bronze sculpture of an Amitābha Buddha (Amit'abul 阿彌陀佛) discovered at a cliff in the Ŭnjŏng Valley south of Kūmgangsan is an example of a Ming Chinese adaptation (see central figure in fig. 3). The Amitābha Buddha belongs to a set of an Amitābha triad and several other yet unidentified Buddhist sculptures that North Korean researchers excavated at Ŭnjŏng Valley in 1984. The sculptures had been stored in two stoneware bowls and a bronze container, all of which had been placed into a carved cavity thirty meters above ground of the granite cliff. Dated 1451, this Amitābha Buddha has features distinctive of the Ming Yongle 永樂 style, a representative example of which is a Buddha sculpture in the collection of the British Museum (fig. 4). Striking similarities between the Ŭnjŏng sculpture and the British Museum example include the elongated *uṣṇīṣa* crowned with a jewel, which is also a hallmark of early Chosŏn period Buddhist painting; a robe with voluminous garment folds covering the left shoulder; the pleated trim beneath the right chest; and the two-tiered lotus pedestal with beading at the top and base. However, the early Chosŏn piece depicts the Buddha with a simplified double nimbus instead of the intricate scrolled repoussé work of the Yongle Buddha's leaf-shaped nimbus, which was added to the image in the eighteenth century. Judging from the high-quality material and ornate detail, it is likely that a Chosŏn Korean sculpture workshop familiar with the latest stylistic trends arriving from Ming China and operating in the capital Hansŏng made the Ŭnjŏng piece.



Fig. 3. Amitābha Buddha triad, 1451, Chosŏn period (1392–1910), H 17.7 cm, excavated at Ŭnjŏng Valley, Kūmgangsan. © Nambuk Chŏjjakkwŏn Cent'ŏ.



Fig. 4. Buddha, Yongle period (1403–24), Ming dynasty (1368–1644), gilt copper alloy, H 60.5 cm; mandorla and pedestal, 18th century, Qing (1644–1912). © The British Museum.

In contrast, Sangwangsan's Amitābha triad exemplifies the work of less skilled artisans. This triad belongs to a set of six pieces buried on the peak of Sangwangsan in Ch'ungch'ōng Province, South Korea, between 1393 to 1405 CE (fig. 5). The sculptures entered the collection of the Puyō 扶餘 National Museum in 1974, shortly after local farmers had unearthed them at an unknown location in Haemi County 海美縣.¹³ While the sculptures' nimbi and pedestals are missing, their similar style and iconographic features make it possible to identify three of the six pieces as an Amitābha triad. While the hooded Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva (Chijang posal 地藏菩薩) holds with both hands a wish-granting jewel, the hand gestures of Amitābha Buddha and Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva (Kwanūm posal 觀音菩薩) form the gesture of welcoming the deceased to the class of lower grade of middle birth (*hap'um chungsaeng* 下品中生), that is, the thumb and middle finger of the left hand as well as thumb and middle finger of the right hand form a circle. The iconographic combination of Amitābha with Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara emerged in Koryō Buddhist art around the mid-fourteenth century. If one considers this iconographic feature in combination with the epigraphic evidence explained below, the Sangwangsan triad was likely made in the second half of the fourteenth century. The sculptures were placed in plain monochrome stoneware jars with an elongated, cylindrical body covered by a lid with a bulging rim.¹⁴



Fig. 5. Sangwangsan cache sculptures, from left to right: Amitābha triad consisting of Kṣitigarbha, Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara; small Bodhisattva, small Kṣitigarbha, small Bodhisattva, 1393–1405, Chosōn period, gilt bronze (gilding partially flaked off), unearthed in Sōsan, Ch'ungch'ōng Province. © Puyō National Museum, photograph by Maya Stiller.

13. The inscriptions inside the burial containers suggest that the peak of Sangwangsan was the original location of the burial: 1) inscription inside burial container of gilt-bronze Avalokiteśvara sculpture: 国名高麗国後名朝鮮 此名象山 東伊山郡 西丁海郡 此象王名; 2) inscription inside burial container of gilt-bronze Kṣitigarbha sculpture: 国前名高麗国後名朝鮮国 此山象山王山名 東伊山郡 西丁海郡 山頂諸仏接 (see also table 2).

14. Similarly shaped stoneware jars were made for various other purposes, for example placenta burials, see (*Wangsil sansok*) *t'ae hangari t'ūkpyōljōn* (王室産俗) 태항아리특별전 [Special Exhibition on Placenta Jars (a Royal Birth Custom)] (Seoul: Kungjung Yumul Chōnsigwan, 1999).

Inscriptions on the inside and outside of the triad's storage jars and lids provide more detailed information about their production date and their patrons. The jars were likely produced around the turn of the fourteenth century, since inscriptions inside the vessels record that “the country's former name was Koryŏ and its later name was Chosŏn” 国前名高麗国 後名朝鮮国, indicating a dynastic change. The inscriptions also refer to the district of Isan-gun 伊山郡, which merged with a nearby district and was subsequently renamed Töksan-hyŏn 德山縣 in 1405.¹⁵ Therefore, the sculptures were most likely buried between the second month of 1393, when the new kingdom was named Chosŏn, and 1405.¹⁶

Based on the lower-grade material and the execution with simple techniques—visible, for example, in the rough facial features and the simplified rendering of Amitābha's snail-curl hair—I believe that the sculpture workshop in charge of this project had a provincial background. Artisans in the capital were likely more skilled and had access to better materials and to the latest trends from Ming China. Stylistically, the artisans who made the Sangwangsang Amitābha triad followed a mixed style of Sinitic elements, including stylistic features that had filtered down from the Koryŏ capital of Kaesong into the provinces during the time of Mongol occupation (1270–1356). For example, the Amitābha Buddha embodies stylistic elements that we see in Chinese and Korean Buddhist art from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onward, such as the covering of both shoulders with a robe and the implementation of a pleated trim holding the robe below the chest. On the other hand, both Bodhisattvas wear disk earrings and have strands of beads decorating their knees, indicating the artisans' familiarity with the style of Yuan-Ming imperial court sculpture, or at least that they had seen sculptures or model books that included elements of this style.¹⁷

Terminology Issues

Scholars such as Chŏng Ŭn-u 鄭恩雨, Mun Hyŏn-sun 文賢順, Mun Myŏng-dae, and Yi T'ae-ho have used terms such as “Lamaist sculpture,” “Tibetan style,” or “Tibetan Ming style sculpture” to describe the Yuan-Ming influence on late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn Korean Buddhist sculpture.¹⁸ I agree that many of the buried

15. Entry on Töksan-hyŏn 德山縣, in *Sejong sillok chiriji* 世宗實錄地理志 [Geographical Appendix to the Veritable Records of King Sejong], 149:21b, in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty], n.d., Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe online edition, sillok.history.go.kr.

16. *T'aejo sillok* 太祖實錄 [Veritable Records of King T'aejo], 3:3b, 1393/02/15 (date converted to Gregorian calendar), in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*.

17. A stylistically similar Amitābha triad exists in the collection of the Hyangsan 香山 History Museum near Pohyŏn Monastery 普賢寺, Myohyangsan, in North Korea. Marked by superior material and craftsmanship, this triad was buried at Hyangno Peak 香爐峰 in Inner Kūmgang sometime around the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

18. Chŏng Ŭn-u, *Koryŏ hugi pulgyo chogak yŏn'gu* 高麗後期 佛教彫刻 研究 [Research on Late Koryŏ Period Buddhist Sculpture] (Seoul: Munye, 2007), 171ff.; Yi T'ae-ho, “Kūmgangsan ūi Koryŏ sidae pulgyo yujŏk,” 194; Mun Hyŏn-sun (Moon Hyun-soon) 文賢順, “1450 nyŏn–1460 nyŏndae kinyŏnmyŏng Amit'a samjon pul e taehan koch'al” 1450년–1460년대紀年銘 아미타삼존불에

sculptures reflect a nuanced adaptation of Yuan and Ming Yongle aesthetics; however, “Tibet” is a generic term for a region in the Himalayan range inhabited by different Tibetan ethnic groups that developed isolated artistic traditions in various remote mountain areas. No evidence exists for a direct link between a particular Tibetan ethnic group and Koryŏ/Chosŏn Korea, but Yuan and Ming imperial court artists (some of whom were of Newari descent and/or had been trained by Newari artists) were the primary actors in the active adoption and modification of Newari artisanship in Chinese art, which, in turn, had an impact on the style of Korean Buddhist art.¹⁹ Furthermore, since the late 1990s scholars in Anglophone countries have avoided using the term “Lamaism,” since it is strongly charged with nineteenth-century Orientalist interpretations and was used to describe Tibetan Buddhism as a deviant form of Buddhism.²⁰ Therefore, it is perhaps more appropriate to speak of Newari-inspired Yuan or Ming imperial court art influencing Koryŏ/Chosŏn Buddhist sculpture rather than drawing a vague connection between “Tibetan” art and Korean Buddhist art.

Central or Regional Patronage?

Since several of the buried sculptures are stylistically similar to sculptures made at the Yuan-Ming imperial court, and because Kūmgangsan’s monasteries had close ties to the royal court, scholars such as Yi T’ae-ho and Mun Myŏng-dae believe that the Koryŏ royal court and high-ranking officials residing in the capital region commissioned the sculptures buried at Kūmgangsan.²¹ However, Chŏng Ũn-u and Mun Hyŏn-sun found a preponderance of instances in central and southern Korea where a majority of the donors of high-quality Yuan-Ming-inspired sculptures were common people.²² My research presented below expands previous scholars’ findings by providing a more detailed analysis of the social status of patrons and donors recorded in the extant epigraphic material. Furthermore, my analysis complements research on early Chosŏn Buddhist art that has primarily focused on a decontextualized stylistic and iconographic analysis of Buddhist sculpture and painting.²³

대한 고찰 [Study on Amitābha Triads with Inscriptions Recorded in the Years 1450–1460], *Pulgyo misulshak* 불교미술사학, no. 3 (2005), 134; Mun Myŏng-dae, “Kūmgangsan ch’ult’o T’ibet’u kye Myŏng yangsik kyet’ong ūi kūmdong Amit’a samjon pulsang ūi yŏn’gu,” 357ff.

19. The term “court art” is problematic as well since court art itself is not static, but I will use it here for lack of a better word. For visual examples of “Ming Yongle court art,” see the exhibition catalogue by James C. Y. Watt and Denise Patry Leidy, *Defining Yongle: Imperial Art in Early Fifteenth-Century China* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005).

20. Donald S. Lopez Jr., “‘Lamaism’ and the Disappearance of Tibet,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, no. 1 (1996): 3–25, 24.

21. See footnote 2.

22. Chŏng Ũn-u, “Yŏmsŏnjo sogūmdongbul ūi yuhaeng kwa chejakkipŏp ūi pyŏnhwa,” 279; Mun Hyŏn-sun, “1450 nyŏn–1460 nyŏndae kinyŏnmyŏng Amit’a samjon pul e taehan koch’al,” 132.

23. For example, see Pak Ũn-gyŏng (Pak Eun-Kyung) 朴銀卿, *Chosŏn chŏn’gi purhwa yŏn’gu* 조선 전기 불화 연구 [Research on Early Chosŏn Period Buddhist Painting] (Seoul: Sigongart, 2008).

My discoveries involving the Ŭnjŏng Valley sculpture burial record and the Sangwangsŏn record reveal that *hyangni* officials and slaves contributed to Buddhist projects in early Chosŏn Korea. First, I will discuss a written vow (*parwŏnmun* 發願文) of which only the list of donors' names is extant. It is dated 1451 and was found inside the Ŭnjŏng Valley Amitābha Buddha. Second, I will examine the names of donors incised into the storage containers of Sangwangsŏn's Amitābha triad, datable from 1393 to 1405. Third, I will analyse the record incised on a storage container for a single Buddha sculpture, dated 1379, which was excavated at the village of Naegang-ri 內剛里, near the inner part of the mountain referred to as Inner Kūmgang 內金剛.²⁴

Dated 1451, each of the ten sculptures discovered in the Ŭnjŏng Valley contained internal deposits (*pokchang* 腹藏). The deposits included cloth pieces listing the names of the donors, which substantiate my argument that people of lower social status contributed to the production and burial of the sculptures. Based on research into each name using the online database of the Royal Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty (*Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄) as well as secondary source material to identify the patrons' social background, I categorize the social status of the Ŭnjŏng Valley donors as follows:²⁵

Table 1. Social statuses and names of donors, Ŭnjŏng Valley Amitābha Buddha cache, 1451

Social status	Names ²⁶
Married <i>yangban</i> women	成氏, 朴氏
Jurchen merchant or someone with a Mongol name	李巨乙□未
Village leaders	李長守; 趙長守; 朴石乙只知道者
Local functionaries/slaves with aristocratic father	羅元生; 姜元京; 朴仲連; 鄭保民; 李守明; 金寶連; 李淳; 金得富; 李同韓; 金禮成; 朴光守; 朴萬韓; 李大平; 金石順; 姜元萬; 朴他乃; 玄莫同; 金吉松; 千松 (brother or cousin of 吉松); 李松申
Female slaves	小非; 水精; 正月; 今生; 加也之; 寶金; 佛非; 於里; 賢万德; 若非; 今金□伊
Male slaves	金亡吾赤; 亡吾赤; 金吾乙个同; 金金; 剛命仇知; 長命; 側只; 卜中; 萬代; 任格; 德普; 金松; 碩胎
Husband and wife	辛繼孫兩主; 羅得富兩主; 金自禮兩主; 李春京兩主; 安住持兩主; 池己生兩主; □元万兩主; 徐元吉□主; 文□乃兩主; 尹良□金兩主
Identity unclear	金□敬; □得□; □□衣; □生波; □只; 金長□; 金□則; □□玉□

24. While the Naegang-ni container has survived in its entirety, only disintegrated parts of the sculpture remain.

25. I am extremely grateful to Sun Joo Kim, Si Nae Park, Eugene Park, Javier Cha and Sixiang Wang for their valuable comments and reading suggestions that were invaluable to understanding this record. All remaining errors are mine.

26. Rectangles represent illegible characters.

According to my research, the list contains the names of seventy people.²⁷ It begins with the names of two married women from aristocratic families named Madam Söng (Söng ssi 成氏) and Madam Pak (Pak ssi 朴氏), followed by the names of village leaders, local functionaries, and slaves. Some of the names consisting of a surname and a first name could be the names of slaves who adopted the surname of their aristocratic father, because even in the early Chosön period, primarily the upper strata of society used surnames. The list also has entries which represent donor couples, consisting of the husband's three-syllable name followed by the suffix *yangju* 兩主.

The fact that slave names are listed in a formal written vow of patrons indicates the relative wealth and recognition of slaves in local society. Approximately half of the names in the Ünjöng Valley record are female slave names such as Kayaji 加也之 and male slave names such as Kim Olgaettong (written Kim Oülgaedong 金吾乙个同 but pronounced Olgaettong). In the pre-twentieth century Korean context, slaves were able to accumulate wealth despite their hereditary low-ranking social status. Therefore, slaves might have contributed to the sculpture burial by their own agency.²⁸ However, the order in which the names appear in this record is significant. The names of a married couple or single male individuals are commonly followed by two or three slave names. Based on this finding, I believe that the majority of names in this inscription represent groups of local functionaries and their slaves, who might have had less agency in choosing the Buddhist project they wanted to support. In conclusion, while high-quality Buddhist sculptures found at Ünjöng Valley reveal the influence of Ming Yongle imperial court aesthetics, this does not imply that they received exclusive central official patronage neither does it signify the extreme opposite, that is, the exclusive patronage by commoners or slaves.

One could argue that the two *yangban* women were the wives of central officials who acted as intermediaries between a sculptor workshop located in the capital and local village headmen (*hojang* 戶長) and their slaves who lived in counties near Kümngansan and therefore chose Kümngansan as the site of the burial.²⁹ However,

27. My analysis of elite, slave and commoner names in the cache inscriptions is based on researching royal court records mentioning similar names, Kim Yong-man's 金容晩 work on Chosön period slave names and, in the case of the Ünjöng Valley cache, a transcript of the original inscription published in Mun Hyön-sun, "1450 nyön-1460 nyöndaek kinyönmyöng Amit'a samjon pul e taehan koch'al," 131. Mun does not parse the text but provides the following transcription: 景泰二年七月日 施主等 成氏朴氏小非水精 亡吾赤辛繼孫兩主 羅元生任元萬兩主玄莫同姜元京朴仲連鄭保民羅得 富兩主李守明李 長守李巨乙未 金寶連金口敬 趙長守金亡吾赤 姜元萬金自禮兩主 正月李淳金吾 乙个同金得富金 金剛命仇知口得 口朴他乃李春京兩 主李同韓長命 金禮成側只朴光守朴萬韓今生 卜中萬代加也之口口 衣口生波口只李 大平寶金任格佛 非朴石乙只知道者 於里德普賢萬德 安住持兩主金長口 金吉松千松若非金 松李松申今金口 伊金口則碩胎金 石順池己生兩主口 元萬兩主徐元吉口 主口口玉口 文口乃兩主 尹良口金兩主.

28. Wealthy slaves even had their own slaves, see Kim Yong-man 金容晩, *Chosön sidae sanobi yön'gu* 朝鮮時代私奴婢 研究 [Research on Private Slaves in the Chosön Period] (Seoul: Chimoondang, 1997), 248; see also Kim Chong-söng 金鍾星, *Chosön nobidül: ch'önhajiman t'ükpyöl han* 조선 노비들: 천하지만 특별한 [Chosön Slaves: Humble but Special] (Seoul: Yöksa üi Ach'im, 2013), 145ff.

29. *Hojang* were the top *hyangni* of prefectures and counties. For more information on the categories of *hyangni*, see John Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosön Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 32-33; 38.

aside from being mentioned first, neither the content nor the spatial arrangement of the names indicates high social status. Their names are not listed with any title such as *kunbuin* 郡夫人, which was commonly used in Koryŏ period genealogies and tombstone inscriptions when referring to a married elite woman's prominent ancestral seat.³⁰ Therefore, I believe that these women belonged to local rather than central aristocratic families.

The finding of a Jurchen or Mongol name in the donors' list of the Ŭnjŏng Valley sculpture burial provides rare evidence that in fifteenth century Korea, the Jurchen might have been actively involved in Buddhist practices in the northern part of the Korean peninsula. The list records the name of Yi Kŏül□mi 李巨乙□未, who may have been a Jurchen chief living near the border area in Hamgil Province 咸吉道 and who was loyal to the Chosŏn court.³¹ In the fifteenth century, elite Jurchen travelled back and forth between the frontier region and the capital, Hansŏng 漢城, to meet with the king and conduct valuable trade.³² Yi Kŏül□mi could have been such an individual. Since Kŭmgangsan lies near the travel route between Hansŏng and Hamgil Province, it would have been a convenient location for him to bury a sculpture. However, Yi Kŏül□mi could have also been a commoner or even a slave living in a Jurchen community in the northern border region, or he may have been among the many Koreans with Mongol names (even Chosŏn kingdom founder Yi Sŏng-gye's 李成桂 (1335–1408) father and grandfather had such names).

30. I am grateful to Eugene Park for providing me with this information.

31. Hamgil Province 咸吉道 was renamed Hamgyŏng Province 咸鏡道 in 1468.

32. Kenneth Robinson, "Organizing Japanese and Jurchens in Tribute Systems in Early Chosŏn Korea," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 13 (2013): 347ff.

Table 2. Inscriptions of Sangwangsán Amitābha triad storage containers

Divinity	Location of inscription	Inscription
Amitābha Buddha	Inside lid	趙万 朴奉
	Outer surface of vessel	趙万 趙春敬 春明 生明
Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva	Inside lid	從善 朴奉 今音德
	Inside vessel	此名象王山 東伊山郡 西丁海郡 國名高麗國 後名朝鮮
Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva	Inside lid	施主朴奉 今音德只 比丘從善
	Inside vessel	國前名高麗國 後名朝鮮國 此山象王山名 東伊山郡 西丁海郡 山頂諸仏接

Sangwangsán's Amitābha triad is a rare instance of sculpture burial from the southern peninsular region, which shows that this practice also existed at mountains other than Kūmgangsán. During my field research at the Puyō National Museum in South Korea in 2016, I discovered names incised into the exterior and interior of storage containers and the underside of their three lids used to bury the sculptures of Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Kṣitigarbha. Four relatives with the surname Cho had incised their names on the outside of the Amitābha Buddha's container: Cho Man 趙万, Cho Ch'un-gyōng 趙春敬, Ch'un-myōng 春明, and Saeng-myōng 生明 (fig. 6). The latter were likely brothers or cousins. Since their names were prominently visible on the exterior of the jar containing the most precious Buddha of the cache, these four patrons were most likely eminent members of the local community. The names of a local functionary named Pak Pong 朴奉, a female slave, Kūmdōgi 今音德只, and a monk named Chongsōn 從善 appear on the inside of the lids used to cover the sculptures of Amitābha's attendants, Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara (fig. 7).³³ Mirroring the hierarchical distinction between a Buddha and a Bodhisattva, the

33. Kim Yong-man, *Chosŏn sidae sanobi yŏn'gu*, 51. Kim lists Chosŏn period slave names inspired by Buddhism such as Kūm'ūmbul 今音佛 meaning Kūmbul 金佛, so the name Kūm'ūmdōgi 今音德只 would probably be read as Kūmdōgi 金德只.

four Cho incised their names on the Buddha's storage container, while individuals with lower social status incised their names inside storage containers of the Buddha's attending Bodhisattvas. Kūmdōgi might have been Pak Pong's slave and yet could have been wealthy enough to contribute to the burial independently. The small number of names indicates that the cost of this burial was significantly lower than for the Ŭnjōng Valley burial, in which more than seventy people were involved.



Fig. 6. Sangwangsān cache, detail of inscription of patrons Cho Man 趙萬, Cho Ch'un-gyōng 趙春敬, Ch'un-myōng 春明, and Saeng-myōng 生明 on the outside of the Amitābha Buddha container, 1393–1405, Chosōn period, stoneware, unearthed in Sōsan, Ch'ungch'ōng Province. © Puyō National Museum, photograph by Maya Stiller.



Fig. 7. Sangwangsān cache, detail of inscription of patrons Pak Pong 朴奉, Kūmdōgi 今音德只 and Chongsōn 從善 inside of the container for Avalokiteśvara sculpture, 1393–1405, Chosōn period, stoneware, unearthed in Sōsan, Ch'ungch'ōng Province. © Puyō National Museum, photograph by Maya Stiller.

The inscription in the Naegang-ri bronze Buddha's storage container provides rare evidence that Buddhist monks led the commissioning process and consequent burying of sculptures. A partially decipherable inscription, dated to the ninth lunar month of the *kimi* 己未 year, the twelfth year of Hongwu 洪武 (1379), was incised into the Naegang-ri container. I have been able to identify the following characters:

洪武十二年己未九月 [日道] [幹善 信 道]人 □□ [同願道]人 [過海 覺暉 明]海
[忘] □ [覺 國慶 奄丈文] [延] □念□ [金] □ 李□ 張[門李門] □ [純忍]仁
[文崔正夕崔子翼] □□□文[智] □□□ 造[像] 二□ [區] 道[歲] □ [今].³⁴

34. Characters provided in brackets are almost illegible. For a photograph of the container, see Chosōn Yujōk Yumul Togam P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe 조선유적유물도감 편찬위원회, *Pukhan*

The characters are not fully legible, but by counting the number of two- and three-syllable names based on the distance of the characters from each other, I believe that approximately twelve individuals commissioned and buried the Naegang-ri Buddha. The first lines following the date list the two-syllable names of Buddhist monks, followed by a number of laypeople's names. None of the donors who contributed to the sculpture burials came from the royal court or had high-ranking government positions, since such titles would have been attached to their names. The last line reveals that the group commissioned two statues, but only one of them has been excavated. This text indicates that a group of devotees based near Kūmgangsan and led by Buddhist monks commissioned and buried the statue, thus supporting my argument that local groups were the patrons of sculpture burials at Kūmgangsan.

More research is needed in this regard, but the epigraphic evidence presented above suggests that local fundraising societies in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries performed sculpture burials by collectively gathering resources to commission and bury Buddhist sculptures on a mountain near their place of residence. I believe that the individuals listed in the sculpture burial donor records were likely members of local *hyangdo* 香徒.³⁵ The *hyangdo* tradition dates back to the early to mid-Koryō period, when local village leaders organized large-scale *hyangdo* to gather donations to bury incense for the Future Buddha Maitreya and to produce Buddhist sculptures, pagodas and bells.³⁶ Some scholars have argued that by the late Koryō period, *hyangdo* had mostly lost their religious functions and were most likely friendship associations, divided according to social class and gender. However, the epigraphic evidence I have been able to study suggests that in some parts of the peninsula, traditional *hyangdo* continued to exist in the late Koryō and early Chosōn periods.

Reasons for the Burial of Sculptures

The fact that the majority of the buried sculptures represent the Buddha Amitābha and his attendants suggests that the patrons were most concerned with gaining merit for a better afterlife. Apart from iconographic indications, two texts excavated thus far show that the sculpture burial patrons wished for a more favorable future rebirth. One of these texts is an inscription dated 1429. It was incised on the exterior surface of a container holding Buddhist sculptures buried at Hyangnobong 香爐峰 in Inner Kūmgang. The burial took place around the last day of the sixth lunar

ūi munhwajae wa munhwa yujōk 북한의 문화재와 문화유적 [Cultural Treasures and Sites in North Korea], vol. 4, Koryō p'yōn (Seoul: Seoul Taehakkyo, 2000), 236, plate 363.

35. The term literally refers to people burning incense as offerings. See Richard McBride, "Silla Buddhism and the Hwarang," *Korean Studies* 34 (2010): 61.

36. Cf. Kim Sōng-sun 김성순, "Han'guk in ūi 'kongdongch'e chihyangsōng' kwa kyōlsa: hyangdo, tonggye, hyōptong chohap" 한국인의 '공동체 지향성'과 결사結社: 향도, 동계, 협동 조합 [Study on Associations as 'Alternative Communities' in Korean Society: With a Focus on Hyangdo, Tonggye, and Cooperatives], *Han'gukhak nonjip* 한국학논집 64 (September 2016): 43.

month of the fourth year of Ming emperor Xuande's 宣德 (1399–1435) reign, 1429. In the second line of the inscription, the patrons expressed the wish that “may we forever leave the three evil paths” 願我永離三惡途, indicating that the main purpose of this burial was to avoid falling into any of the three evil destinies—hells, hungry ghosts, and animals—and to be reborn in Amitābha's Pure Land.³⁷ The other text is mentioned in Hō Sun-san's North Korean excavation report on the ten sculptures found at Ūnjōng Valley. Summarizing the content of donor lists stored inside the Ūnjōng Valley's two Amitābha Buddhas and two attendant Bodhisattva figures, Hō concludes that the sculptures were buried to pray for rebirth in the Pure Land.³⁸

Literary evidence for secular motivations has yet to be found, but secular concerns such as the fear among local aristocrats and *hyangni* about modifications of their social status may have increased the frequency of sculpture burial practices at Kūmgangsan in the late fourteenth century.³⁹ Political instability began during the Mongol invasions and Mongol occupation of Koryō (1270–1356) and continued during the time of dynastic change in 1392 and the early years of the Chosŏn period. Moreover, throughout the fourteenth century, pirates coming from the Japanese archipelago constantly raided the southern coastal areas. Owing to the ensuing social unrest and economic hardship, people came to believe they were living in the age of the end of the dharma, which stimulated Amitābha worship.⁴⁰ However, since the mountains where sculpture burials have been found are all located inland, local groups organizing the sculpture burials were presumably less affected by pirate attacks.

To secure secular benefits and postmortem well-being, locally prominent individuals visited sacred mountains near their villages to bury sculptures as an offering to

37. The complete inscription on the lithic storage container of the Hyangnobong cache, dated 1429, is as follows: 宣德四年六月晦日十大發願文 願我永離三惡途, which indicates that the burial could have been related to repentance rituals dedicated to Amitābha Buddha. An image of the inscription was published in Kim Yōng-ok 김영옥 and Yu Sōng-hye 유성혜, ed., *Chosŏn Chungang Ryōksa Pangmulgwan* 조선중앙역사박물관 [Korean Central History Museum] (P'yōngyang: Chosŏn Munhwa Pojonsa, 2004), 180.

38. Hō Sun-san 허순산, “Kūmgangsan esō palgyōndoen kūmdong puch'ō wa ch'ŏn e taehayō” 금강산에서 발견된 금동부처와 천에 대하여 [About the Bronze Buddhas and Textiles Discovered at Kūmgangsan], *Ryōksa Kwahak* 역사과학 4 (1984): 47–48.

39. Previous research on Koryō period paintings of Amitābha suggests that such paintings were not only commissioned to pray for rebirth in a pure land. For example, the inscription on an Amitābha painting dated 1306 in the collection of the Nezu Museum reveals the political motivations for commissioning the painting, see Kim Chōng-hŭi (Kim Junghee) 金廷禧, “Koryō purhwa ūi parwōnja wa sijuja” 고려불화(高麗佛畫)의 발원자(發願者)와 시주자(施主者) [Patrons and Donors of Koryō Buddhist Paintings], *Kangjwa misulsa* 강좌 미술사 38 (2012): 256–57.

40. Ch'oe Sōng-ūn (Choe Seong-un) 崔聖銀, *Koryō sidae pulgyo chogak yōn'gu* 고려시대 불교 조각 연구 [Research on Koryō Period Buddhist Sculpture] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 2013), 264; Nam Tong-sin (Nam Dong-Sin) 南東信, “Yōmal Sōnch'o ūi wigyōng yōn'gu: 'Hyōnhaeng Sōbanggyōng' ūi punsōk ūl chungsimūro” 여말선초(麗末鮮初)의 위경(僞經)연구: '현행서방경(現行西方經)'의 분석을 중심으로 [Research on Apocrypha from the Late Koryō and Early Chosŏn Period, Focusing on the Analysis of the Hyōnhaeng Sōbanggyōng], *Han'guk sasang sabak* 韓國思想史學 24 (June 2005): 245–48; Kim Yōng-mi (Kim Young Mi) 金英美, “Buddhist Faith and Conceptions of the Afterlife in Koryō,” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 21, no. 2 (December 2008): 219–20.

divinities that were believed to reside at the mountain. In the case of the sculpture burials at Kūmgangsan, on which I shall focus for the remainder of this article, the divinity in residence was the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata (Pöpki posal 法起菩薩), a figure from the “Perfection of Wisdom” (Sanskrit: Prajñāpāramitā, Korean: Panya paramita 般若波羅密多) tradition. To the best of my knowledge, Kūmgangsan is the only place in East Asia where Dharmodgata was an integral constituent of the landscape and central to Buddhist practice.

Inner Kūmgang, the Center of Prajñāpāramitā Practice

In the earlier parts of this article I examined buried sculptures using traditional art historical approaches of stylistic and iconographic analyses, and a social history approach for examining the sculptures’ donor records. This section focuses on the spatial setting of a subdivision of these sculptures that were buried at Inner Kūmgang, an approximately five-by-six-mile area in the western part of Kūmgangsan, in order to suggest an alternative understanding of these sculpture burials by examining the relationship between the conceptualization of Inner Kūmgang’s space and the burials’ locations.⁴¹ Koryō and Chosōn period Buddhist source material and a spatial analysis using GIS software show that the burial locations stand in direct correlation with the conceptualization of Kūmgangsan as the abode of Dharmodgata. Pilgrims buried Buddhist sculptures at Kūmgangsan to benefit from the divine presence of this Bodhisattva.

My research provides an alternative perspective to the prevailing notion that sculptures were buried at Kūmgangsan solely because of the mountain’s connection with the *Flower Ornament Sūtra* (Sanskrit: Avataṃsaka-sūtra, Korean: Taebanggwang pul hwaōm-gyōng 大方廣佛華嚴經). This understanding derives from a text written by Min Chi 閔漬 (1248–1326) in 1297, the “Record of Events at Yujōmsa in Kūmgangsan” (Kūmgangsan Yujōmsa sajōkki 金剛山楡岾寺事蹟記). In this text, Min connects Kūmgangsan with the eighty-volume version of the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, which mentions a Bodhisattva named Faqi (K. Pöpki 法起) residing at Kūmgangsan with a retinue of 1,200 followers.⁴² Furthermore, two compounding factors—that Kūmgangsan’s tallest summit is called Vairocana peak and that monasteries at Kūmgangsan such as Changansa 長安寺 housed a sculpture of Vairocana as their

41. For a similar approach see Gregory Schopen, “Burial *Ad Sanctos* and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions,” *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997), 114–47. I am very grateful to Jinah Kim for mentioning this article to me.

42. Posal chuch’ōp’um 菩薩住處品, in *Dafangguang fo buyan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (80 vol. version), T279:10.241b23–25. “海中有處, 名金剛山, 從昔已來, 諸菩薩衆於中止住, 現有菩薩名曰法起, 與其眷屬諸菩薩衆千二百人俱常在其中。”

main deity—are accepted as evidence that the mountain was deeply associated with the Avataṃsaka tradition.⁴³

The *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* is a central text in the Korean Buddhist tradition. Consequently, there are many peaks named Vairocana, who is the main figure in this scripture, on numerous mountains in Korea, including Kūmgangsan, Myohyangsan, Odaesan 五臺山, Ch'iaksan 雉岳山, and Sobaeksan 小白山. Additionally, the enshrinement of a Vairocana Buddha was and continues to be a common occurrence in a Korean monastery's main hall. Since Avataṃsaka's ideas are ubiquitous throughout Korea, I do not believe these “traces” of Avataṃsaka represent a hallmark of Buddhist practice at Kūmgangsan.⁴⁴ Instead, I believe that the Prajñāpāramitā tradition was a major source of inspiration for Kūmgangsan's residents and for the numerous local associations that buried Amitābha triad sculptures at Inner Kūmgang.

In the early to mid-Koryō period, monks established the sacredness of Kūmgangsan by associating the mountain with a persona and with locations inspired by texts from the Prajñāpāramitā tradition. It seems that as early as the twelfth century, meditational practitioners residing at Kūmgangsan worshipped Dharmodgata and identified the entire mountain as the residence of Dharmodgata.⁴⁵ In so doing, the monks were likely inspired by the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* on the Buddha-Mother's Producing the Three Treasures (*Pulmo ch'ulsaeng samjang panya paramilta kyōng* 佛母出生三藏般若波羅密多經, in the following abbreviated as PSBMPTT) or texts related to this scripture.

Translated by the Indian monk Dānapāla (Shihu 施護, ?–1017) during the Northern Song dynasty, the PSBMPTT emphasizes that the Perfection of Wisdom is the ultimate path to awakening. It prescribes the path of Bodhisattva practice and the accrual of merit to save all sentient beings. Among the many texts of the Prajñāpāramitā tradition, this text is most closely related to the Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 Lines Sūtra (S. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, K. P'alch'ōnsong panya kyōng 八千頌般若經), which was translated into Chinese several times over a period of eight centuries (179–985 CE).⁴⁶ The protagonists of fascicles 30 and 31 of the PSBMPTT are Dharmodgata and Sadāprarudīta (K. P'aryun 波崙). Similar to the figure of the young boy Sudhāna in the Avataṃsaka tradition, Sadāprarudīta

43. Mun Myōng-dae, “Kūmgangsan ch'ult'o T'ibet'ü kye Myōng yangsik kyet'ong üi kūmdong Amit'a samjon pulsang üi yōn'gu,” 362.

44. The mountains were formerly known as Autumn Foliage Mountains (P'ungaksan 楓嶽山) and All Bones Mountains (Kaegolsan 皆骨山), and in the mid- to late Koryō period they began to be called Adamantine Mountains (Kūmgangsan 金剛山).

45. The (incomplete) inscription of “Stele [Commemorating the] Storage of Preceptor Chinp'yo's Bones at the Paryōn Retreat” (Paryōnsu Chinp'yo yulsa changgol pi 鉢淵戴眞表律師藏骨碑), dated 1199, is published in Yi Chi-gwan 李智冠, *Kyogam yōkchu yōktae kosūng pimun: Koryō p'yōn* 校勘譯註歷代高僧碑文: 高麗篇, vol. 4 (Seoul: Kasan Mun'go, 1994), 4:43. According to Ch'oe Cha 崔慈 (1188–1260), Dharmodgata was associated with Kūmgangsan in thirteenth-century Koryō elite circles, see Yi Il-lo 李仁老 (1152–1220), *P'abanjip, Pobanjip* 破閑集, 補閑集 (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1972), 80.

46. Lewis Lancaster, “An Analysis of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* from the Chinese Translations,” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968), 1.

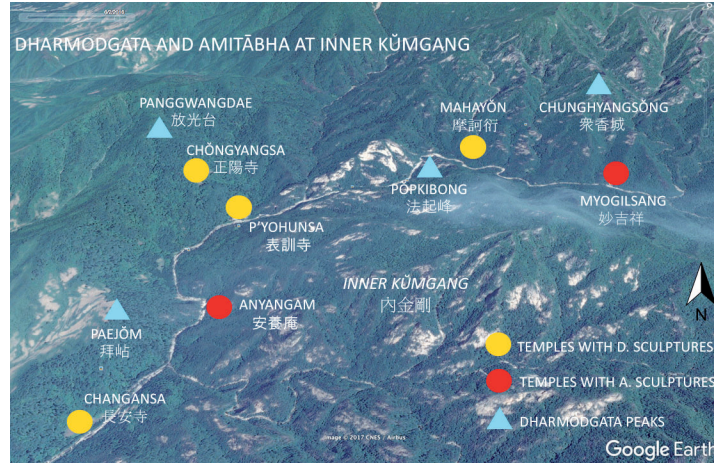


Fig. 8. Map of Inner Kūmgang: Peaks and Temples related to Dharmodgata and Amitābha Worship. © Maya Stiller.

embarks on a truth-seeking mission to encounter Dharmodgata at his “City of Fragrances” (S. Ghandavatī, K. Chunghyangsōng 衆香城), where he listens to the Bodhisattva preaching the Perfection of Wisdom.

From the mid-Koryō period onward, Buddhist monks residing at Kūmgangsan not only studied Prajñāpāramitā texts but also defined Kūmgangsan as the residence of Dharmodgata and identified themselves with Sadāprarudīta as an expedient means to advance their meditational practice. By the fourteenth century, Inner Kūmgang had become a devotional Buddhist pilgrimage site with Dharmodgata as the main protagonist. While the entire mountain was still identified as the abode of Dharmodgata, the center of Dharmodgata worship concentrated in one area of the mountain, Inner Kūmgang.

Inner Kūmgang was dotted with peaks associated with Dharmodgata, such as Paejōm 拜帖 (“Mountain Pass Where One Pays Respect and/or Worships”), Panggwangdae 放光台 (“Emission of Light Terrace”), Pōpkibong 法起峯 (“Dharmodgata Peak”), and Chunghyangsōng 衆香城 (“City of Fragrances,” S. Gandhavatī). Additionally, there were monasteries, such as Changansa 長安寺, P’yohunsa 表訓寺, Chōngyangsa 正陽寺, and Mahayōn 摩訶衍, that had enshrined sculptures of Dharmodgata (fig. 8).⁴⁷

47. Fourteenth and fifteenth century travelers recorded seeing sculptures of Dharmodgata enshrined at Chōngyangsa, Changansa, and near Mahayōn, see Yi Kok 李穀 (1298–1351), “Tongyugi” 東遊記 (1349), in *Han’guk yōktae sansu yugi ch’wi p’yōn* 韓國歷代山水遊記聚編, vol. 2, Kangwōn-do p’yōn 1 (Seoul: Minch’ang Munhwasa, 1996), 4; Yi Kok, *Chang’ansa chunghūng pi* 長安寺重興碑, 1343, recorded as “Kūmgangsan Chang’ansa pi’myōng” 金剛山長安寺碑銘, in Han Yong-un 韓龍雲, *Kōnbongsa ponmal sajōk, Yujōmsa ponmal saji* 乾鳳寺本末事蹟·榆帖寺本末寺誌 (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1977), 325; Nam Hyo-on 南孝溫 (1454–92), “Yu Kūmgangsan ki” 遊金剛山記, in *Han’guk yōktae sansu yugi ch’wi p’yōn*, vol. 2, Kangwōn-do p’yōn 1, 65.

By traveling through Inner Kūmgang, pilgrims encountered Dharmodgata at these peaks and temples and listened to his sermons, as Sadāprarudita had. Travelers entered the mountain by climbing Paejōm and arriving at Changansa. Several late Koryō and early Chosōn period authors, such as Yi Kok 李穀 (1298–1351) and others, wrote that every traveler who entered the mountain climbed Paejōm first and did a full prostration toward the mountain. This was the pilgrims' first ritual act at Kūmgangsan, climbing Paejōm to pay their respects to Dharmodgata.

A few thousand feet further north of Changansa was Panggwangdae, which is the peak of a hill where the main monastery of P'yohunsa and its subtemple, Chōngyangsa, are located. Walking from P'yohunsa via Manp'ok Gorge 萬瀑洞 to Pōpkibong, travelers arrived at the northern end of Inner Kūmgang, where the meditational retreat of Mahayōn, Chunghyangsōng, and Pirobong 毘盧峯—the tallest mountain of Kūmgangsan—are located. The rugged ridge of Chunghyangsōng, which forms one of the southern slopes of Pirobong, was believed to embody Dharmodgata and his retinue of several thousand followers.

Interestingly, Paejōm is central to the foundation legend of Chōngyangsa, the monastery located above P'yohunsa. In this tale, the two activities of climbing a peak and worshipping Dharmodgata appear together. Fifteenth century royal court officials record that Koryō kingdom founder King T'aejo 太祖 (877–943) embarked on a pilgrimage to Kūmgangsan and experienced an apparition of Dharmodgata standing atop the hill, emitting rays of light.⁴⁸ Inspired by this encounter, the King founded Chōngyangsa. The hill where Dharmodgata had appeared became known as Panggwangdae, while the mountain peak where the king had worshipped the Bodhisattva was named Paejōm.

This legend about King T'aejo obviously reflects a common ritual behavior of pilgrims visiting sacred mountains in the late Koryō and early Chosōn period. Since not only Paejōm, but other hills in Inner Kūmgang were associated with Dharmodgata as well, pilgrims might have climbed several mountain tops during their journey, hoping to increase their chances of personally encountering Dharmodgata by gazing at peaks associated with him. I believe the practice of burying sculptures at Inner Kūmgang arose within this context of Dharmodgata worship.⁴⁹

48. Royal court officials recorded the legend of Koryō king T'aejo in No Sa-sin 盧思慎 (1427–98) et al., *Sinjung Tongguk yōji sūngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 (Seoul: Tongguk Munhwasa, 1958), 47:13a. However, as will be discussed in the following section, Noyōng's lacquer panel reveals that the story was already known in the early fourteenth century.

49. Monk-traveler Pōpchong 法宗 (act. late seventeenth/early eighteenth century) recorded a more elaborate version of the story, according to which King T'aejo cut his hair at Tanballyōng 斷髮嶺, and upon entering the valley (of Changansa), 50,000 transformation bodies of Dharmodgata appeared, to whom T'aejo immediately bowed. See Pōpchong, *Hōjōngjip* 虛靜集, trans. Sōng Chae-hōn 성재현 (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo, 2015), 426.

Combining Dharmodgata and Amitābha Worship

A scene depicted on a double-sided lacquer panel that was created by the painter and monk named Noyōng 魯英 (act. first half of fourteenth century) in 1307 likely illustrates the Chōngyangsa foundation legend (fig. 9). In the upper left portion of the panel, a person kneels in prayer upon a rock spur, his body directed toward a standing figure, possibly Dharmodgata, depicted in the upper right of the image. An inscription next to the kneeling figure indicates that this is Koryō king T'aejo. This scene does not reveal any information about the practice of burying Amitābha sculptures. However, while one side of the panel depicts T'aejo's encounter with Dharmodgata, the other side depicts Amitābha and his eight Bodhisattvas, indicating the patrons' faith in several divinities, and their hope that the simultaneous veneration of several Buddhist divinities would improve their chances of a better rebirth.



Fig. 9. Noyōng 魯英 (act. early 14th century). Manifestation of Dharmodgata and Kṣitigarbha at Kūmgangsan, 1307, Koryō period (918–1392), double-sided panel, lacquer and gold on wood, 22.4 × 13 cm. © National Museum, Seoul, photograph by Maya Stiller.

Second to Dharmodgata, the Buddha Amitābha had a strong spatial presence at Inner Kūmgang. Two rock-cut sculptures (*maeabul* 磨崖佛) of Amitābha were carved from granite cliffs at Inner Kūmgang in the mid- to late Koryō period. Both *maeabul* are located near peaks associated with Dharmodgata, which fortified the spatial connection between the two divinities and hierarchized their relationship. While Dharmodgata's presence was to be felt at high-altitude peaks—locations that were the spiritually most powerful points in the mountain—valley hermitages positioned in lower elevations were dedicated to Amitābha (fig. 8).

The rock-cut Amitābha triad at Anyang-am 安養庵 is located across from Paejōm, which every pilgrim climbed in order to enter Inner Kūmgang (figs. 8 and 10).⁵⁰ Due to its fine craftsmanship, I assume the production of this *maeabul* was costly, and therefore a wealthy family and/or a large group of commoners must have commissioned it. Carved into a niche in the rock façade, the balanced, stable composition features a central Amitābha Buddha sitting cross-legged on a double lotus throne, flanked by Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara standing in frontal pose. Due to the iconographic combination of Amitābha with Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara, the triad was presumably made in the second half of the fourteenth century. While the flexible lines of the figures' flowing garments and the details of their refined facial features and hands bespeak a workshop of well-trained artisans, the stiff posture of the two attendants is similar to those of the Bodhisattvas appearing in late Koryō Buddhist painting.⁵¹

The so-called Myogilsang 妙吉祥 Buddha is located at the foot of Chunghyangsōng, the ridge believed to be the place where Dharmodgata Bodhisattva preaches the Perfection of Wisdom (figs. 8 and 11). The Buddha has a flatly carved silhouette with broad shoulders and disproportionately large hands displaying the welcoming mudra (*naeyōng-in* 來迎印), both of which identify this Buddha most likely as an Amitābha Buddha. This Buddha's garment, draped over both shoulders with long sleeves, resembles that of late Koryō Buddhist depictions, such as the Amitābha Buddha painting in the Matsuodera 松尾寺 collection.⁵²

Sixteenth-century traveler Pae Yong-gil 裴龍吉 (1556–1609) saw a written record of the Myogilsang Buddha's production dating the work to the fourth lunar month of 1315, which is the fourth year of King Ch'ungsuk's 忠肅 (1294–1339) reign.⁵³

50. In contrast to the Myogilsang Buddha discussed below, the Anyang Hermitage's rock-cut Amitābha triad is rather unknown, even among Korean Buddhist art historians.

51. See for example the painting of Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha in the collection of Saifuku-ji 西福寺, Kyōto, published in *Kōrai butsuma: Kaoritatsu sōbokubi* 高麗仏画: 香りたつ装飾美 [Fragrant Ornamentation: Koryō Buddhist Paintings], ed. Sanekata Yōko 実方葉子 and Shirahara Yukiko 白原由起子 (Kyōto: Sen'oku Hakukokan, 2016), 75.

52. The Matsuodera painting is published in Ch'oe Sōng-ūn, *Koryō sidae pulgyo chogak yōn'gu*, 304.

53. Pae Yong-gil 裴龍吉, *Kūmgangsan'gi* 金剛山記, in *Sallim chōngch'aek kwa sallim munhwa yōksasōng kyumyōng ūl wihan kugyōk yusan'gi, Kangwōn-do* 산림정책과 산림문화 역사상 규명을 위한 국역 유산기, 강원도 [Travel Records Translated into Korean for the Historical Investigation of Forest Policy and Forest Culture, Kangwōn-do], ed. Pae Yong-gil 裴龍吉 et al. (P'aju: Han'guk Haksul Chōngbo, 2015), 18.



Fig. 10. Amitābha triad, rock relief, late Koryŏ period (918–1392), H 1.47 m, Anyang Hermitage, Inner Kūmgang, Kūmgangsan. © Nambuk Chōjakkwŏn Cent'ŏ.



Fig. 11. Amitābha Buddha (a.k.a. Myogilsang Buddha), rock relief, possibly 1315, Koryŏ period (918–1392), Inner Kūmgang, Kūmgangsan. © Maya Stiller.

Due to the scarcity of similar fourteenth century examples, the date is impossible to confirm. However, the above-mentioned stylistic features indicate that the Myogilsang Buddha most certainly dates from the thirteenth to fourteenth century. The rough quality of the carving suggests provincial craftsmen, rather than highly skilled artisans sent by the royal court. As a recent study by Mun Myōng-dae has shown, sculptors from Chōlla Province 全羅道 were commissioned to work at temples in Kangwŏn Province 江原道.⁵⁴ Therefore, the craftsmen who carved the Myogilsang Buddha could have been itinerant artisans active throughout the peninsula.

The Anyang-am Amitābha triad and the Myogilsang Amitābha were important sites in a well-known itinerary, which took approximately two days to complete. The pilgrims viewed peaks associated with the Dharmodgata narrative and alternately encountered and worshipped rock-cut reliefs of Amitābha and sculptures of Dharmodgata enshrined in the Buddhist temples of Inner Kūmgang. Beginning their journey at Paejŏm and proceeding northward along the river, pilgrims

54. Mun Myōng-dae, "Pyōgam Kaksōng ūi chohyōng hwaltong kwa Sōraksan Sinhūngsa kūngnakpojŏn Amit'a samjon pulsang kwa kū pokchangp'um ūi yŏn'gu" 벽암각성(碧巖覺性)의 조형 활동과 설악산 신흥사 극락보전 아미타삼존불상과 그 복장품의 연구 [Research on the Amitābha Triad Sculptures and Their Internal Deposits from the Paradise Hall of Sinhūngsa at Sōraksan and the Activities of Sculptor-monk Pyōgam Kaksōng], *Kangjwa misulsa* 강좌 미술사 45 (2015): 13–33.

passed the Anyang-am *maeabul* en route to P'yohunsa (fig. 8). They climbed up Chöngyangsa and then continued northward to Manp'ok-tong, Pöpkibong, and Mahayön. East of Mahayön, they encountered the Myogilsang Buddha at the foot of Chunghyangsöng. This spatial layout of the mountain allowed visitors and residents to alternately worship Dharmodgata and Amitābha.⁵⁵

Extant writings from a much later period provide further evidence to confirm the combination of Dharmodgata worship and Amitābha Pure Land belief at Kūmgangsan. In 1841, an anonymous monk or lay devotee wrote a manuscript, which was then kept at Chöngyangsa. The text includes chapters 30 (常啼菩薩品) and 31 (法上菩薩品) of the PSBMPTT.⁵⁶ While chapter 30 emphasizes that one should practice the Prajñāpāramitā as earnestly as Sadāprarudīta, chapter 31 is about Sadāprarudīta listening to Dharmodgata's sermon and experiencing an awakening. According to the postscript, the writer copied these chapters to gain merit so that everyone, including the author, would be reborn in paradise and see Amitābha Buddha. This is an important finding, which shows that monasteries in Inner Kūmgang kept and copied Prajñāpāramitā literature. Furthermore, it suggests that the combined practice of Dharmodgata and Amitābha worship—as at Kūmgangsan during the late Koryō—persisted in the late Chosön period.

Other written evidence shows that the protagonists Dharmodgata and Sadāprarudīta were an integral part of Inner Kūmgang's monasteries and landscape. When Yi Kyöng-sök 李景奭 (1595–1671) traveled to Kūmgangsan in 1651, he saw a small stone image of Sadāprarudīta placed on the rocks in front of Mahayön hermitage, located across from the Chunghyangsöng mountain ridge where Dharmodgata was believed to teach the Prajñāpāramitā. Yi's record shows that in the landscape of Inner Kūmgang, the Mahayön monks created a physical representation of chapter 31 of the PSBMPTT. Yi also witnessed the worship of Sadāprarudīta. In front of its sculpture, an iron pot was placed to receive offerings, and monks bowed to the sculpture as they passed.⁵⁷ When Kim Tük-sin 金得臣 (1604–72) visited P'yohunsa, the monks proudly told him that the monastery had been founded by Sadāprarudīta Bodhisattva, thus revealing their strong connection with the Prajñāpāramitā tradition.⁵⁸

In sum, the close relationship between Dharmodgata and Amitābha in pre-modern Buddhist practice at Kūmgangsan is confirmed by the fact that late Koryō

55. There are minor waypoints along the way that I cannot explain further in this article due to lack of space, such as Podögam 普德庵, which had a statue of Avalokiteśvara enshrined, and Samburam 三佛庵, a large boulder carved with numerous Buddhist divinities that were presumably used as icons of worship during repentance practices.

56. Pöpch'on 法天, Pulsöl Taemongnyön kyöng 佛說大目蓮經, Kyujanggak Collection 奎中 2204, Seoul National University. This 42-page handwritten text contains three texts, the last one being chapters 30 and 31 of the 佛母出生三藏般若波羅密多經, To8.0228.0668a21–0676b03.

57. Yi Kyöng-sök 李景奭, "P'ungak nok 楓嶽錄 (1651)," in *Han'guk yöktae sansu yugi ch'wi p'yön* 韓國歷代山水遊記聚編 [Compilation of Travel Records from Successive Generations in Korea], vol. 2, Kangwön-do p'yön 1 (Seoul: Minch'ang Munhwasa, 1996), 384.

58. Kim Tük-sin 金得臣, "Kūmgangsan nok 金剛山錄 (1665)," in *Han'guk yöktae sansu yugi ch'wi p'yön* 韓國歷代山水遊記聚編, vol. 2, Kangwön-do p'yön 1 (Seoul: Minch'ang Munhwasa, 1996), 419.

painter Noyōng painted a lacquer screen combining the depictions of Dharmodgata with Amitābha. Further evidence of their close relationship is the spatial proximity between peaks associated with Dharmodgata, monasteries where Buddhist monks and pilgrims worshipped Dharmodgata and Sadāprarudīta, hermitages centering their worship on rock-carved images of Amitābha, and the late Chosŏn copy of chapters from the PSBMPTT at Chōngyangsa. The most important evidence of the close connection between Dharmodgata and Amitābha worship, however, is the spatial relationship between Dharmodgata-associated peaks and sculpture burials, which will be discussed below.

Spatial Relations of Buddhist Worship

Local societies journeyed to Inner Kūmgang in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to bury precious sculptures of Amitābha and his attendants. They buried these sculptures next to sites associated with the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata. According to my spatial analysis of the locations of the burials, pilgrims intentionally buried their sculptures near or within sight of peaks and cliffs associated with Dharmodgata and his disciple Sadāprarudīta. From the top of Kūmgangdae 金剛臺 in Manp'oktong, the people who buried sculptures had an unobstructed view of Chōngyangsa and Panggwangdae 放光台 (fig. 12). While standing on the cliff, perhaps they gazed at Panggwangdae, hoping to experience an apparition of Dharmodgata, as did King T'aejo. They buried their sculptures on the side of the cliff facing directly toward Panggwangdae, expecting that the powerful Bodhisattva Dharmodgata would reinforce their offering and improve their chances for rebirth in a pure land.

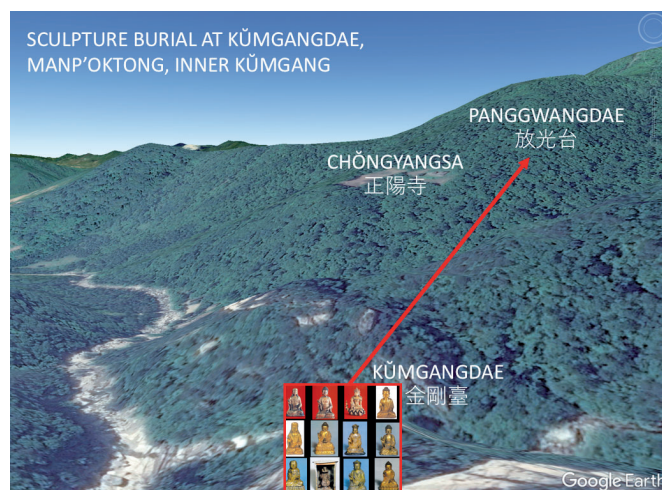


Fig. 12. Map depicting Kūmgangdae 金剛臺 sculpture burial across from Panggwangdae 放光台, Inner Kūmgang, Kūmgangsan. © Maya Stiller.

The discovery of sculptures excavated from Hyangnobong, which is located across the gorge from Pöpkibong, is an excellent example of the direct spatial link between the offerings made on one summit and the corresponding presence of Dharmodgata on the other (fig. 13). Owing to this unimpeded view from peak to peak, Dharmodgata's spiritual energy could increase the sculpture offering's benefits. Similar to the hierarchical nomenclature evident in the locations associated with Dharmodgata and Amitābha, the name of Hyangno (Incense Burner) Peak suggests a lower, supporting role in the mountain's landscape. In this case, the peak would be the location for the symbolic burning of incense offered to Dharmodgata, which might have been another reason why pilgrims buried sculptures at the top of this mountain.



Fig. 13. Map depicting Hyangnobong 香爐峰 sculpture burial across the gorge from Pöpkibong 法起峰, Inner Kümgang, Kümgangsan. © Maya Stiller.

Conclusion

Complementing previous scholarship dedicated to late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn Buddhist art commissioned by the royal court and central government-officials, my research offers insights into local religious practices in the provinces of the Korean peninsula. According to my stylistic analysis of the sculptures and detailed study of epigraphic material, local societies consisting of local strongmen, clerks, slaves, aristocrats, and monks pooled their resources for the production and burial of small Buddhist sculptures. These societies, consisting of a few to several dozen individuals, presumably traveled to the mountains together. They chose specific mountains to bury sculptures and offer them to the powerful deities they believed had their abode there. The case of Inner Kŭmgang is a typical example of these forms of religious practice. The pilgrims traveled to Kŭmgangsan to worship the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata—a figure belonging to the Prajñāpāramitā tradition—and buried sculptures at peaks adjacent to the powerful presence of this Bodhisattva to increase their chances of rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land. When choosing a suitable location for a sculpture burial, a significant condition was that the place had an unimpeded view of a summit representing Dharmodgata's presence. Therefore, sculptures were strategically buried at high altitudes in a direct optical axis with Dharmodgata-associated peaks.

The research presented in this article not only contributes to a deeper understanding of local religious practice in late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn Korea, but it also emphasizes the importance of studying the placement and spatial context of Buddhist statues, paintings, and other objects, in order to better understand their ritual function. I hope my findings prove useful to scholars studying Buddhist worship practices beyond the metropolitan circles in Korea, as well as in other parts of Asia.





KAESONG, 1630 : UNE STÈLE MÉRITOIRE EN L'HONNEUR DU SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL O TAN

Élisabeth CHABANOL *

In May 2015, as the fourth excavation campaign of the French-DPRK Archaeological Mission in Kaesong (Kaesŏng 開城) at the south-western foot of the Great South Gate (Namdæmun 南大門) of the Inner Wall (Naesŏng 內城) of the Ancient City Fortress came to an end, a stele was fortuitously discovered within the stratigraphic unit 12032. Remarkably large, its upper half was engaged in the eastern berm of the pit 12000. As its clearing required a major extension of the pit, a new excavation was planned and then carried out during the 2016 campaign. This stele would prove to be a useful clue for dating the construction process of the Kaesong Great South Gate and a notable element for the knowledge of the history of the capital of Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) during the Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910) period.



La Mission archéologique franco-nord-coréenne et le site de Kaesong



Depuis décembre 1950, le site de Kaesong (Kaesŏng 開城) est situé en république populaire démocratique de Corée (RPDC), jouxtant la Zone démilitarisée qui sépare les deux Corées, dans la province actuelle du Hwanghae du Nord (Hwanghaebukto 黃海北道), à 160 km au sud/sud-est de la capitale Pyongyang (P'yŏngyang 平壤). Séoul (Sŏul 서울), la capitale de la république de Corée, n'est qu'à une cinquantaine de kilomètres au sud du site, dès le franchissement du fleuve Yesŏng (Yesŏnggang 禮成江). Capitale pendant toute la durée du royaume de Koryŏ 高麗 (918-1392) et au tout début du royaume de Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392-1394, 1399-1405), la ville ne s'est pas

* L'auteur remercie Ch'oe Chun-gyŏng (Choe Jun Gyong), chercheur à la Korean National Heritage Preservation Agency de la National Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, république populaire démocratique de Corée, Yi Chŏng-hŭi (Lee Jung-hee), assistante du Centre de l'EFEO à Séoul, tous les deux membres de la Mission archéologique franco-nord-coréenne à Kaesong (MAK), ainsi que Pak Mun-gyu (Park Moon-kyu), enseignant-chercheur à la Chungnam University, république de Corée, pour leur concours lors des recherches effectuées en Corée du Nord et en Corée du Sud dans le cadre de l'étude de la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042. Cet article a bénéficié des remarques judicieuses d'Isabelle Sancho, chargée de recherches au CNRS, et d'Alain Arrault, directeur d'études à l'EFEO. Il est dédié à O Chae-gyŏng 吳在慶, président de la Société de la branche aînée du lignage des O de Tongbok, descendant à la vingt-sixième génération de O Tan, qui nous a permis de consulter le registre du lignage des O de Tongbok et d'avoir accès au cimetière privé situé à Kongju dans la province du Ch'ungch'ŏng du Sud. Il s'est éteint le 6 août 2018 à Séoul.



pétrifiée après son abandon définitif par la dynastie des Yi 李 en 1405¹ et le choix de Hanyang 漢陽, actuel Séoul, comme nouveau centre politique. Les sources historiques ainsi que de récentes fouilles archéologiques confirment que le site a bénéficié d'une occupation ininterrompue dès la période préhistorique et ce jusqu'à nos jours.

Cependant, du fait de la situation politique dans la péninsule coréenne, son étude a longtemps été négligée. Lors de l'amélioration des relations intercoréennes au cours de la période dite du « rayon de soleil » au début des années 2000, la création de la Zone industrielle de Kaesong, suivie de son développement, a attiré l'attention sur le site de cette ancienne capitale oubliée par la Corée du Sud et le reste du monde depuis la guerre de Corée (1950-1953). Dès 2003, l'auteur s'est rendu en mission de terrain sur le site et, en 2005, une convention de coopération scientifique a été signée entre l'École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) et la National Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (NAPCH)², administration qui gère l'ensemble du patrimoine culturel en RPDC³. À la suite de relevés sur le terrain et de recherches dans les archives effectués conjointement par les deux institutions, la Mission archéologique franco-nord-coréenne à Kaesong (MAK) a été créée en 2011 sous l'égide de la Commission consultative des recherches archéologiques à l'étranger du ministère français de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères. Cette mission est dirigée par l'auteur de cet article.

Le projet de recherche de la MAK relève d'une problématique historique et urbaine qui se rapporte aux enceintes de la ville de Kaesong successivement érigées : la muraille Paröch'am (Paröch'amsöng 拔禦塹城), la Muraille palatiale (Kungsöng 宮城), la Muraille impériale (Hwangsöng 皇城), la Muraille extérieure (Oesöng 外城), puis la Muraille intérieure (Naesöng 內城). Ces constructions ont été achevées en 1393, un an après la chute de la dynastie des Wang 王 du royaume de Koryö, alors que la nouvelle dynastie des Yi (1392-1910) allait décider du transfert de la capitale à Hanyang. Depuis l'édification des murs, leurs réparations et reconstructions ont été continues et se poursuivent de nos jours.

C'est au pied de l'une des portes de la Muraille intérieure, la grande porte du Sud (Namdaemun 南大門) (fig. 1), qu'a été découverte par la MAK, en mai 2015, la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042, entièrement dégagée au cours de la campagne archéologique de mai 2016 et qui constitue l'objet de cet article.

1. Élisabeth Chabanol, « Heritage Management in the Kaesöng Special Economic Zone », dans Valérie Gelézeau, Koen De Ceuster et Alain Delissen, éd., *De-Bordering Korea. Tangible and Intangible Legacies of the Sunshine Policy*, Oxford, Routledge, 2013 (Routledge Advances in Korean Studies), p. 55.

2. National Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage : Chosön minjok yujök poho chidoguk 조선민족유적보호지도국.

3. Élisabeth Chabanol, « Heritage Management in the Kaesöng Special Economic Zone », p. 50-67.



Fig. 1. La grande porte du Sud de la Muraille intérieure de la forteresse de Kaesong, construite entre 1391 et 1393 selon les textes historiques. Les fouilles archéologiques conduites par la MAK indiquent que ses fondations sont légèrement antérieures à ces dates et que son soubassement a été remodelé à plusieurs reprises jusque vers les années 1900. 11 novembre 2017, après le rehaussement du terrain environnant effectué à l'automne 2016. © MAK/EFEO/NAPCH.

Une stèle en granite : la « Stèle de bon gouvernement du secrétaire général de parfaite intégrité O Tan » (*Kyŏngnyŏk O Tan ch'ŏngbaek sŏnjŏngbi* 經歷吳端清白善政碑)

Afin d'étudier le processus de construction de la grande porte du Sud, dont les textes historiques ne font qu'une seule et brève mention indiquant qu'elle aurait été érigée entre 1391 et 1393, et de comprendre l'aménagement urbain qui l'environne, les archéologues et historiens de la MAK ont procédé à plusieurs campagnes de fouilles qui ont débuté en 2012. Au cours de la campagne 2015, trois sondages ont été effectués, le sondage 10000 au niveau du passage de la porte et, à son pied sud-ouest, deux sondages : le sondage 11000 à la jonction de la porte et de la muraille et, à sa limite occidentale actuelle, le sondage 12000 dont l'un des buts était la recherche de vestiges du pavillon de la cloche du monastère Yŏnbok (Yŏnboksa 演福寺)⁴. C'est au cours de la fouille du sondage 12000, lors des derniers jours de la

4. Le pavillon de la cloche du monastère Yŏnbok était édifié sur la muraille jouxtant la partie occidentale de la grande porte du Sud, avant qu'il ne disparaisse lors de la destruction de la muraille de chaque côté de la porte au début du xx^e siècle (entre 1906 et 1918).

campagne, que la stèle MAK 12032 a été découverte, engagée dans la berme orientale (fig. 2). L'inscription gravée sur l'avert a pu être déchiffrée, confirmant l'importance du monument. La structure commune de ce type de stèles de la seconde moitié de la période des Yi laissait espérer que sur son revers soit au moins inscrite une date.

Une dernière campagne de fouille au pied de la grande porte du Sud a alors été organisée en 2016, permettant d'agrandir le sondage (sondage 14000) afin de fouiller la stèle (MAK 14042) intégralement, de la dégager et de la retirer du sondage. L'étude du contexte permet de conclure que son enfouissement a pu avoir lieu vers la fin du XIX^e siècle ou au tout début du XX^e siècle⁵. La stèle est actuellement entreposée au musée du Koryŏ (Koryŏ pangmulgwan 고려박물관) de Kaesong afin d'y être conservée.

La stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042 est constituée d'un bloc presque rectangulaire en granite gris qui mesure 210,2 cm de haut, 90,6 cm de large et 30,5 cm d'épaisseur (fig. 3). Seule sa partie supérieure est légèrement arquée. Ses deux faces sont façonnées, cependant sa base n'a pas été ragrée. L'angle gauche supérieur et la partie inférieure droite de la face B sont lacunaires. Ces cassures sont antérieures à l'enfouissement puisque aucun fragment n'a été relevé à la fouille. L'arête gauche de la face A, avers, montre plusieurs épaufrures qui pourraient être mises en relation avec le fait que cette arête soit demeurée émergée pendant un certain temps après le dépôt de la stèle sur sa tranche droite. Lors des fouilles des sondages 12000 et 14000, le support de la stèle n'a pas été retrouvé, ni aucune pierre de couverture décorée.

Ses deux faces présentent une inscription en caractères chinois gravés dans le granite. Ces caractères, écrits en écriture régulière, sont cernés du trait noir à l'encre de Chine. Ce trait, qui délimite leur contour, a guidé l'artisan pendant la gravure. L'intérieur de certains caractères conservait lors de la fouille les traces d'un pigment rouge, suggérant que ces inscriptions étaient colorées à l'encre rouge⁶.

L'avert de la stèle, la face A (fig. 4), présente l'inscription *Kyŏngnyŏk O Tan ch'ŏngbaek sŏnjŏngbi* 經歷吳端清白善政碑. « *Kyŏngnyŏk* » 經歷 indique la position du fonctionnaire, que l'on peut traduire par « secrétaire général »⁷, « O » 吳 est le nom

5. Le niveau d'enfouissement de la stèle à BM-2,40 m, déposée sur la tranche, en devers, appuyée contre la muraille, l'absence de fosse d'enfouissement ainsi que des traces d'usure sur l'arête supérieure – suggérant qu'elle soit demeurée émergée après le rehaussement général des niveaux du sol consécutif à la reconstruction de la face sud de la grande porte du Sud – indiquent que la stèle a été déposée dès le début des travaux de cette face méridionale, vers la fin du XIX^e siècle ou au tout début du XX^e siècle. Cf. l'analyse des stratigraphies des sondages 11000, 12000 et 14000 effectuée par Ri Chol Jun, archéologue NAPCH, et Nicolas Nauleau, archéologue, tous deux membres de la MAK, au musée central d'histoire de Corée (Chosŏn chungang ryŏksa pangmulgwan 조선중앙력사박물관) à Pyongyang, le 6 septembre 2019.

6. Élisabeth Chabanol, dir., avec le NAPCH, N. Nauleau et C. Pottier, *Mission archéologique à Kaesŏng (MAK). Campagne 2016*, Commission consultative des fouilles archéologiques à l'étranger (MAEDI), Séoul, 14 octobre 2016, p. 40.

7. *Kyŏngnyŏk*, secrétaire général, rang 4b, est un poste de l'administration du Chosŏn positionné en dessous de préfet-commandant (*yusu* 留守), qui était le poste de plus haut rang parmi les fonctionnaires qui géraient alors la ville de Kaesong. C'était une fonction attribuée par l'administration centrale du Chosŏn, de la compétence des départements tels que les Ūibinbu

MAK 2015 - pit 12000 - location plan of the stele SU 12032

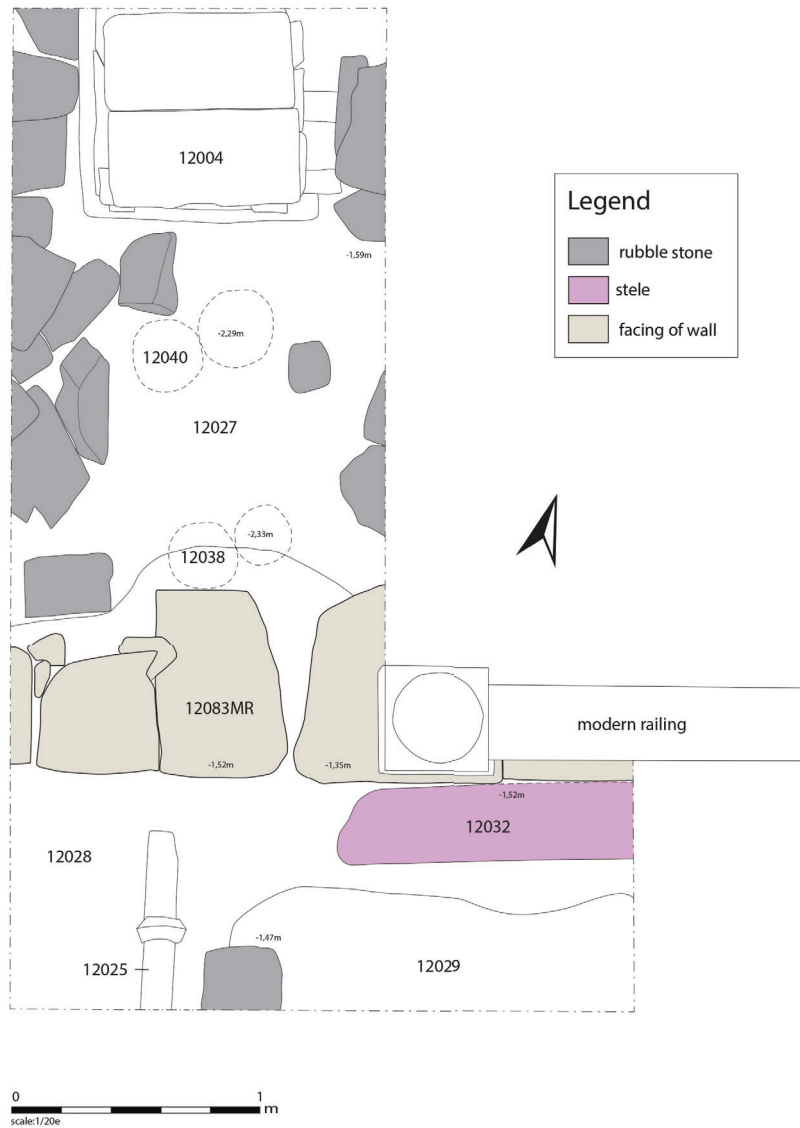


Fig. 2. Localisation de la stèle MAK 12032 lors de sa découverte en mai 2015, appuyée contre le pied sud-ouest de la grande porte du Sud et engagée dans la berme orientale du sondage 12000. Kaesong, 2015. © MAK/EFEO/NAPCH.



Fig. 3-1, 3-2, 3-3. La stèle MAK 14042 lors de la campagne de fouilles 2016 de la MAK. Grande porte du Sud, Kaesong, mai 2016. © MAK/EFEO/NAPCH.

de lignage de ce fonctionnaire, « Tan » 端 son prénom, « ch'ongbaek » 清白 qualifie un fonctionnaire de parfaite intégrité et « sönjôngbi » 善政碑 précise que c'est une stèle qui commémore le bon gouvernement du fonctionnaire cité⁸.

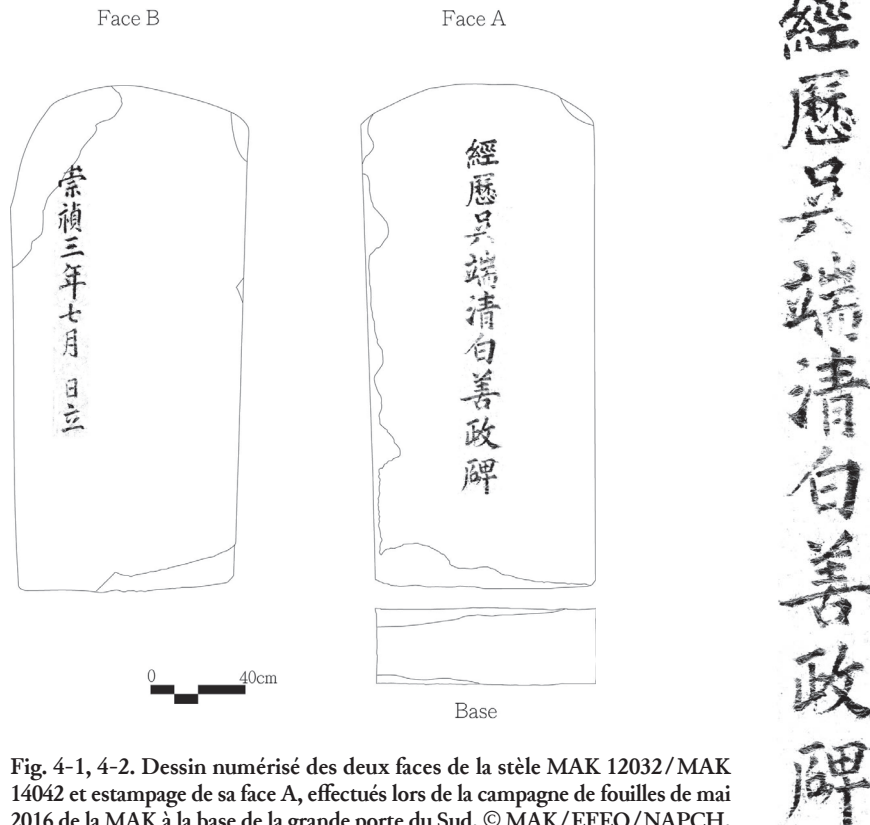


Fig. 4-1, 4-2. Dessin numérisé des deux faces de la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042 et estampage de sa face A, effectués lors de la campagne de fouilles de mai 2016 de la MAK à la base de la grande porte du Sud. © MAK/EFEO/NAPCH.

儀賓府, Ūigũmbu 義禁府 et Chongch'inbu 宗親府. Le gouvernement du Chosŏn a spécialement créé le Chongch'inbu, le Ūibinbu et le Tonnyŏngbu 敦寧府, affiliés à la cour, afin de renforcer les « droits et intérêts » de la famille royale. En particulier, le Ūibinbu est un bureau destiné à favoriser les gendres du roi et les hommes qui avaient épousé une fille de la famille royale. Le secrétaire général (*kyŏngnyŏk*) était considéré comme un assistant parmi les fonctionnaires gouvernementaux, cependant pour la région de Kaesong, il n'y avait qu'un seul poste de ce niveau, qui ne pouvait être occupé que par un fonctionnaire de rang (*p'um* 品) 4, de classe b (*chong* 從). Voir Maurice Courant, *Répertoire historique de l'administration coréenne*, n° 836 : « 經歷 Kyeng ryek, 4b ; Secrétaire général (une charge) », coll. « Cahiers d'études coréennes », Collège de France, n° 3, 1986, p. 153. Dans cet article, la traduction des titres de fonctionnaires et des bureaux de l'administration coréens en français est empruntée, lorsqu'elle y est présente, au *Répertoire historique de l'administration coréenne (RHAC)* de Maurice Courant. Les rangs des postes sont notés à titre indicatif, ayant pu légèrement varier au cours du Chosŏn.

8. Stèle qui commémore le bon gouvernement d'un fonctionnaire en poste dans une région et sur lequel un rapport favorable du peuple a été écrit.

Sur le revers ou face B de la stèle (fig. 5) est gravée l'inscription *Sungjǒng samnyǒn ch'ilwŏl il rip* 崇禎三年七月 日立 : « Sungjǒng (ch. Chongzhen) » 崇禎 est le nom d'ère du dernier empereur des Ming (cor. Myǒng 明, 1368-1644), Zhu Youjian (cor. Chu Yu-gŏm 朱由檢, r. 1627-1644) ; « samnyǒn » 三年 signifie troisième année ; « ch'ilwŏl » 七月 septième mois ; « il » 日 jour, « rip » 立 érigée⁹. Cette stèle a donc été érigée au cours du septième mois de l'année 1630 afin de louer l'intégrité, la pureté et la bonne administration du secrétaire général, O Tan (1592-1640)¹⁰.

La stèle de « la voix de l'âme » (*sindobi* 神道碑)¹¹ du premier fils de O Tan, O Chǒng-il 吳挺一 (1610-1670)¹², mentionne que trois stèles de « bon gouvernement » (*sŏnjǒng*) honorant des membres du lignage des O de Tongbok (Tongbok Ossi kagye 同福吳氏家系)¹³ ont été érigées à Kaesong : une stèle de « bon gouvernement » commémorant l'oncle de O Tan, le frère aîné du père de O Tan, O Ōng-nyǒng 吳億齡 (1552-1628), qui a été préfet-commandant (*yusu* 留守) de Kaesong dans les années 1615, celle de O Tan et enfin celle de O Chǒng-il, nommé préfet-commandant de Kaesong en 1660¹⁴.

Lors de sa campagne de fouilles de mai 2015, la MAK a donc fait la découverte exceptionnelle de la première de ces trois stèles citées dans les archives, la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042 qui était enfouie au pied de la grande porte du Sud de la Muraille intérieure de la forteresse de Kaesong.

Fig. 5. Estampage de la face B de la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042, effectué lors de la campagne de fouilles de mai 2016 de la MAK à la base de la grande porte du Sud. © MAK/EFEO/NAPCH.

崇禎三年七月 日立

9. Année qui correspond à la huitième année du règne de Injo (r. 1623-1649) du Chosŏn.

10. O Tan 吳端 (1592-1640) avait comme prénom pendant l'enfance Yŏhwak 汝擴, puis comme noms de plume Tonggam 東巖 et Paegam 白巖.

11. Stèle de « la voix de l'âme » *sindobi* 神道碑 : stèle en pierre dressée sur le côté sud-est du chemin principal conduisant au tombeau d'un roi ou d'un haut-fonctionnaire en charge des affaires du royaume et qui rend hommage au défunt.

12. Voir la traduction du chinois classique en coréen du texte de la stèle de « la voix de l'âme » (*sindobi*) de O Chǒng-il dans la base de données Han'gukkojŏnjonghapDB (한국고전종합DB) de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Han'guk kojŏn pŏnyŏgwŏn 韓國古典翻譯院), <http://db.itkc.or.kr/>. Texte original en chinois classique : voir le 8^e texte du « Kumyomun » 丘墓文 (Épitaphes) du 21^e volume du supplément du *Misugiŏn* 眉叟記言, anthologie de poésie et de prose de Hŏ Mok 許穆 (1595-1682), nom de plume Misu 眉叟, publié en 1689.

13. Tongbok est l'ancienne appellation (jusqu'au début du Chosŏn) de l'actuel Hwasun 和順, situé dans la province du Chŏlla du Sud (Chŏllanamdo 全羅南道). Le lignage des O de Tongbok remonterait à l'époque du Koryŏ, à O Yŏng 吳寧 (?-?). Cf. Kongju munhwawŏn 공주문화원 (Gongju Cultural Center), *Tongbok Ossi wa Mukchae O Paeng-nyŏng yŏngdang* 同福吳氏와 默齋吳百齡影堂 (Le lignage des O de Tongbok et le sanctuaire de Mukchae O Paeng-nyŏng), Kongju, Kongju munhwawŏn, 2010, p. 55.

14. La date de 1653 est mentionnée dans certaines archives.

Les stèles de « bon gouvernement » (*sŏnjŏng*) à l'époque du Chosŏn

Les stèles de « bon gouvernement »¹⁵ n'apparaissent en Corée qu'à la fin du Koryŏ. Il n'existe à ce jour ni archive ni monument qui en prouveraient une existence antérieure. Leur apparition semble liée au développement de la pensée néo-confucéenne¹⁶ dans la péninsule à cette époque. À partir de la fin du XVI^e siècle, alors que la culture du Chosŏn dans son ensemble était restée pluraliste, le néoconfucianisme triomphait en tant que force décisive au niveau des élites¹⁷.

Le monument le plus ancien connu est la « Stèle des huit chevaux » (« P'almabi » 八馬碑) de Ch'oe Sŏk 崔碩, qui a occupé le poste de sous-préfet (*pusa* 府使) de Sŭngp'yŏng 昇平, actuellement Sunch'ŏn 順天 dans la province du Chŏlla du Sud (Chŏllanamdo 全羅南道) à l'époque du roi Ch'ungnyŏl 忠烈王 (r. 1274-1308) du Koryŏ. Selon les règles de la sous-préfecture de Sŭngp'yŏng, des chevaux étaient offerts aux gouverneurs lorsqu'ils quittaient leur poste : huit chevaux au sous-préfet, sept chevaux au vice sous-préfet (*pusa* 副使) et six chevaux au légiste (*pŏpcho* 法曹). Au cours de la troisième année du règne de Ch'ungnyŏl, en 1277, lorsque Ch'oe Sŏk a été nommé *pisŏrang* 秘書郎¹⁸, les habitants de Sŭngp'yŏng lui ont offert, conformément à la tradition, huit chevaux, qu'il a refusés. Au cours de la trente-quatrième année du règne de Ch'ungnyŏl (1308), en remerciement, les habitants de la ville ont dressé une stèle louant sa vertu et l'ont appelée « Stèle des huit chevaux » (« P'almabi »). Dès la quatorzième année du règne du roi Kongmin 恭愍王 (r. 1351-1374) du Koryŏ, en 1365, la stèle, qui s'était affaissée à la suite de négligence, a été relevée par Ch'oe Wŏn-u 崔元祐, le sous-préfet de Sŭngp'yŏng alors en poste dans cette ville¹⁹. Elle sera ensuite endommagée au cours de la seconde invasion japonaise (Chŏngyujaeran 丁酉再亂) en 1597, pour être restaurée par Yi Su-gwang 李粹光, sous-préfet de Sunch'ŏn, au cours de la neuvième année du règne de Kwanghaegun 光海君 (r. 1608-1623),

15. Les stèles de « bon gouvernement » (*sŏnjŏng*) sont aussi dénommées : stèles *songdŏk* 頌德 (éloge de la vertu), *aemin* 愛民 (affection portée au peuple), *yuae* 遺愛 (legs d'affection), *yŏngsebulmang* 永世不忘 (souvenirs éternels), *kŏsa* 去思 (pensées après départ), *ch'ŏngdŏk* 清德 (pur et vertueux), etc. Cf. Yi Ch'ae-gyŏng 이채경, « Chosŏn sidae suryŏng sŏnjŏngbi ūi yŏksasang ūimi » 조선시대 수령 선정비의 역사상 의미 (Signification historique des stèles de « bon gouvernement » à l'époque du Chosŏn), dans *Tol e saegin paeksŏng ūi maŭm* 돌에 새긴 백성의 마음 (L'âme du peuple gravée dans la pierre), Kyŏngju, Kyŏngjuhak yŏn'guwŏn 경주학연구원 (Academy of Gyeongju Studies), 2010, p. 188.

16. Voir les travaux de Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea. A Study of Society and Ideology*, Cambridge, Harvard University Asia Center, 1995, et de John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Choson Dynasty*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2000.

17. Eugene Y. Park, *A Genealogy of Dissent: The Progeny of Fallen Royals in Chosŏn Korea*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2019, p. 81.

18. L'auteur choisit de traduire *pisŏrang* 秘書郎, titre de fonctionnaire de l'époque du Koryŏ, « sous-directeur chargé des textes confucianistes et des prières pour les défunts royaux lors des cérémonies aux ancêtres ».

19. *Sinjŏngdonggugyŏjisŭngnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽, tome n° 40, Chŏllado 全羅道, « Sunch'ŏn tohobu » 順天都護府, « Kojŏkcho » 古蹟條. Traduction du texte original en chinois classique en coréen, voir la base de données Han'gukkojŏnjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics.

en 1617, afin de rendre hommage à Ch'oe Sök en accord avec les habitants de la ville²⁰. D'autres exemples suggèrent ce qu'ont pu être les vicissitudes des stèles de « bon gouvernement » au cours de l'histoire du Chosŏn. Le plus souvent, elles ont été rétablies par les descendants du lettré fonctionnaire récipiendaire. Ainsi, la stèle de « bon gouvernement » de Yi An-nul 李安訥 (1571-1637), érigée en 1609 alors que celui-ci était sous-préfet de Tongnae 東萊 dans la province du Kyŏngsang (Kyŏngsangdo 慶尙道), a été perdue. En 1782, retrouvée fragmentée, les descendants du fonctionnaire l'ont réparée et redressée. Cependant, cent-dix ans plus tard, en juin 1891, la famille de Yi An-nul a dû en ériger une nouvelle²¹. Aussi n'est-il pas surprenant que nous ayons découvert la stèle MAK 12023/MAK 14042 enfouie, couchée sur un flanc, appuyée contre le pied sud-ouest de la grande porte du Sud de la Muraille intérieure de la forteresse Kaesong.

Les stèles de « bon gouvernement », représentatives de la culture néo-confucéenne tout au long du Chosŏn, seront particulièrement nombreuses au cours de la seconde moitié de la période, érigées dans le but de reconnaître publiquement les bons services des gouverneurs et de leur rendre hommage²². Aussi étaient-elles disposées dans des lieux très fréquentés par la population, tels que devant la porte principale d'une forteresse ou dans la cour d'un bâtiment administratif. Il subsiste peu de ces chemins de stèles (*pisökköri* 碑石거리) dans leur état originel, si ce n'est dans le quartier Hwabuk (Hwabuktong 禾北洞) de la ville de Cheju (Chejusi 濟州市) située dans l'île éponyme²³.

20. Pendant l'occupation japonaise de la Corée, en 1930, à la suite d'un plan de rénovation urbaine, elle a été déplacée au bord de la route située devant l'hôtel de Sŭngjugun d'alors. Elle est classée Patrimoine culturel matériel régional n° 76 de la province du Chŏlla du Sud. Cf. *Han'gungminjongmunhwadaebaekkwasaŏn* 한국민족문화대백과사전 (Encyclopedia of Korea Culture) de l'Academy of Korean Studies (Han'gukhak chungang yŏnguwŏn 한국학중앙연구원), <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>, pages « Sunch'ŏn P'almbi », juin 2018.

21. Yang Hŭng-suk (Yang Heung-sook) 양흥숙, « Pisök e saegyŏjin 'sŏnjŏng' kwa 'pulgman' – Tongnaepusa ūi sarye » 비석에 새겨진 '善政'과 '不忘' – 동래부사의 사례 (Tombstone Inscriptions of 'Seonjeong' and 'Bulman' – The Case of Dongnaebu Magistrate), *Chiyökkwayöksa*, n° 43, 2018, p. 47-48.

22. Sur les stèles de « bon gouvernement » (*sŏnjŏng*) de la seconde moitié du Chosŏn, voir Im Yong-han 임용한, « Chosŏn hugi suryŏng sŏnjŏngbi ūi punsök – Ansŏng, Chuksan, Kwach'ŏn ūi sarye rŭl chungsim ūro » 조선 후기 수령 선정비의 분석 – 안성 · 죽산 · 과천의 사례를 중심으로 (Analyse des stèles de « bon gouvernement » des gouverneurs au cours de la seconde moitié du Chosŏn – centrée sur Ansŏng, Chuksan, Kwach'ŏn), *Han'guksabakpo*, n° 26, 2007, p. 163-195; Ku Wan-hoe 구완회, « Chosŏn hugi ūi such'wi haengjŏng kwa suryŏng ūi 'yoye' – 17 segi chungyŏp esŏ 18 segi malkkaji rŭl chungsim ūro » 朝鮮後期の 收取行政과 守畝의 '要譽' – 17세기 중엽에서 18세기 말까지를 중심으로 (L'administration fiscale à la seconde moitié du Chosŏn et le désir d'honneur des gouverneurs – du milieu du xvii^e siècle à la fin du xviii^e siècle), *Kyŏngguksabak*, n° 14, 1991, p. 49-96; et Yi Sŏng-im 이성임, « Chosŏn hugi suryŏng ūi hyŏnch'ang ūisik kwa sŏnjŏngbi – Inch'ŏn chiyök ūi sarye » 조선후기 守畝의 顯彰儀式과 善政碑 – 인천지역의 사례 (Les rites d'hommage et les stèles de « bon gouvernement » des gouverneurs pendant la seconde moitié du Chosŏn – exemples dans la région d'Inch'ŏn), *Inch'ŏnmunhwayŏn'gu*, n° 1, 2003, p. 211-250.

23. Ce chemin de stèles est inscrit sur la liste des monuments de Cheju au n° 30. Cf. Hong Ki-p'yo 홍기표, « Chosŏn sidae Cheju mongmin'gwan pisök(kun) ūi hyŏnhwang kwa punsök »

Érigées de façon continue jusqu'à la fin du Chosŏn, les stèles de « bon gouvernement » constituent actuellement l'un des éléments du patrimoine culturel de l'époque le plus visible de nos jours en Corée du Sud²⁴. Si, au début de la période, l'érection d'une stèle de « bon gouvernement » était liée à la bonne volonté du peuple ou de fonctionnaires de postes inférieurs de l'administration régionale, au cours de la seconde moitié du Chosŏn, ces stèles ont pu être érigées par les gouverneurs eux-mêmes. Même s'il y a eu des abus²⁵, que l'on a essayé de maîtriser sous le règne de Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r. 1659-1674), l'érection de stèles de « bon gouvernement » n'a pas cessé.

Pour qu'une stèle de « bon gouvernement » pût être érigée, il fallait qu'au cours de sa mission le gouverneur n'ait pas dérogé aux règles obligatoires qu'il devait suivre en tant que fonctionnaire de « parfaite intégrité » *ch'ŏngbaek* 清白 selon les Sept règles des magistrats²⁶ (*Suryŏngch'ilsa* 守令七事)²⁷. En règle générale, la fabrication de la stèle ne pouvait donc avoir lieu que lorsque le magistrat avait correctement géré la région et répondait aux critères du *Suryŏngch'ilsa*.

La fabrication de la stèle suivait des étapes précises. Dans un premier temps, un surveillant de délégués (*kamgwān* 監官) était nommé en charge de la mission de surveillance du processus de fabrication de la stèle. Les coûts liés à sa fabrication étaient couverts par les impôts locaux. Le bloc en pierre était ensuite sélectionné. Dans le cas d'une stèle d'intérêt public, les citoyens pouvaient être mobilisés au moyen du travail forcé (*yŏk* 役). On choisissait alors un rédacteur (*ch'anja* 撰者) pour

조선시대 제주 목민관 비석(군)의 현황과 분석 (État actuel et analyse des stèles de gouverneurs à Cheju de l'époque du Chosŏn), *Chejudoyŏn'gu* (Journal of Cheju Studies), n° 45, 2016, p. 21.

24. En république de Corée, car en république populaire démocratique de Corée, en particulier à Kaesong, elles ne sont pas exposées. Les raisons semblent être la volonté de ne pas mettre en exergue l'histoire du site à l'époque du Chosŏn, site qui, pour les Nord-Coréens, est le symbole de la glorieuse époque du Koryŏ (voir Élisabeth Chabanol, « Heritage Management in the Kaesŏng Special Economic Zone », p. 56) ainsi que de ne pas exposer le fait que les dates inscrites sur ces stèles suivaient le calendrier chinois.

25. Les stèles de « bon gouvernement » érigées pour des fonctionnaires corrompus tels que Cho Pyŏng-gap 趙秉甲 (symbole du fonctionnaire corrompu du Chosŏn qui a provoqué la jacquerie Tonghak, Tonghangnongminundong 東學農民運動, en 1884) constituaient un objet de haine. Dès que le gouverneur tyrannique quittait son poste, le peuple exprimait leur réprobation en crachant sur la stèle, en lançant des cailloux en sa direction, lui donnant des coups de pied, en y étalant des excréments ou la recouvrant de cendre et, finalement, le plus souvent, enlevait la stèle. Cf. Yi Ch'ae-gyŏng, « Chosŏn sidae suryŏng sŏnjŏngbi ūi yŏksasang ūmi », p. 201.

26. *Suryŏng* 守令 : dénomination générale pour les magistrats d'un district.

27. *Kyŏngguktaejŏn* 經國大典, « Yijŏn » 吏典, « Kogwa » 考課 : *Suryŏngch'ilsa* 守令七事 – *nongsangsŏng* 農桑盛 (développement de l'agriculture et de la sériciculture), *hogujŭng* 戶口增 (augmentation du nombre de foyers), *bakkyohŭng* 學校興 (création d'écoles), *kunjŏngsu* 軍政修 (amélioration de la gouvernance des militaires), *puyŏkkyun* 賦役均 (répartition équitable des impôts et corvées), *sasonggan* 詞訟簡 (rédaction de plaintes), *kanhwalsik* 奸猾息 (élimination de la flatterie et de la ruse). Cf. Ch'ae Kwang-su 蔡光洙, *Chosŏn sidae sŏnjŏngbi kŏllip kwajŏng kwa sigibyŏl ch'ui* – *Kyŏngbuk chiyŏk ūl chungsim ūro* 조선시대 선정비 건립 과정과 시기별 추이 – 경북지역을 중심으로 (Le processus de fabrication des stèles de « bon gouvernement » du Chosŏn et leur évolution chronologique – centré sur la province du Kyŏngsang du Nord), mémoire de maîtrise d'histoire nationale, Yeungnam University, décembre 2009, p. 19.

composer l'inscription qui devait être gravée sur la stèle. Ce rédacteur pouvait être sélectionné parmi des personnes célèbres de la région. Des tailleurs de pierre et graveurs affiliés au Bureau de l'atelier des artisans (*kongbangso* 工房所) de l'organisation locale qui conseillait et assistait les magistrats de province (*hyangch'ōng* 鄉廳) ou bien des moines bouddhistes pouvaient être mobilisés pour le travail de gravure. Cependant, en règle générale, on recrutait plutôt des artisans privés²⁸.

L'évolution de l'établissement de stèles de « bon gouvernement » au cours du Chosŏn n'a pas été régulière. Lors de la première moitié du Chosŏn, leur fabrication est restée rare. Selon l'article intitulé « Kyŏnimgwanjarippi » 見任官自立碑 (Un fonctionnaire contemporain dresse une stèle pour lui-même) du *Taemyŏngnyul* (ch. *Da Minglü* 大明律, Code des grands Ming)²⁹, qui s'appliquait en Corée, il était interdit de fabriquer librement les stèles de « bon gouvernement ». Il n'y donc pas eu d'érection de stèle officielle au début du Chosŏn. Puis, sous le règne de Chungjong 中宗 (r. 1505-1544), alors que l'interdiction était abolie, il semble que ces stèles aient été érigées en suivant des critères assez sévères³⁰. À la suite des invasions japonaises à la fin du xvi^e siècle (Imjinwaeran 壬辰倭亂, quatrième mois de l'année *imjin* 壬辰³¹-onzième mois de l'année *musul* 戊戌³²), sous le règne de Sŏnjo 宣祖 (r. 1567-1608), l'établissement de stèles de « bon gouvernement » a alors suivi des règles plus souples. Avec l'avènement du roi Injo (r. 1623-1649) et l'affermissement de la domination confucéenne³³, la question de l'érection abusive de stèles de « bon gouvernement » a été soulevée à la cour. Des interdictions et contrôles ont été mis en place³⁴. Ces stèles se sont toutefois répandues à partir de ce règne. C'est d'ailleurs à cette époque que la stèle de O Tan a été érigée, en 1630, alors que l'influence de la dynastie des Ming de Chine s'était affaiblie dans la péninsule coréenne.

28. Le tailleur effectue une première étape, *majo* 磨造, taille du bloc en pierre. Il prête une attention particulière au *majōng* 磨正, lissage, afin d'aplanir le bloc. Suit l'étape de la gravure *ipkak* 入刻, qui est effectuée à l'aide d'un calque. Le processus de la fabrication des stèles de « bon gouvernement » est détaillé dans Ch'ae Kwang-su, « Chosŏn sidae sŏnjōngbi kŏllip kwajōng kwa sigibyŏl ch'ui », p. 20 et suivantes.

29. *Taemyŏngnyul* 大明律, « Yeyul » 禮律 (Règles rituelles), « Ŭije » 儀制 (Institutions protocolaires). Le *Taemyŏngnyul chikhae* 大明律直解 (Explications du Code des grands Ming) a été traduit en coréen en 2018 par Han Sang-gwŏn 韓尙寬, Ku Tŏk-hoe 古德會, Sim Hŭi-gi 심희기, Pak Chin-ho 박진호, Chang Kyŏng-jun 張敬準, Kim Se-bong 김세봉, Kim Paek-ch'ŏl 김백철 et Cho Yun-sŏn 조윤선. Voir : Han'guk kojŏn pŏnyŏgwŏn 韓國古典翻譯院 (Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics), ed., *Taemyŏngnyul chikhae* 大明律直解 (Explications du Code des grands Ming), Sŏul, Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics, 2018, n° 2, p. 331-332.

30. *Chungjongsillok* (Chroniques royales de Chungjong), tome 2, deuxième année du règne de Chungjong, vingt-huitième jour du troisième mois de la deuxième année Zhengde des Ming (1507) 中宗實錄 2卷 中宗 2年 3月 28日 辛未 3번째기사 1507年 明 正德 2年. Traduction du texte original en chinois classique en coréen, voir la base de données Han'gukkojŏnjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics.

31. 1592.

32. 1598.

33. Injobanjŏng 仁祖反正 : déposition de Kwanghaegun, roi contesté, et redressement du royaume avec le couronnement du nouveau roi, Injo, en 1623.

34. Cf. Ch'ae Kwang-su, « Chosŏn sidae sŏnjōngbi kŏllip kwajōng kwa sigibyŏl ch'ui », p. 24.



Les stèles de « bon gouvernement » de cette époque comprenaient habituellement un support, un socle (*pijwa* 碑座) sur lequel était fiché le corps (*pisin* 碑身) qui contenait la gravure de l'inscription. Leur sommet était rarement protégé par une pierre de couverture (*kaesök* 蓋石). Dans le cas de la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042, ni pierre de couverture, ni socle-support n'ont été retrouvés au cours des fouilles de la grande porte du Sud à Kaesong. Une stèle de la même époque, dont la forme et le matériau ainsi que l'inscription sont identiques à ceux de la stèle de O Tan, possède un socle qui semble original³⁵. C'est la stèle de Yi Si-bang 李時昉 (1594-1659)³⁶, sous-préfet de deuxième classe (*moksa* 牧使) de Kwangju et lieutenant-général (*pangösa* 防禦使) de la forteresse de montagne Namhan (Namhansansöng 南漢山城)³⁷. Elle a été fabriquée l'année suivante, en 1631, quatrième année Chongzhen³⁸.

La date de l'inscription de ces deux stèles est indiquée selon le calendrier chinois des Ming : Chongzhen 崇禎, le nom d'ère et du dernier empereur des Ming. Dès la seconde invasion de la péninsule coréenne par les Mandchous (Pyöngjahoran 丙子胡亂, douzième mois de l'année *pyöngja* 丙子³⁹-premier mois de l'année *chöngch'uk* 丁丑⁴⁰), alors que le Chosön était un pays vassal⁴¹ de la Chine des Ming, les Mandchous

35. Tout comme la stèle de Yi Si-bang, la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042 ne devait pas simplement être fichée en terre. Elle devait aussi comporter un socle-support qui a pu disparaître lors d'un déplacement du monument. Le bloc en granite du corps de la stèle étant extrêmement lourd, on peut supposer qu'elle était installée près de la grande porte du Sud et que c'est au cours de travaux effectués aux alentours qu'elle a été légèrement déplacée et couchée contre le soubassement de la porte. Le socle, plus facilement transportable, a sans doute été utilisé comme matériau de réemploi.

36. « Moksagong sibangmugunaemin ch'öngdök sönjöngbi » 牧使公試防撫軍愛民清德善政碑. Cette stèle est située dans le parc du chemin des stèles de l'arrondissement Sonp'a 송파비석거리 공원 à Séoul. Elle est mentionnée et reproduite dans : Yi Nan-yöng (Lee Nan-young) 이난영, *Chosön hugi Kyönggido Kwangju üi suryöng sönjöngbi punsök* 조선후기 경기도 廣州의 수령 善政碑 분석 (Analysis on Monuments of Magistrates in Gwangju, Gyeonggi-do, in Late Joseon Period), mémoire de maîtrise en histoire, Chungbuk National University, 2011, p. 18 et p. 62. Voir aussi le texte de la stèle de « bon gouvernement » de Yi Sök-tal 李碩達善政碑, datée de 1635, p. 18.

37. Yi Si-bang a participé à la déposition de Kwanghaegun afin d'introniser Injo (Injobanjöng 1623). Il a été nommé sous-préfet de deuxième classe et lieutenant-général de la forteresse de montagne Namhan en 1628. Il décéda en 1659 lors des travaux de réparation de cette forteresse.

38. Sungjöng (ch. Chongzhen) sanyön sibilwölch'o ku rip 崇禎四年十一月初九立. Stèle érigée le neuvième jour du onzième mois de la quatrième année Sungjöng, année qui correspond à la neuvième année du règne de Injo du Chosön, 1631.

39. 1636.

40. 1637.

41. Concernant la position de la Corée subordonnée à la Chine, voir John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosön Dynasty*, p. 235. Voir aussi : Eugene Y. Park, *A Genealogy of Dissent*, p. 13 : « En mars 1393, le nouveau roi, ayant reçu à titre posthume le nom de T'aejo, renomma le pays de Koryö en Chosön avec l'approbation, et pour ce nom, et pour son accession sur le trône, de la part du fondateur de la dynastie des Ming, l'empereur Hongwu (r. 1368-1398), T'aejo traitant la Chine des Ming comme le suzerain et le garant de la légitimité de son règne » (traduction de l'auteur). Voir *T'aejosillok* (Chroniques royales de T'aejo), tome 2, première année du règne de T'aejo, vingt-neuvième jour du onzième mois de la vingt-cinquième année Hongwu des Ming (1392) 太祖實錄 2卷 太祖 1년 11月 29日 丙午 1번째기사 1392年 明 洪武 25年; *T'aejosillok*, tome 3,



qui prendront le titre dynastique Qing (cor. Ch'öng 清) en 1644, ont exigé que le Chosön utilise les ères mandchoues pour mentionner les dates officielles. Cependant, dans un premier temps, le Chosön est resté fidèle à la dynastie des Ming. C'est après le suicide du dernier empereur des Ming, Zhu Youjian, en avril 1644 lors de la reddition de Pékin, que le roi Injo, au cours de la vingt-troisième année de son règne, en 1645, adopte l'ère du deuxième empereur mandchou, Shunzhi (cor. Sunch'i 順治, r. 1643-1661)⁴². Cependant, malgré la mort de Zhu Youjian, l'ère Chongzhen a toujours été utilisée par les lettrés (*sönbi* 선비) restés fidèles à la dynastie des Ming dans les documents personnels et les épitaphes.

La préfecture militaire de Kaesong à l'époque de O Tan

Après le premier transfert de la capitale à Hanyang 漢陽⁴³ qui eut lieu en 1494 à la suite de la fondation du Chosön, la ville de Kaesong passe du rang de capitale à celui de ville régionale. Les sites qui constituaient les symboles du pouvoir de la capitale du Koryö, Kaegyöng 開京⁴⁴, furent peu à peu laissés à l'abandon. Leur délabrement rapide est rapporté par les récits de voyages des lettrés qui se sont rendus sur le site de l'ancienne capitale : Ch'ae Su 蔡壽 (1449-1515) dès 1477 et Yu Ho-in 俞好仁 (1445-1494) en 1485⁴⁵. Le changement de statut administratif officiel de l'ancienne capitale avait eu lieu dès la quatrième année du règne du roi fondateur de la dynastie des Yi, T'aejo 太祖 (r. 1392-1398)⁴⁶, le 13 juin 1395. Kaesong fut alors géré comme un *yubusa* 留後司⁴⁷, dont le personnel était constitué d'un préfet (*yubu*

deuxième année du règne de T'aejo, quinzième jour du deuxième mois de la vingt-sixième année Hongwu des Ming (1393) 太祖實錄 3卷 太祖 2年 2月 15日 庚寅 1번째기사 1393年 明 洪武 26年.

42. Cf. *Injosillok* (Chroniques royales de Injo), tome 46, vingt-troisième année du règne de Injo, quatrième jour du premier mois de l'année *muja* (1645), deuxième année Shunzhi des Qing 仁祖實錄 46卷 仁祖 23年 1月 4日 戊子 1번째기사 1645年 清 順治 2年.

43. Hanyang 漢陽, appellation de Séoul à l'époque du Koryö, à partir de 1308. Deviendra Hansöng 漢城 au Chosön, en 1395.

44. Au cours de l'histoire, Kaesong a reçu de nombreuses appellations : au Koguryö (37 av. J.-C.-660 ap. J.-C.) : Pusogap 扶蘇岬 et Tongbihol 冬比忽; au Silla (57 av. J.-C.-935 ap. J.-C.) : Songakkun 松岳郡 et Kaesönggun 開城郡; au Koryö : Kaesong 開城, Songak 松岳, Kaeju 開州, Kaegyöng 開京, Hwangdo 皇都, Hwangsöng 皇城, Kyöngdo 京都, etc. ; au Chosön : Songdo 松都, Songgyöng 松京, Chunggyöng 中京, Kaesong 開城. Voir aussi Maurice Courant, *RHAC*, n° 836 : « 開城府, K'ai syeng pou, Préfecture de K'ai syeng. Cette ville s'appelle aussi Syong to 松都, Syong kyeng 松京, Syong yeng 松營 (cf. n°s 813, 814) ».

45. Cf. les travaux de Hō Hūng-sik 허흥식 dont « Chosön chön'gi khaengmun ūro pon Kaegyöng ūi yujökhwa kwajöng » 朝鮮前期 紀行文으로 본 開京의 遺蹟化過程 (Le processus de 'vestigification' de Kaegyöng vu au travers des récits de voyages du début du Chosön), dans *Koryösidaeyön'gu* 2, Söngnam, Academy of Korean Studies (Han'guk chöngsin munhwa yönguwön 한국정신문화연구원), 2000. Ch'ae Su et Yu Ho-in ont tous deux rédigés un récit de voyage intitulé *Yusongdorok* 遊松都錄 (Récit du voyage à Songdo).

46. Yi Söng-gye 李成桂 (1335-1408), fondateur de la dynastie des Yi et du royaume de Chosön.

47. Chang Chi-yön (Jang Ji-Yeon) 장지연, « Chosön chön'gi Kaesöng kwa Hansöng ūi kwan'gye (i) - chöm-ūro pogi » 조선 전기 개성과 한성의 관계 (i) - 점으로 보기 (The Relationship

留後), d'un sous-préfet (*puyubu* 副留後), d'un « colonel » (*tansagwan* 斷事官)⁴⁸, d'un secrétaire général (*kyōngnyōk* 經歷) et d'un secrétaire (*tosa* 都事). Cependant, dès 1438 (vingtième année du règne de Sejong 世宗)⁴⁹, l'importance de la ville est reconnue avec l'installation d'un *yusubu* 留守府, une préfecture militaire. Kaesong est ainsi promu en Kaesōngbu 開城府⁵⁰ avec à sa tête un préfet-commandant (*yusu* 留守)⁵¹. Kaesong dépendait du domaine de la capitale, de la province du Kyōnggi (Kyōnggido 京畿道), dirigé par un *kwanch'alsa* 觀察使, gouverneur de la province, qui cumulait le poste de préfet-commandant de Kaesong conjointement avec le précédent⁵². En 1485 (seizième année du règne de Sōngjong 成宗)⁵³, l'organisation du Kaesōngbu est institutionnalisée, avec toujours à sa tête un préfet-commandant et le gouverneur du Kyōnggi, plus un secrétaire général (*kyōngnyōk*), un secrétaire (*tosa*), un recteur du temple de Confucius (*kyosu* 教授), quarante clercs civils (*sōri* 書吏) et trente « valets » (*chorye* 早隸). C'est dans cette structure que O Tan occupa ses fonctions lors de ses deux séjours à Kaesong. En 1865 (deuxième année du règne de Kojong 高宗)⁵⁴, l'organigramme du Kaesōngbu change légèrement avec encore à sa tête un préfet-commandant de rang 2a⁵⁵, deux charges; un secrétaire général de rang 4b, une charge; un vice-recteur du temple de Confucius (*pun'gyogwan* 分教官), de rang 9b, une charge, et un *kōmnyul* 檢律, légiste de rang 9b, une charge⁵⁶, cinquante clercs civils et une trentaine de « valets ». Le gouverneur de la province de rang 1b cumulait toujours le poste de préfet-commandant de Kaesong conjointement avec le

between Gaeseong and Hanseong in the Early Joseon Dynasty (1), Examined from a Perspective Viewing Them as 'Points', *Sōulbakyōn'gu* (The Journal of Seoul Studies), n° 63, May 2016, p. 129.

48. Selon Maurice Courant, ce poste peut être traduit par « colonel », *RHAC*, n° 952.

49. Sejong : règne 1418-1450.

50. Kaesōngbu 開城府. Voir : Maurice Courant, *RHAC*, n° 813 : « Kāi syeng pou, Préfecture de Kaesōng, Capitale sous la dynastie de Korye »; n° 814 : « Le roi Htai tjo, 太祖, des Ri, conserva d'abord l'ancienne organisation, lorsqu'en 1394 il transporta sa capitale à Han yang 漢陽. Kaesong tomba au rang de Préfecture-forteresse... »; n° 836 : « 開城府 Kāi syeng pou, Préfecture de Kāi syeng. Cette ville s'appelle aussi Syong to 松都; Syong kyeng 松京; Syong yeng 松營; Yusu 留守 2a, préfet-commandant (deux charges) (cf. n°s 813, 814) ».

51. Cf. Yi Chon-hūi 이준희, « Chosōn wangjo ūi yusubu kyōngyōng » 조선왕조의 유수부 경영 (L'administration du *yusubu* de la dynastie du Chosōn), *Han'guksayōn'gu*, n° 47, 1984. En revanche, dans ses travaux, Chang Chi-yōn est plus circonspecte sur l'importance de Kaesong au cours du Chosōn. Cf. Chang Chi-yōn, « Chosōn chōn'gi Kaesōng kwa Hansōng ūi kwan'gye », p. 117-148. Voir aussi O Sōng 오성, « Chōngch'ijōk soeji Kaesong kwa kwagō » 정치적 소외지 개성과 과거 (Kaesong, zone délaissée sur le plan politique et le concours des fonctionnaires), dans *Han'guksa e issōō chibang kwa chungang* 한국사에 있어서 지방과 중앙 (The Periphery and Center in Korean History), Sōul, Sōgangdaehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2003, p. 227-228.

52. Cf. le site internet de l'Academy of Korean Studies (Han'gukhak chungang yōn'guwōn 韓國學中央研究院), *Han'gungminjongmunhwadaebaekkwajōn*, <http://www.aks.ac.kr>, page « Kaesōngbu », 22 août 2019.

53. Sōngjong : règne 1469-1494.

54. Kojong : règne 1863-1907.

55. Les rangs des postes sont empruntés au *RHAC* de Maurice Courant. Ils pouvaient être légèrement différents au cours de la période qui précède 1865.

56. Cf. Maurice Courant, *RHAC*, n° 836.

préfet-commandant de rang 2a⁵⁷. Les fonctionnaires de la ville étaient considérés comme des fonctionnaires de Séoul et dépendaient directement de l'administration centrale. Cette organisation a perduré jusqu'à la fin du Chosŏn⁵⁸.

O Tan a occupé le poste de secrétaire général de Kaesong, de rang 4b, de 1629 à 1630⁵⁹. Il a été remplacé par Kim Nam-jung 金南重 (1596-1663), nommé à ce poste le 2 avril 1630⁶⁰.

O Tan et Kaesong

Bien que la stèle MAK 13032/MAK 14042 ait été découverte à Kaesong en RPDC, ce sont nos recherches dans les archives conservées dans les institutions sud-coréennes⁶¹ qui nous ont permis de retracer la biographie du récipiendaire et de retrouver les descendants du lignage des O de Tongbok. De 2016 à 2018, plusieurs échanges téléphoniques et rencontres avec des membres du lignage des O de Tongbok, dont O Chae-gyŏng 吳在慶, président de la Société de la branche aînée du lignage des O de Tongbok, descendant à la vingt-sixième génération de O Tan, le vice-président O Chae-il 吳在鎰, le secrétaire général O Kyŏng-t'ak 吳慶鐸 et l'ancien président de la société O Chae-dŏk 吳在德, qui n'avaient pas connaissance de l'existence de cette stèle, nous ont permis d'avoir accès aux archives du lignage dont le registre généalogique de la branche de son excellence Mukchae 默齋⁶² du lignage des O

57. Cf. le site internet de l'Academy of Korean Studies (Han'gukhak chungang yŏn'gwŏn 韓國學中央研究院), *Han'gungminjongmunhwadaebaekkwajŏn*, <http://www.aks.ac.kr>, page « Kaesŏngbu », 22 août 2019.

58. Maurice Courant, *RHAC*, n° 833 : « Les quatre villes suivantes sont proches de Seoul : Koang t'you, la plus rapprochée, est à quarante li 里 ; K'ai syeng, la plus éloignée est à cent soixante li de la capitale ; elles sont destinées à servir de refuge au Roi en temps de danger. On les appelle souvent S'a to 四都, les quatre Capitales ; elles servent en même temps de siège à quatre Camps (n° 981-984). Les fonctionnaires de ces quatre villes sont considérés comme fonctionnaires de Seoul et dépendent directement de l'administration centrale ».

59. Voir le Tableau chronologique de la vie de O Tan à la fin de cet article.

60. Cf. *Sŭngjŏngwŏn'ilgi* 承政院日記 (Notes journalières du Secrétariat royal du Chosŏn) : « Huitième année du règne de Injo, 1630 (*kyŏngo* 庚午), le deuxième jour du quatrième mois (辛亥 *sinhae*), a lieu une réunion des affaires gouvernementales (*chŏngsa* 政事), pendant laquelle il est décidé de nommer ... Kim Nam-jung 金南重 secrétaire général de Kaesong (Kaesong *kyŏngnyŏk* 開城 經歷)... ». Au cours du huitième mois de 1662, Kim Nam-jung sera nommé préfet-commandant (*yusu*) de Kaesong.

61. En particulier, nous avons régulièrement consulté les collections de la bibliothèque centrale de la Korea University (Koryŏdaehakkyo chungangdosŏgwan 고려대학교 중앙도서관), les sites internet de l'Academy of Korea Studies, <http://www.aks.ac.kr>, du National Institute of Korean History (Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 國史編纂委員會), <http://www.history.go.kr/>, et du Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Han'guk kojŏn pŏnyŏgwŏn 韓國古典翻譯院) de janvier 2017 à décembre 2019.

62. Mukchae 默齋 est le nom de plume de O Paeng-nyŏng 吳百齡 (1560-1633), père de O Tan. Il a occupé le poste de *ijoch'amp'an* 吏曹參判, directeur (vice-ministre) au ministère des Fonctionnaires civils, rang 2b, une charge.

Tongbok et le bulletin d'information de la société qui rassemble les membres de ce lignage⁶³. Ces documents ont orienté nos recherches dans les archives du Chosŏn afin de reconstituer la carrière de O Tan.

Ainsi, le nom de O Tan, secrétaire général méritant alors qu'il était fonctionnaire en poste à Kaesong, a été retenu par l'histoire, plusieurs fois mentionné dans de nombreuses archives. Son nom apparaît dans les annales historiques telles que les *Injosillok* 仁祖實錄 (Chroniques royales de Injo, r. 1623-1649)⁶⁴, les *Hyojongsilok* 孝宗實錄 (Chroniques royales de Hyojong, r. 1649-1659), les *Kyŏngjongsilok* 景宗實錄 (Chroniques royales de Kyŏngjong, r. 1720-1724), le *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 (Notes journalières du Secrétariat royal du Chosŏn)⁶⁵, dans le *Kukchobangmok* 國朝榜目 (Liste chronologique des lauréats des examens au cours du Chosŏn)⁶⁶, le *Kukchoinmulgo* 國朝人物考 (Dictionnaire des biographies d'hommes éminents du Chosŏn)⁶⁷, dans les anthologies de poésie et de prose telles que le *Misugiŏn* 眉叟記言 (recueil écrit par Misu Hŏ Mok 眉叟 許穆)⁶⁸ et dans le *Tongjujip* 東州集 (anthologie

63. Tongbok Ossi Mukchaegongp'a poso 同福吳氏默齋公派譜所 (Bureau du registre généalogique de la branche de son excellence Mukchae du lignage des O de Tongbok), éd., *Tongbok Ossi Mukchaegongp'a po* 同福吳氏默齋公派譜 (Registre généalogique de la branche de son excellence Mukchae du lignage des O de Tongbok), vol. 1, Taejŏn, Tongbok Ossi Mukchaegongp'a poso, 1993; et Tongbok Ossi taejonghoe 同福吳氏 大宗會 (Société du grand lignage des O de Tongbok), éd., *Tongbok Ossi chongbo* 同福吳氏 宗報 (Bulletin d'information du lignage des O de Tongbok), Sŏul, Tongbok Ossi taejonghoe, 2017.

64. Pour l'ensemble des chroniques royales du Chosŏn voir le site du National Institute of Korean History à la page *Chosŏn wangjosillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 : <http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.do>.

65. Rédigé depuis le début du Chosŏn, le *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* a été brûlé pendant l'invasion japonaise de 1592. Subsistent les enregistrements faits de 1623 (première année du règne de Injo) à 1894 (trente-et-unième année du règne de Kojong, r. 1863-1907).

66. Le *Kukchobangmok* a été rédigé du début du Chosŏn jusqu'en 1877, lors de la quatorzième année du règne de Kojong. O Tan est mentionné dans le *Kukchobangmok*, voir la page 21 de la copie digitale du site internet de l'Academy of Korea Studies, <http://www.aks.ac.kr>, dont le document original est conservé à la National Library of Korea (Kungnip chungang tosŏgwan 국립중앙도서관), site internet : <http://www.nl.go.kr/>.

67. Le *Kukchoinmulgo* a été compilé sous le règne du vingt-deuxième roi du Chosŏn, Chŏngjo 正祖 (1752-1800) qui a régné de 1776 à 1800. L'inscription de la stèle de O Tan (O Tan *pimun* 吳端碑文) y est reproduite dans le 22^e volume, « Myŏngnyu » 名流, et conservé au Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies de la Seoul National University (Sŏultaehakkyo Kyujanggak han'gukhak yŏn'guwŏn 서울대학교 규장각한국학연구원). Ce texte, à l'origine rédigé par Kim Se-ryŏm 金世濂 (1593-1646), faisait partie de son anthologie de poésie et de prose *Tongmyŏngjip* 東溟集 compilée par ses descendants en 1737, sous le règne de Yŏngjo 英祖 (1696-1776, r. 1724-1776). Il a ensuite été repris dans le *Kukchoinmulgo*.

68. *Misugiŏn*, recueil écrit par Misu, nom de plume Hŏ Mok (1595-1682), publié en 1689. Contient le texte de l'épithaphe de l'épouse de O Tan et le texte de la stèle « de la voix de l'âme » (*sindobi*) de son premier fils O Chŏng-il. Pour la traduction des textes en coréen de l'épithaphe de dame Sim et de la stèle dédiée à O Chŏng-il, voir la base de données Han'gukkojŏnjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics. Texte original en chinois classique : voir l'épithaphe de l'épouse de O Tan dans « Kumyomun » 丘墓文, 21^e volume (8^e texte) du supplément du *Misugiŏn* et l'inscription de la stèle de O Chŏng-il dans « Kumyomun », 16^e volume (6^e texte) du supplément du *Misugiŏn*.

de poésie et de prose rédigée par Yi Min-gu 李敏求, 1586-1670)⁶⁹, dans les chroniques de la ville de Kaesong, telles que le *Chunggyōngji* 中京誌 (Chroniques de la capitale du centre, Kaesong)⁷⁰, le *Songdoji* 松都誌 (Chroniques de Songdo)⁷¹ et le *Kaesōngji* 開城誌 (Chroniques de Kaesong)⁷².

Dans la Corée du début du xvii^e siècle, quatre grands groupes sociaux se distinguaient. O Tan appartenait au groupe des *yangban* 兩班, l'aristocratie, qui comprenait les familles de lettrés et de fonctionnaires qui pouvaient revendiquer descendre des titulaires de charge de la fin du Koryō sans qu'il n'y ait eu de non-*yangban* dans les générations intermédiaires⁷³.

O Tan était un de ces fonctionnaires reconnus. Sa carrière à Kaesong est mentionnée dans les chroniques de la ville, telles que le *Chunggyōngji*, le *Songdoji* et le *Kaesōngji*, qui mentionnent son arrivée comme secrétaire général dans l'ancienne capitale du Koryō au cours de l'année *kisa* 己巳 selon le cycle sexagésimal (1629). Le *Sūngjōngwōnilgi* précise que c'est le dix-neuvième jour du quatrième mois intercalaire. Son supérieur est alors Yi Tōk-hyōng 李德洞 (1566-1645) qui est affecté au poste de préfet-commandant de Kaesong la même année⁷⁴. Afin de mieux comprendre

69. Le *Tongjujip* a été compilé par Yi Min-gu (1589-1670). L'année de publication est inconnue, cependant l'ouvrage comporte un avant-propos écrit en 1639, dix-septième année du règne de Injo. Il est conservé au Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies de la Seoul National University et à la National Library of Korea. Voir le texte de l'épithète de O Tan dans le *Tongjujip*, « Munjip » 文集 (recueil de prose), 8^e volume, section Chimyōng 誌銘 (inscription). Traduit en coréen par Kang Wōn-mo 강원모, Kim Mun-gap 김문갑, O Sūng-jun 오승준 et Chōng Man-ho 정만호 : « Kwanch'alsa O kong myojimyōng pyōngsō » 觀察使 吳公 墓誌銘 并 紱 (Avant-propos, biographie et éloge funéraire de son excellence le gouverneur O), dans Ch'ungnamdaehakkyo hanjamunhwayōn'guso 충남대학교 한자문화연구소 (The Institute of Chinese Character Culture in Chungnam National University), éd., *Tongjujip* 7, coll. « Han'guk kojōn pōnyōgwōn Han'gungmunjippōnyōkch'ongsō », Taejōn, Munjin, 2018, p. 478-486.

70. Le *Chunggyōngji* a été compilé par Kim Yi-jae 金履載 en 1824, revu et augmenté par Cho Pyōng-gi 趙秉夔 *et. al.* en 1885, de nouveau publié en 1914-1915 (Chosōn kwangmunhoe 조선광문회 朝鮮光文會 / Kim Ton-hūi 金동희).

71. Le *Songdoji* a été compilé une première fois par Kim Yūk 金堉, préfet-commandant de Kaesong en 1648, puis revu et augmenté par Chōng Ch'ang-sun 鄭昌順, préfet-commandant de Kaesong, en 1782. Il est composé de sept chapitres regroupés en trois volumes. Un exemplaire est conservé au Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies de la Seoul National University.

72. Le *Kaesōngji* a été compilé par Im Pong-sik 林鳳植 (?-?) et publié par le Kaesōngji p'yōnch'anso 開城誌編纂所 en 1934. Les tomes 1 à 8 sont conservés à la National Library of Korea.

73. « Au début du xvii^e siècle, quatre groupes de différents statuts étaient distincts : (1) les *yangban*, aristocratie comprenant des familles d'érudits et de fonctionnaires qui pouvaient revendiquer descendre de fonctionnaires de la fin du Koryō sans qu'il n'y ait eu de non-*yangban* dans les générations intermédiaires ; (2) les *chungin* (中人), spécialistes employés par l'État dans diverses branches du savoir ou secteurs de l'administration ; (3) les *yangin* (良人) ou *yangmin* (良民), les roturiers ou le « bon peuple », comprenant les agriculteurs et autres personnes qui avaient des obligations fiscales et militaires envers l'État et (4) les *ch'ōnmin* (賤民), de basse naissance, dont la plupart étaient des esclaves appartenant à l'État ou aux particuliers » (traduction de l'auteur). Voir Eugene Y. Park, *A Genealogy of Dissent*, p. 81.

74. Yi Tōk-hyōng est nommé préfet-commandant de Kaesong de 1629 au onzième jour du onzième mois de 1631. Cf. *Sūngjōngwōnilgi*, livre 31, huitième année du règne de Injo, douzième



dans quel environnement O Tan a exercé ses fonctions lors de son séjour à Kaesong, il est intéressant de rappeler que Yi Tök-hyöng est l'auteur du *Songdogii* 松都記異 (Merveilles de Songdo) dont la rédaction est achevée en 1631⁷⁵. Dans cet ouvrage, Yi Tök-hyöng, qui a recueilli des histoires locales sur Kaesong, conteste l'historiographie officielle. A cette époque, la soumission du Chosön par les Mandchous, qui ont conquis la Chine des Ming, a incité les intellectuels du Chosön à davantage réfléchir sur la vertu cardinale de la loyauté. Les histoires compilées de façon privée, telles que le *Songdogii*, qui est consacré à Kaesong, sont révélatrices. Yi Tök-hyöng a non seulement répertorié de nombreux récits divertissants sur des personnages célèbres de la ville, tels que Hwang Chin-i 黃眞伊 (courtisane, dates non connues), mais a également inclus dans une annexe une discussion approfondie sur l'historiographie de la fin du Koryö, tout en y louant les loyalistes du royaume déchu⁷⁶.

L'épithape de O Tan a été rédigée par Yi Min-gu (1589-1670), contemporain de O Tan, et reproduite dans son recueil *Tongjujip*. Elle confirme qu'une stèle a été dressée en l'honneur de O Tan lorsqu'il a quitté son poste de secrétaire général de Kaesong :

L'année *kisa* (1629, septième année du règne de Injo), O Tan est devenu secrétaire général de Kaesong, après avoir occupé le poste de second directeur de morale (une charge) (*p'ilsön*) [de la Cour des explicateurs du prince héritier]. Comme il était tolérant et simple, [la tâche] d'administrer ne lui a pas été difficile. Les fonctionnaires subalternes (*ajön*) et la population lui ont facilité les choses. À la suite d'une période de gouvernance d'un an [à Kaesong], il a été rappelé par la Cour royale après avoir été nommé surveillant de l'impression (*kyori*). L'affection et le bienfait qu'il a laissé à Kaesong ont été effectivement gravés sur pierre. Comme son excellence le secrétaire (*ch'amch'angong*) [O Öng-nyöng 吳億齡, frère aîné du père de O Tan] avait bien gouverné lorsqu'il était en poste comme préfet-commandant à Kaesong, c'est à ce moment-là qu'une grande stèle lui a été dressée à côté [de celle de O Tan]. Les passants adressaient donc leur respect [envers les deux stèles]⁷⁷.

己巳。由彌善爲開城經歷。治寬簡不苛。吏民便之。居期歲政成。以校理徵。遺愛餘恩。實鑿在石。始參贊公留守陪京有惠政。至是而穹碑竝列。行路必式⁷⁸。

jour du onzième mois de la troisième année Chongzhen des Ming (1630) 承政院日記 31冊 仁祖 8年 11月 12日 丁亥 2/6 기사 1630年 明 崇禎 3年; *Injosillok*, tome 25, neuvième année du règne de Injo, vingt-septième jour du neuvième mois de la quatrième année Chongzhen des Ming (1631) 仁祖 實錄 25卷 丙子 9年 9月 27日 戊戌 1번째기사 1631年 明 崇禎 4年.

75. Le *Songdogii* de Yi Tök-hyöng a été publié en 1631, puis repris dans le livre 71 du *Taedongyasüng* 大東野乘 (Histoire officielle du Grand Est), publié sous le règne de Sukchong et ceux de Yöngjo et Chöngjo et conservé au Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies de la Seoul National University. Voir le site Han'gukkojönjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics, page du *Taedongyasüng*.

76. *Han'gungminjongmunhwadaebaekkwajön*, page *Songdogii*. Voir aussi Eugene Y. Park, *A Genealogy of Dissent*, p. 92-94.

77. Traduction à partir du texte en chinois et en coréen, ainsi que pour les extraits de stèles cités ensuite.

78. Han'gukkojönjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics : http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=MO#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_MO_0337A_0410_010_0170. Le 4 octobre 2019.



기사년(1629, 인조 7)에 필선(弼善)을 거쳐 개성 경력(開城經歷)이 되었다. 너그럽고 간략하여 고을을 다스림에 까다롭지 않았으므로 아전과 백성들이 편안하게 여겼다. 1년 만에 훌륭한 정사가 이루어지니, 교리(校理)에 임명하여 조정으로 불러들였다. 공이 개성에서 백성들에게 남긴 사랑과 은혜는 사실대로 돌에 새겨졌다. 예전에 참찬공(參贊公)이 개성 유수(開城留守)로 재직하면서 은혜로운 정사를 펼쳤는데, 이때에 이르러 큰 비석이 나란히 서게 되었으니, 길 가는 사람들도 반드시 경의를 표하였다⁷⁹.

Malgré un état maladif, la suite de sa carrière est brillante. Après divers postes dans la capitale, il est nommé en 1637 préfet (*puyun* 府尹) de la ville de Chōnju, province du Chōlla, puis nommé à des postes prestigieux, tels que président de province (*kamsa* 監司), des provinces du Ch'ungch'ōng (Ch'ungch'ōngdo 忠清道)⁸⁰ et du Hwanghae (Hwanghaedo 黃海道). Il revient donc à Kaesong, alors capitale de la province du Hwanghae, où il reste du 5 décembre 1638 au 4 décembre 1639. Les quelques vicissitudes que subit sa carrière sont dues à son état de santé fragile et à quelques oppositions du Conseil des censeurs (Sahōnbu 司憲府), chargé de surveiller l'administration et les mandarins, qui a demandé par deux fois sa démission. Les raisons en semblent politiques. D'autant plus que dans le cas de la demande de renvoi de son poste de préfet de Chōnju, le 21 février 1637, le Sahōnbu avance comme prétexte qu'il se serait enfui avant l'arrivée des troupes mandchoues au fleuve Kūm (Kūmgang 錦江)⁸¹. Ceci semble être contredit par le fait que le peuple du Chōnjubu a dressé une stèle en son honneur à l'intérieur de la forteresse de Chōnju au cours de l'été 1638.

Yi Min-gu rapporte dans le *Tongjujip* :

Au cours de l'été de l'année *muin* (1638, seizième année du règne de Injo), O Tan a été nommé gouverneur (*kwanch'alsa*) du Hosō (province du Ch'ungch'ōng). Comme le peuple du Chōnjubu n'acceptait pas son départ, une stèle a été dressée dans la forteresse. Pourtant, O Tan n'a pu entrer en fonction [au Hosō] quelqu'un s'y étant opposé, il a donc été déplacé et nommé président de la province du Hwanghae.

戊寅夏。觀察湖西。老少攀挽不可得。則爲立碑城內。既而爲人所持輟不赴。移按海西⁸²。

무인년(1638, 인조 16) 여름에, 호서 관찰사(湖西觀察使)에 임명되었는데, 전주부의 백성들이 공을 떠나지 못하도록 잡으려다가 뜻대로 되지 않자 성안에 비(碑)를 세웠다. 얼마 뒤에 어떤 사람의 견제를 받아 부임하지 못하고, 황해감사(黃海監司)로 옮겨 임명되었다⁸³.

79. « Kwanch'alsa O kong myojimyōng pyōngsō », dans Ch'unghnamdaehakkyo hanjamunhwayōn'guso, éd., *Tongjujip* 7, p. 480, de la 2^e à la 9^e lignes.

80. En fait, il n'occupa pas le poste de président de la province du Ch'ungch'ōng, le Sahōnbu, Conseil des censeurs, s'y étant opposé.

81. Le fleuve Kūm arrose la province du Ch'ungch'ōng du Sud.

82. Han'gukkojōnjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics : http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=MO#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_MO_0337A_0410_010_0170. Le 4 octobre 2019.

83. « Kwanch'alsa O kong myojimyōng pyōngsō », dans Ch'unghnamdaehakkyo hanjamunhwayōn'guso, éd., *Tongjujip* 7, p. 482, de la 8^e à la 11^e lignes.

Il est vrai que les documents concernant O Tan suggèrent qu'il était d'un tempérament modeste, n'aimait pas les idées progressistes et qu'il se gardait d'adhérer à l'une des factions politiques de son époque. L'inscription de sa stèle de « la voix de l'âme » composée par Kim Se-ryöm 金世濂 (1593-1646), autre contemporain, et reproduite dans son anthologie de poésie et de prose *Tongmyöngjip* 東溟集, décrit sa personnalité :

L'attitude amène de son excellence, sa conduite fidèle, sa largeur d'esprit et ses vastes connaissances honorent rigoureusement et quotidiennement les dites Six Vertus⁸⁴. J'ai très tôt admiré sa personnalité. Quand je l'observais minutieusement servir le roi et gouverner le peuple, puisqu'il avait tout à fait l'air d'un vieux sage, ne pouvais-je pas ne pas présumer de ses accomplissements à son poste d'assistant royal s'il avait eu l'occasion de déployer ses talents? Cependant, comme son excellence agissait d'ordinaire avec modestie, il n'aimait pas se mettre en avant. Et, depuis qu'il était parent par alliance avec la famille royale, il était devenu encore plus craintif et prudent. De plus, son excellence n'a pas pu jouir d'une longue vie. Si nous autres n'avons pas eu cette chance, n'est-ce pas parce que les voies célestes ne sont pas fiables?

公之和容篤行。曠度遠識。寔所謂日嚴祇敬六德者。世濂嘗服其爲人。諦觀其事君若臨民。綽有古賢人風。使其處輔弼之地。得展其所蓄。則其事業成就。顧可量哉。而公素謙退。不喜進取。及至連婚王室。尤加畏慎。而又弗克壽。豈吾東人無祿。將天道難諶⁸⁵。

공의 화려한 용모와 독실한 행실, 넓은 도량과 원대한 식견은 실로 이른바 나날이 육덕(六德)을 엄히 공경한다는 것이었다. 나는 일찍부터 공의 인품에 감복하였었고, 그 사군(事君)과 임민(臨民)을 자세히 살펴보건대 옛 현인의 풍도가 넉넉히 있었으니, 공으로 하여금 보필(輔弼)의 지위에 처하여 그 쌓은 바를 펼칠 수 있게 하였더라면, 그 사업 성취를 어찌 헤아릴 수 있었겠는가? 그러나 공은 평소 겸퇴(謙退)하여 진취(進取)를 좋아하지 않았고, 왕실(王室)과 연혼(連婚)함에 미처서는 더욱더 두려워하고 삼갔거늘, 또 능히 장수하지 못했으니, 아마도 우리나라 사람들이 복록이 없거나 아니면 천도(天道)는 믿기 어려운 성싶다⁸⁶.

Sa famille était cependant proche du roi Injo. Tout d'abord, en 1618, au cours de la dixième année du règne de Kwanghaegun, son père, O Paeng-nyöng 吳百齡 (1560-1633), prit parti contre la controverse P'yemochöng'üi 廢母廷議, c'est-à-dire la déposition de la reine Inmok 仁穆王后 (1584-1632), seconde épouse du roi Sönjo 宣祖 (1552-1608, r. 1567-1608) et mère du grand prince Yöngch'ang 永昌大君 (1606-1614), demi-frère de Kwanghaegun. Cette déposition avait été instiguée par la faction Taebuk 大北⁸⁷. Puis, en 1624, après l'intronisation de Injo, alors qu'il était directeur

84. Les Six Vertus (*Liude* 六德) néo-confucéennes du *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites des Zhou) codifiées par Zhu Xi (1130-1200) : sagesse 智, bonté 仁, intelligence 聖, loyauté 義, fidélité 忠, harmonie 和.

85. Cf. Han'gukkojōnjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics : http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=MO#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_MO_0340A_0090_060_0040.

86. Voir cette stèle de O Tan, pages 196 et 197 dans le *Kugyök Kukchoinmulgo* (traduction du *Kukchoinmulgo* 14 : de Yang Tae-bak à O Hüi-do), traduit et publié en 2003 par le Sejongdaewang kinyöm saōphoe 世宗大王記念事業會 (King Sejong the Great Memorial Society), à Séoul. La totalité de l'ouvrage a été publiée en 34 volumes après avoir été traduite en coréen et divisée selon les noms de personnes suivant la prononciation en coréen, p. 80-81 : texte chinois en édition fac-similé ; p. 192-198 : texte traduit en coréen.

87. À la mort subite de Sönjo le premier jour du deuxième mois de l'année *musin* 戊申 (1608), son deuxième fils et prince héritier Kwanghaegun commença un règne tumultueux de quinze ans

(vice-ministre) au ministère de la Justice (rang 2b, *hyōngjoch'amp'an* 刑曹參判), O Paeng-nyōng convoya Injo à Kongju 公州 dans la province du Ch'ungch'ong lors du coup d'État de Yi Kwal 李适 (1587-1624)⁸⁸.

Et, en 1634, la deuxième fille de O Tan, petite-fille de O Paeng-nyōng, épousa le troisième fils du roi Injo, le grand prince Inp'yōng (Inp'yōngdaegun 麟坪大君, 1622-1658), né Yi Yo 李滄, de nom de plume Songgye 松溪 et de nom posthume Ch'unggyōng 忠敬⁸⁹. Ce mariage est rapporté dans plusieurs sources dont le texte de l'épithaphe de O Tan rédigé par Yi Min-gu :

Au cours de l'année *kapsul* (1634, douzième année du règne de Injo), le grand prince Inp'yōng a pris pour épouse la fille de O Tan, cependant O Tan n'a pas pu respecter les règles de politesse envers ses invités [en tant que parent de la mariée] puisqu'il suivait les règles [du deuil de son père]⁹⁰. O Tan a dit que « le fait qu'une famille pauvre s'apparente à la famille royale n'a rien de glorieux mais est plutôt inquiétant ». Il a alors sobrement célébré le mariage suivant les règles de la bienséance. La période de deuil de O Tan terminée, le roi lui a offert un cheval (ou plusieurs) et de la soie, qu'il a reçu très respectueusement. Il a été plusieurs fois nommé assistant du Conseil des écuries royales (T'aeboksi *chōng*), premier censeur (*changnyōng*), surveillant de l'impression (*kyori*) [des édits royaux], puis a cumulé le titre de fonctionnaire de la Cour des explicateurs du prince héritier (Sigangwōn). Cependant, à chaque fois, il refusait ces postes et se retirait car il ne voulait pas être chargé de postes importants.

甲戌. 麟坪大君聘公女爲夫人. 公守制不敢具賓主. 戎家人寒素締昏天家. 匪榮伊懼. 務約損從禮. 服除. 受賜殿馬內帛. 僂僂滋甚. 屢拜太僕正. 掌令. 校理. 兼春坊文學. 輒引身斂退. 不欲處清要⁹¹.

갑술년(1634, 인조 12)에 인평대군(麟坪大君)이 공의 딸에게 장가를 들어 부인으로 삼았는데, 공은 상제(喪制)를 지키느라 감히 빈주(賓主)의 예를 갖추지 못하였다. 집안사람들을 경계하여

qui allait se terminer par un coup d'État. La naissance, en 1606, de l'unique fils de Sōnjo dont la mère était reine, a par la suite intensifié les conflits partisans. L'opposition de la faction Sōin 西人 qui soutenait le plus jeune fils de Sōnjo entrava les efforts de Kwanghaegun pour maintenir le pays dévasté par la guerre à l'écart du conflit entre les Ming en déclin et les Mandchous en ascension. Cédant à sa base politique, le roi accéda aux exigences de la faction Taebuk, fit mettre à mort son demi-frère et dépouilla la mère de ce dernier, la reine Inmok, de son rang de reine douairière, voir Eugene Y. Park, *A Genealogy of Dissent*, p. 88.

88. Cf. O Paeng-nyōng, dans le *Han'gungminjongmunhwadaebaekkwā* de l'Academy of Korean Studies (<http://www.aks.ac.kr>). Yi Kwal était un général du royaume de Chosōn qui, après avoir participé à la déposition de Kwanghaegun et aidé à l'intronisation de Injo, se retourna contre ce dernier.

89. Troisième fils du seizième roi de la dynastie des Yi, Injo et jeune frère de son successeur, Hyojong (r. 1649-1659), le grand prince Inp'yōng s'est rendu quatre fois dans la Chine des Qing à partir de 1650, envoyé comme otage à la cour des Qing à la suite de l'invasion de la Corée par la Chine des Qing. Plus tard, ses accomplissements comme envoyé royal à la cour des Qing furent loués. Il était excellent en calligraphie et en peinture et faisait preuve d'excellence académique connaissant parfaitement les philosophes. Il a laissé des poèmes qui conviennent l'humiliation de la nation lors de la seconde invasion mandchoue de la Corée, Pyōngjahoran 丙子胡亂, fin 1636. Il est l'auteur du *Songgyejip* 松溪集 et du *Sanhaengnok* 山行錄.

90. Son père O Paeng-nyōng est décédé en 1633. O Tan devait suivre un deuil de trois années.

91. Han'gukkojōnjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics : http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=MO#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_MO_0337A_0410_010_0170. Le 4 octobre 2019.

“한미한 집안이 왕가와 혼인하니, 영광스러운 일이 아니라 두려운 일이다”라고 하고, 검소하게 예법에 따라 혼례를 치렀다. 상기(喪期)를 마치자 말과 비단을 하사 받았다. 검양이 지나쳐서 여러 차례 태복시 정(太僕寺 正), 장령(掌令), 교리(校理)에 임명되고, 세자시강원 문학(世子侍講院 文學)을 겸임하게 되었으나, 그때마다 물러나서 청요직(淸要職)에 있으려 하지 않았다⁹².

Si l'on se rapporte aux sources qui indiquent que Injo avait confié à O Tan la charge des soldats de la garde royale et de l'approvisionnement de l'armée au cours de la guerre contre les Mandchous, il est évident que le souverain lui accordait toute sa confiance. Ce dernier a par ailleurs plusieurs fois refusé sa démission pour raison de santé. Et, à son décès, le roi, qui considérait que O Tan avait respecté les six vertus⁹³, lui attribua le titre posthume de *u'ijjōng* 右議政, président (conseiller politique) de droite, rang 1a, qui correspond au rang le moins élevé dans la hiérarchie des trois présidents du Conseil du Chosŏn⁹⁴. Sans compter qu'au lendemain de son décès, le 11 mai 1640, Injo offrit des cadeaux de condoléances à sa famille (*pyŏlch'ibu* 別致賻)⁹⁵, qui reçut ainsi des vêtements et du bois de pin réservé d'ordinaire à la fabrication des cercueils royaux.

Si, au cours de sa carrière de fonctionnaire O Tan a été par deux fois en poste à Kaesong, les liens du lignage des O de Tongbok avec Kaesong sont encore plus étroits. Trois des membres ont été nommés à des postes administratifs importants à Kaesong ou dans sa province, le Hwanghae⁹⁶. De plus, O Tan a très certainement passé sa jeunesse à Paech'ŏn 白川 dans la province actuelle du Hwanghae du Sud (Hwanghaenamdo 黃海南道). À la fin du Koryŏ, au cours de la seconde moitié du

92. « Kwanch'alsa O kong myojimyōng pyōngsŏ », dans Ch'unghnamdaehakkyo hanjamunhwayōn'guso, éd., *Tongjujip* 7, p. 481, de la 2^e à la 17^e lignes.

93. « 六典條例, Yukchŏn chorye [Ryouk tyen tyo ryei], Règlements relatifs aux Six Statuts, ouvrage imprimé par ordre royal en 1866 (10 vol. in 4) » dans Maurice Courant, préface du *RHAC*.

94. Position au-dessus des ministres dans l'administration du Chosŏn. Le Gyeonggi Provincial Museum (Kyōnggido pangmulgwan 경기도박물관) conserve dans ses collections un don de 96 documents concernant O Tan et son fils O Chōng-il dont deux documents concernant la carrière de O Tan : le premier lié à sa réussite au concours des lettrés, le second concernant sa nomination au poste de *u'ijjōng* 右議政. Voir le *kyoji* 教旨 (ordre du roi relatif à une nomination ou à une destitution des fonctionnaires au cours du Chosŏn) de O Tan dans le site du musée : <http://museenet.ggcf.kr>, page « O Tan Kyoji 오단 교지 ».

95. Argent ou produits offerts par le roi à la famille des défunts qui ont occupé un poste de haut rang.

96. Dont l'oncle de O Tan, le frère aîné de son père, O Ōng-nyōng 吳億齡 (1552-1628), qui a été préfet-commandant (*yusu*) de Kaesong dans les années 1615 et O Chōng-il, nommé préfet-commandant de Kaesong en 1660. « Sous le règne de Wanli de la dynastie des Ming (cor. Mangnyōk 萬曆, 1572-1620), O Ōng-nyōng 吳億齡 *p'ansōgong* 判書公, ministre, était préfet-commandant de cette ville, et au cours de la deuxième année de l'ère Chongzhen des Ming (1629, septième année du règne de Injo), son père *kwanch'algong* 觀察公 [c'est-à-dire O Tan] y est devenu secrétaire général (*kyōngnyōk*) et puis, trente ans après, il a été nommé préfet-commandant. Il y a ainsi trois stèles pour trois générations du lignage des O de Tongbok », cf. Misu Hō Mok 眉叟 許穆 : « O p'ansō sindobi myōng » 吳判書 神道碑銘, dans la base de données Han'gukkojōnjonghapDB de l'Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics.

xiv^e siècle, l'aïeul de O Tan à la septième génération, O Ch'ŏn-gyŏng 吳天經⁹⁷, a quitté Tongbok (Hwasun) dans la province du Ch'ŏlla pour s'installer à Paech'ŏn qui jouxte Kaep'ung 開豐 dans l'actuel Hwanghae du Nord (Hwanghaebukto 黃海北道), zone qui actuellement appartient administrativement à la ville de Kaesong. Les tombes ancestrales du lignage des O de Tongbok étaient situées sur la montagne T'omi (T'omisŏn 토미산) à Paech'ŏn⁹⁸. Ce n'est qu'à partir de l'enterrement de O Tan lui-même que, faute de place sur la montagne ancestrale, le site d'un nouveau cimetière familial a été choisi et que les sépultures du lignage des O de Tongbok ont été installées à Koyang 高陽, dans la province du Kyŏnggi jouxtant Séoul et qui n'est situé qu'à une cinquantaine de kilomètres de Kaesong. Le transfert du cimetière du lignage des O dans un périmètre proche de la capitale est un indice de la proximité des O de Tongbok avec le pouvoir central situé dans la capitale des Yi, qui avait déjà été concrétisée par le mariage de la fille de O Tan avec le grand prince Inp'yŏng.

Le 25 mars 1630, O Tan a été rappelé auprès de la cour, nommé surveillant de l'impression (*kyori* 校理) du Bureau chargé des classiques confucéens et du Cabinet des compositeurs (Hongmun'gwan 弘文館), alors qu'il n'était resté en poste qu'onze mois à Kaesong. Aussi, durant un si court séjour dans l'ancienne capitale du Koryŏ, quelles ont pu être les actions de O Tan qui lui ont valu la reconnaissance du peuple de la ville, le medium en étant l'érection de la stèle MAK 13032/MAK 14042 ?

Lors de la mission de O Tan à Kaesong, la ville venait de souffrir, en peu de temps, des invasions japonaises de la fin du xvi^e siècle et de la première invasion mandchoue de 1627⁹⁹. La cité, qui avait déjà subi une déperdition de population au début du Chosŏn à la suite du transfert de la capitale à Hanyang, n'allait retrouver une certaine opulence qu'à partir du milieu du xvii^e siècle, plusieurs années après le départ de O Tan. Kaesong allait alors être considéré comme l'une des trois grandes villes du Chosŏn après Hansŏng et Pyongyang¹⁰⁰. Cependant, dès le règne de

97. O Ch'ŏn-gyŏng 吳天經 (?-?) a réussi à la fin du Koryŏ, en 1374, le concours des fonctionnaires dans la section « lettres ».

98. O Chae-il, entretien du 20 septembre 2016 (Séoul).

99. Après que Injo a succédé à Kwanghaegun à la suite du coup d'État de la faction Sŏin le douzième jour du troisième mois de l'année *kyebae* 癸亥 (Injobanjŏng 1623), il dut faire face au pouvoir grandissant des Jurchens, qui s'autoproclamèrent Manchous en 1635. Injo poursuivit ouvertement une politique pro-Ming qui provoqua deux invasions. La première, l'invasion appelée Chŏngmyohoran 丁卯胡亂 en 1627, força le Chosŏn à reconnaître la dynastie Jurchen des Jin postérieurs (1636-1912, rebaptisée Qing en 1636) comme « frère aîné ». Le défi lancé par la cour de Injo provoqua la seconde invasion, la guerre Pyŏngjahoran 丙子胡亂 en 1636, qui s'est terminée par la capitulation et le transfert de l'allégeance de la Corée du Chosŏn en tant que vassal des Ming aux Qing. Sur l'arrière-plan du règne de Injo, voir Kim Se-bong 金世奉, « Injo-Hyojongdae sanin seryŏk ūi hyŏngsŏng kwa chinch'ul » 仁祖·孝宗代 山人勢力의 形成과 進出 (Formation et expansion du pouvoir des lettrés retirés du monde sous les règnes de Injo et Hyojong), *Tongyangbak*, n° 24, 1994, p. 165-190.

100. Pour l'évolution économique de Kaesong au début du Chosŏn, voir les travaux de Pak P'yŏng-sik 朴平植 : « Chosŏn chŏn'gi ūi Kaesong sangŏp kwa Kaesong sangin » 朝鮮前期의 開城 商業과 開城商人 (Le commerce et les commerçants de Kaesong au cours de la première moitié du Chosŏn), *Han'guksayŏn'gu*, n° 102, 1998, p. 177-213.

Hyojong (r. 1649-1659), Kaesong subit une famine importante¹⁰¹. Aussi, les raisons pour lesquelles O Tan avait été considéré comme ayant été un fonctionnaire vertueux, ayant aidé Kaesong, alors qu'il n'en était que le secrétaire général, peuvent être de tout ordre. Les archives sont muettes à ce sujet, même si elles mentionnent l'existence de la stèle de « bon gouvernement » qui a été dressée en son honneur.

En revanche, l'inscription de la stèle de « la voix de l'âme » du ministre O, fils de O Tan, rédigée par Misu Hō Mok¹⁰², nous donne les raisons de l'érection d'une stèle *kōsa* 去思碑 (pensées après départ) en son honneur à Kaesong. O Chōng-il a pris ses fonctions de préfet-commandant à Kaesong au cours de l'année *kyōngja* 庚子 (1660, première année du règne de Hyōnjong). Alors qu'avaient lieu à Kaesong des pratiques illégales, il a gouverné en suivant strictement les lois et en condamnant leur transgression. De plus, lorsque des diplomates mandchous ont exigé par deux fois un tribut de la part des habitants de Kaesong, estimant que ceux-ci possédaient d'abondantes matières premières, O Chōng-il n'a pas cédé en respectant les règles qu'il appliquait dans la région du nord-est où il avait été précédemment en poste. Grâce à son bon gouvernement, les foyers de la ville prospérèrent. À son départ de Kaesong, le peuple lui a dressé une stèle des « pensées après départ ». Cette stèle est sans doute encore enfouie dans le sous-sol de la ville.

Le cimetière des O de Tongbok à Kongju¹⁰³

De santé fragile, O Tan est mort relativement jeune, en 1640, à 48 ans, dix ans après son séjour à Kaesong en tant que secrétaire général et dix-sept mois après sa nomination comme président de la province du Hwanghae (à Kaesong). Il fut alors inhumé sur le mont Manwōl (Manwōlgang 滿月岡), à Koyang, dans la province du Kyōnggi faute de place dans le cimetière de Paech'ōn, et les O s'étant rapprochés de la cour royale. Il est ainsi le premier du lignage dont la sépulture a été installée à Koyang. Le 18 août 1672, son épouse, dame Sim (1592-1672)¹⁰⁴, du lignage des Sim de Ch'ōngsong (Ch'ōngsong Sim 青松沈), décéda et fut inhumée à ses côtés. Sous le Gouvernement colonial japonais, la construction d'un terrain d'aviation militaire en 1916 força le clan à déplacer les dépouilles. Le site de Wōlgul 月窟 à Tanjiri 丹芝里 dans Usōngmyōn 牛城面, qui dépend de la ville de Kongju, dans la province du Ch'ungch'ōng du Sud (Ch'ungch'ōngnamdo 忠清南道), à environ 200 km au sud de Séoul, fut alors choisi. Quelles ont été les raisons du choix de ce site à Kongju ?

101. *Hyojongillok*, tome n° 18, huitième année du règne de Hyojong, onzième jour du deuxième mois de la quatorzième année Shunzhi des Qing (1657) 孝宗實錄 18卷 孝宗 8年 2月 11日 甲申 1번째기사 1657年 淸 順治 14年.

102. Cf. le texte de la stèle de « la voix de l'âme » (*sindobi*) de O Chōng-il par Misu Hō Mok, « O p'ansō sindobi myōng », voir note 12.

103. Cf. Kongju munhwawōn, *Tongbok Ossi wa Mukchae O Paeng-nyōng yōngdang*, p. 95-99; Tongbok Ossi Mukchaegongp'a poso, éd., *Tongbok Ossi Mukchaegongp'a po*, vol. 1; et Tongbok Ossi taejonghoe, éd., *Tongbok Ossi chongbo*.

104. Son prénom n'est jamais cité dans les archives. Son père était Sim Aek 沈謫 (1571-1655).

À la suite du décès prématuré de son oncle paternel le plus jeune O Hoeng 吳竑 (1606-1626), O Chōng-wōn 吳挺垣 (1614-1667), le deuxième fils de O Tan¹⁰⁵, a été adopté par cette branche du lignage suivant les termes du testament de l'épouse du défunt¹⁰⁶, morte fidèle à son mari après son veuvage. Plus tard, lorsqu'il dut décider de l'emplacement de sa tombe (*sinbujiji* 身後之地), O Chōng-wōn souhaita se rapprocher du village où sa famille maternelle biologique, les Sim de Ch'ōngsong, vivait. Après quelques péripéties, le site du mont Wōlgul à Kongju, dans la zone de Tanjiri dans Usōngmyōn, a été choisi comme lieu du cimetière familial. Son fils, O Si-su 吳始壽 (1632-1681), nom de plume Such'on 水邨, y établit le cimetière familial, *sōn'yōng* 先塋, ainsi qu'un sanctuaire. Puis, son petit-fils, O Sang-yu 吳尙游 (1658-1716), lorsqu'il prit sa retraite de fonctionnaire lettré, s'y retira et y fut enterré. C'est ainsi que les liens entre le lignage des O de Tongbok et Kongju débutèrent.

Plus tard, en 1915 ou 1916, lorsqu'il fallut déplacer les tombes des ancêtres du lignage des O de Tongbok qui étaient situées à Koyang dans la province du Kyōnggi en prévision de la construction d'un aéroport militaire, les sépultures de O Tan et de son épouse et celle de son premier fils O Chōng-il, furent translattées vers le mont Wōlgul à Kongju, dans la zone de Tanjiri, jouxtant les sépultures des O de Tongbok précédemment établies.

La tombe de O Tan et de son épouse étant celle de la plus ancienne génération de la zone de Tanjiri, elle est située au sommet de la face méridionale de la colline (fig. 6).

Si son épitaphe a été rédigée par Yi Min-gu, le revers de la stèle (*myobiūmgi* 墓碑陰記), a été composé par l'un de ses fils, O Chōng-ch'ang 吳挺昌 (1634-1680) et calligraphié par son arrière petit-fils, O Si-bok 吳始復 (1637-1716) (fig. 8).

Sa stèle *sindo* a été composée par Kim Se-ryōm.

L'auteur s'est rendu sur le site de la tombe de O Tan et de ses descendants les 25 octobre 2015 et 12 janvier 2019 où elle a pu rencontrer O Myōng-ch'ang 오명창, gardien du cimetière, lui-même membre du lignage des O de Tongbok. Le site de la zone funéraire de O Tan a été choisi suivant les principes de la géomancie (*p'ungsu* 風水) et les traditions confucéennes, placé sur un versant de colline orienté vers le sud, un cours d'eau coulant à son pied; l'est, le nord et l'ouest du site étant protégé par des montagnes. La zone funéraire est composée selon le plan traditionnel des tombes de la noblesse du Chosōn. Sa largeur est délimitée par deux piliers en pierre (*sōkchu* 石柱), un court mais large chemin funéraire signalé par deux statues de fonctionnaires civils en pierre mène à la tombe (fig. 7), constituée d'un tumulus dont la partie nord est entourée d'un muret en terre protecteur qui s'avance sur les côtés oriental et occidental. Une table destinée au repos de l'âme du défunt lors des cérémonies rituelles, contre laquelle un vase est posé, est encadrée par deux statues de petits garçons porteurs d'offrandes (*tongiasōk* 童子石), une lanterne et une stèle, le tout en pierre, complètent le modeste ensemble.

105. O Tan a eu cinq fils : le premier O Chōng-il, le deuxième O Chōng-wōn, le troisième O Chōng-wi 吳挺緯 (1616-1692), le quatrième O Chōng-byōk 吳挺璧 (?-?) et le cinquième O Chōng-ch'ang 吳挺昌 (1634-1680).

106. Du lignage des Yun 尹 de Namwōn 南原.



Fig. 6. Tombe de O Tan et de son épouse. Site de Wölgul à Tanjiri dans Usöngmyön, ville de Kongju, province du Ch'ungch'öng du Sud. 12 janvier 2019. © Lignage des O de Tongbok /É. Chabanol.



Fig. 7. Tombe de O Tan et de son épouse. Statue d'un lettré. Site de Wölgul à Tanjiri dans Usöngmyön, ville de Kongju, province du Ch'ungch'öng du Sud. 12 janvier 2019. © Lignage des O de Tongbok /É. Chabanol.



Fig. 8. Tombe de O Tan et de son épouse. Revers de la stèle placée devant la tombe. Site de Wölgul à Tanjiri dans Usöng-myön, ville de Kongju, province du Ch'ungch'öng du Sud. 12 janvier 2019. © Lignage des O de Tongbok /Park Moon-kyu.

Pour les générations actuelles, O Tan étant un ancêtre du lignage des O de Tongbok au-delà de la quatrième génération, au lieu du rite sacrificiel (*chesa* 祭祀) qui était autrefois célébré la veille de la date de sa mort dans la maison de la branche aînée¹⁰⁷, ses descendants procèdent selon la coutume à une cérémonie aux ancêtres (*sije* 時祭, sacrifice saisonnier)¹⁰⁸ sur le site de sa tombe, chaque année, le treizième jour du dixième mois lunaire¹⁰⁹.

O Tan, un fonctionnaire lettré

Si à l'issue de ces recherches nous connaissons un peu mieux le personnage honoré dans la stèle MAK 12032/MAK 14042, en particulier son parcours dans l'administration royale du Chosŏn, nous n'avons pas mentionné sa production littéraire. Il ne faut pas oublier que ce fonctionnaire était un lettré dont les noms de plume étaient Tongam 東巖 et Paegam 白巖. Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas retrouvé les œuvres de ce fonctionnaire lettré. En revanche, les archives confirment qu'il a aidé à la publication d'ouvrages dont le *Tongakchip* 東岳集 alors qu'il était préfet de Chŏnju. Le *Tongakchip*, anthologie de poésie et de prose de Yi An-nul 李安訥 (1571-1637), a été publié en 1639 par le neveu de ce dernier, Yi Sik 李植 (1584-1647), en compagnie de Wŏn Tu-p'yo 元斗杓 (1593-1664) et Ku Pong-sŏ 具鳳瑞 (1596-1644), qui ont été présidents de la province du Chŏlla, ainsi que Han Hŭng-il 韓興一 (1587-1651), préfet de Chŏnju, et de O Tan.

Nos recherches ont montré que les fonctionnaires lettrés du lignage des O de Tongbok étaient proches de Kaesong depuis l'époque du Koryŏ, alors que la ville était la capitale de la Corée, et que plusieurs des membres masculins du lignage y avait reçu d'importantes charges de la part de l'administration royale du Koryŏ, puis du Chosŏn. Les fouilles archéologiques conduites au pied de la grande porte du Sud de la Muraille intérieure par la Mission archéologique franco-nord-coréenne à Kaesong ont permis la découverte de la première des trois stèles de « bon gouvernement » de Kaesong mentionnées dans les archives qui honorent un membre du lignage des O de Tongbok. Pourtant, si la stèle de O Tan est déposée au musée Koryŏ de Kaesong, aucune autre stèle de « bon gouvernement » n'y est exposée, ni mise en valeur ou étudiée, ni même recensée par les experts nord-coréens¹¹⁰. Il en existe inévitablement d'autres si l'on considère la production des stèles de « bon gouvernement » tout au long du Chosŏn. Ainsi, nous avons noté, au cours de nos

107. Maison de la branche aînée de la famille : *chongga* 宗家.

108. Le *sije* se déroule au cours du dixième mois lunaire, c'est-à-dire après les récoltes. Les descendants éloignés y participent aussi et tous se partagent les frais pour l'achat des offrandes. Voir : Han'guk minsoksa'jŏn p'yŏnch'anwiwŏnhoe, *Han'guk minsok taesajŏn* (Grand dictionnaire du folklore coréen), Sŏul, Minjok munhwasa, 1991, p. 921.

109. En Corée, si dans certaines familles, un *sije* s'adresse à un ensemble d'ancêtres, pour ce qui est de la branche de O Tan du lignage des O de Tongbok, un *sije* est célébré pour chaque ancêtre. La veille du *sije* de O Tan est célébré celui de son père O Paeng-nyŏng.

110. Cf. note 24.

travaux de terrain sur le site de Kaesong, sur la colline située à droite de l'entrée de l'école confucéenne (Sungyang sowŏn 崧陽書院), une stèle de « bon gouvernement » érigée en l'honneur de Kim Yuk 金堉 (1580-1658), qui était préfet-commandant de Kaesong en 1647¹¹¹.

Il sera donc nécessaire d'élargir cette étude aux autres membres du lignage des O de Tongbok ayant été en poste dans la capitale du Koryŏ, ainsi que d'établir le recensement de l'ensemble des stèles de « bon gouvernement » *in situ* et éventuellement de celles qui pourraient être entreposées dans divers dépôts. Ces études permettraient de mieux comprendre l'évolution des relations entre la nouvelle capitale, Hanyang 漢陽¹¹²/Hansŏng 漢城¹¹³, et l'ancienne, Kaegyŏng 開京¹¹⁴, devenue Songdo 松都¹¹⁵.

111. Cf. *Injosillok*, tome 48, vingt-cinquième année du règne de Injo, vingt-sixième jour du huitième mois de la quatrième année Shunzhi des Qing (1647) 仁祖實錄 48卷 仁祖 25年 8月 26日 甲午 2번째기사 1647年 淸 順治 4年.

112. Hanyang 漢陽 est l'appellation de Séoul à partir du règne du roi Ch'ungnyŏl 忠烈王 du Koryŏ, en 1308.

113. Hansŏng 漢城 est l'appellation de Séoul à partir du règne de T'aejo 太祖 du Chosŏn, en 1395.

114. Kaegyŏng 開京 est l'une des appellations de Kaesong lorsque la ville était capitale du Koryŏ.

115. Songdo 松都 est l'une des appellations de Kaesong, à l'époque du Chosŏn, lorsque la ville n'était plus capitale.

O TAN : Tableau chronologique

Dates (selon le calendrier lunaire)	Événements	Règnes	Sources
1592	Naissance	25 ^e année du règne de Sönjo 선조 25년	오단비문 吳端碑文
1619	Réussite aux concours de licence <i>saengwŏnŭsi</i> et <i>chinsasi</i> 생원시(生員試)와 진사시(進士試)에 합격	11 ^e année du règne de Kwanghaegun 광해군 3년	관찰사오공묘지명병서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敘
1623	Intronisation de Injo 인조 즉위	1 ^{re} année du règne de Injo 인조 1년	조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
1624	Nomination gardien en chef, 7b <i>chikchang</i> 직장(直長) postes attribués aux descendants de hauts fonctionnaires qui ont contribué à l'État, sinon postes inférieurs obtenus après avoir réussi aux concours <i>saengwŏnŭsi</i> et <i>chinsasi</i> 음직(陰職)	2 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 2년	관찰사오공묘지명병서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敘
1624	Réussite au concours de doctorat du Sacrifice royal 알성시(謁聖試) 급제 Nomination notaire de Sŏnggyun'gwan, 6b <i>chŏnjŏk</i> 진직(典籍) 임명되어 성균관에서 학생들을 가르치는 일을 하다	2 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 2년	오단비문 吳端碑文
12 ^e jour du 2 ^e mois de 1625	Nomination deuxième secrétaire du ministère du Cens, 6b Hojojwarang 호조좌랑(戶曹佐郎) 임명	3 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 3년	승정원일기 承政院日記
7 ^e jour du 11 ^e mois de 1625	Nomination surveillant de l'impression, 5b <i>kyori</i> 교리(校理) 임명	3 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 3년	조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄

22 ^e jour du 1 ^{er} mois de 1626	Nomination recteur, 6b <i>chôngŏn</i> 정언(正言) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 4년
1 ^{er} mois de 1627	Début de la première invasion mandchoue de la Corée <i>chôngmyoboran</i> 정묘호란(丁卯胡亂) 발발	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 5년
27 ^e jour du 10 ^e mois de 1627	Nomination vice-collecteur du Cabinet des compositeurs, 6b <i>pusuch'an</i> 부수찬(副修撰) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 5년
27 ^e jour du 11 ^e mois de 1627	Nomination recteur (chargé des édits royaux), 6b <i>chôngŏn</i> 정언(正言) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 5년
15 ^e jour du 12 ^e mois de 1627	Nomination vice-collecteur, 6b <i>pusuch'an</i> 부수찬(副修撰) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 5년
29 ^e jour du 4 ^e mois de 1628	Nomination second censeur, 5a <i>chip'yông</i> 지평(持平) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 6년
11 ^e jour du 7 ^e mois de 1628	Nomination vice-surveillant de l'impression, 5b <i>pugyori</i> 부교리(副校理) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 6년
20 ^e jour du 9 ^e mois de 1628	Nomination recteur (chargé des édits royaux), 6b <i>chôngŏn</i> 정언(正言) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 6년
29 ^e jour du 9 ^e mois de 1628	Nomination second censeur, 5a <i>chip'yông</i> 지평(持平) 임명	조신왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄 인조 6년
10 ^e jour du 2 ^e mois de 1629	Injo refuse la démission de O Tan présentée pour raison de santé 오단의 상소에 사직하지 말고 조리한 다음 직임을 살피라는 비답	승정원일기 承政院日記 인조 7년
18 ^e jour du 3 ^e mois de 1629	Nomination explicateur du Sönggyun'gwan, 5a Sönggyun'gwan <i>chikkang</i> 성균관직강(成均館直講) 임명	승정원일기 承政院日記 인조 7년
8 ^e jour du 4 ^e mois de 1629	Nomination premier censeur, 4a <i>changnyöng</i> 장령(掌令) 임명	승정원일기 承政院日記 인조 7년
1 ^{er} jour du 4 ^e mois intercalaire de 1629	Nomination second directeur de morale, 4a <i>p'ison</i> 필선(弼善) 임명	승정원일기 承政院日記 인조 7년

19 ^e jour du 4 ^e mois intercalaire de 1629	Nomination secrétaire général de Kaesong, 4b Kaesong <i>kyōngnyōk</i> 개성경력(開城經歷) 임명	7 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 7년	승정원일기 承政院日記
25 ^e jour du 3 ^e mois de 1630	Nomination surveillant de l'impression du Bureau chargé des classiques confucéens et du Cabinet des compositeurs, 5a Hongmungwan'gyori 홍문관교리(弘文館校理) 임명	8 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 8년	승정원일기 承政院日記
2 ^e jour du 4 ^e mois de 1630	Nomination de Kim Nam-jung (1596-1663) secrétaire général <i>kyōngnyōk</i> de Kaesong en remplacement de O Tan 김남중(金南重)을 개성경력(開城經歷)으로..... 삼았다	8 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 8년	승정원일기 承政院日記
27 ^e jour du 5 ^e mois de 1630	Nomination collecteur du Cabinet des compositeurs, 6b Hongmungwansuch'an 홍문관수찬(弘文館修撰) 임명	8 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 8년	승정원일기 承政院日記
29 ^e jour du 5 ^e mois de 1630	Nomination au Conseil des princes par alliance, composé des maris et fils des princesses et des princes héritiers Ūibinjōng 의빈부정(儀賓府正) 임명	8 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 8년	승정원일기 承政院日記
6 ^e jour du 6 ^e mois de 1630	Nomination littérateur du Sōnggyun'gwōn, 4a saye 사예(司藝) 임명	8 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 8년	승정원일기 承政院日記
7 ^e mois de 1630	Érection de la stèle de « bon gouvernement » (<i>sōnjōng</i>) à Kaesong 개성에 선정비 설치	3 ^e année de l'ère Chongzhen 崇禎 des Ming = 8 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 8년	Stèle MAK 12032 / 14042
1631	Décès de sa belle-mère (seconde épouse de son père) 신미년(辛未年)에 계모 양부인(梁夫人)의 상을 당하였다	9 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 9년	관찰사오공묘지명병서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敍
12 ^e jour du 5 ^e mois de 1633	En poste comme maître des cérémonies <i>tangsangjimmje</i> 당상집례(堂上執禮) reçoit deux chevaux domestiqués	11 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 11년	조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
1633	Décès de son père deux ans après celui de sa belle-mère 신미년(辛未年, 1631)에 계모상을 당하고 간신히 삼년상을 마쳤는데 의정공이 운명하였다	11 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 11년	관찰사오공묘지명병서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敍

- 28^e jour du 2^e mois de 1634 Nomination collecteur, 6b
sucb'an 수찬(修撰) 임명
- 17^e jour du 4^e mois de 1634 Interdiction de se marier aux candidates au mariage avec le grand prince Inp'yōng
 인평대군 혼인후보자 금혼
- 17^e jour du 8^e mois de 1634 Décision du mariage entre sa fille et le grand prince Inp'yōng
 딸과 인평대군의 혼인 결정
- 8^e jour du 8^e mois de 1635 Nomination vice-surveillant de l'impression, 5b
pugyori 부교리(副校理) 임명
- 25^e jour du 10^e mois de 1635 Nomination surveillant de l'impression, 5a
kyori 교리(校理) 임명
- 22^e jour du 3^e mois de 1636 Nomination premier censeur, 4a
changryōng 장령(掌令) 임명
- 1636 Nomination préfet de Chōnju, 2b
 Chōnjubuyun 전주부윤(全州府尹) 임명
- 12^e mois de 1636 Début de la seconde invasion mandchoue de la Corée**
pyōngjaboran 병자호란(丙子胡亂) 말발
 Envoyé par le roi comme *toch'asawōn* (도차사원 都差使員), chef du *ch'asawōn*, poste temporaire permettant d'effectuer une mission importante, afin d'exercer le rôle de *kwanch'alsa* (gouverneur) de la province du Chōlla, alors que le Chosŏn était en guerre
- 1637 Lors de la seconde invasion mandchoue de la Corée, il fait cesser le désordre dans le Chōnjubu
- 12^e année du règne de Injo 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
 인조 12년
- 승정원일기 承政院日記
 인조 12년
- 12^e année du règne de Injo 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
 인조 12년
- 13^e année du règne de Injo 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
 인조 13년
- 13^e année du règne de Injo 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
 인조 13년
- 14^e année du règne de Injo 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
 인조 14년
- 14^e année du règne de Injo 관찰사오공묘지명명서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敍
 인조 14년
- 14^e année du règne de Injo 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
 인조 14년
- au cours de la seconde invasion mandchoue de la Corée 관찰사오공묘지명명서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敍
- 15^e année du règne de Injo 관찰사오공묘지명명서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敍
 인조 15년

- 21^e jour du 2^e mois de 1637 Le Sahõnbu (사헌부 司憲府), Conseil des censeurs, chargé de surveiller l'administration et les mandarins, demande sa démission de son poste de préfet de Chõnju, 2b (전주부윤 全州府尹). Il se serait enfui avant l'arrivée des troupes mandchoues au fleuve Kùm
- 22^e jour du 6^e mois de 1638 Nomination président de la province du Ch'ungch'õng, 1a Ch'ungch'õnggamsa 충청감사(忠淸監司) 임명
- 23^e jour du 6^e mois de 1638 Renvoi de son poste de président de la province du Ch'ungch'õng, 1a 1a (충청감사 忠淸監司)
Le Sahõnbu (사헌부 司憲府), Conseil des censeurs, chargé de surveiller l'administration et les mandarins, demande sa démission
사헌부가 오단의 파직을 요청한다
- Été 1638 Annulation de son entrée en fonction comme gouverneur (*kwanch'alsã*) de la province du Ch'ungch'õng
호서관찰사(湖西觀察使)에 임명되었는데.....어떤 사람의 건제를 받아 부임하지 못하고.....
- Été 1638 Le peuple du Chõnjubu (전주부 全州府) lui dresse une stèle à l'intérieur de la forteresse de Chõnju
전주부의 백성들이.....성 안에 비를 세웠다
- 9^e jour du 9^e mois de 1638 Nomination à un poste inférieur à son rang, vice-colonel, 5a
haengbusajik 행부사직(行副司直)
- 11^e jour du 10^e mois de 1638 Nomination vice-président auxiliaire, 3a
tongbusingji 동부승지(同副承旨) 임명
- 13^e jour du 10^e mois de 1638 Alors vice-conseiller, 3a (*ch'amch'an'guan* 참찬관 參贊官), O Tan s'entretient avec le roi et des docteurs à l'issue d'un cours royal sur les mauvaises récoltes dans les provinces du Kyõngsang et du Chõlla
오단이 주강후 특진관, 검토관(檢討官)과 함께 흉년에 대해 왕께 아뢰다
- 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
15^e année du règne de Injo
인조 15년
- 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
16^e année du règne de Injo
인조 16년
- 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
16^e année du règne de Injo
인조 16년
- 관찰사오공묘지명명서
觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敘
16^e année du règne de Injo
인조 16년
- 관찰사오공묘지명명서
觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敘
16^e année du règne de Injo
인조 16년
- 승정원일기 承政院日記
16^e année du règne de Injo
인조 16년
- 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
16^e année du règne de Injo
인조 16년
- 조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
16^e année du règne de Injo
인조 16년

5 ^e jour du 12 ^e mois de 1638	Nomination président, 1a, de la province du Hwanghae Hwanghaegamsa 황해감사(黃海監司) 임명	16 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 16년	조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
6 ^e jour du 12 ^e mois de 1638	Injo refuse la démission de O Tan présentée pour raison de santé 오단의 상소에 사직하지 말라는 비답	16 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 16년	승정원일기 承政院日記
14 ^e jour du 8 ^e mois de 1639	Présentation d'une lettre au roi demandant d'accepter sa démission pour raison de santé 신병이 있어 체차하여 줄 것을 청하는 오단의 상소	17 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 17년	승정원일기 承政院日記
4 ^e jour du 12 ^e mois de 1639	Nomination vice-président auxiliaire, 3a <i>tongbusungŭ</i> 동부승지(同副承旨) 임명	17 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 17년	조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
27 ^e jour du 3 ^e mois de 1640	Nomination sous-directeur du ministère des Rites, 3a Yejoch'amüi 예조참의(禮曹參議) 임명	18 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 18년	승정원일기 承政院日記
10 ^e jour du 5 ^e mois de 1640	Décès de l'ancien gouverneur O Tan 전 관찰사 오단이 졸하였다	18 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 18년	조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
10 ^e jour du 5 ^e mois de 1640	Nomination posthume président de droite, 1a <i>uijŏng</i> 우의정(右議政) 추존(追尊)	18 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 18년	조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄
11 ^e jour du 5 ^e mois de 1640	Injo offre des cadeaux de condoléances (argent ou produits offerts par le roi à la famille des défunts qui ont occupé un poste de haut rang) <i>pyŏlch'ibu</i> 별치부(別致贈)하다	18 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 18년	승정원일기 承政院日記
11 ^e jour du 5 ^e mois de 1640	Sa famille reçoit des vêtements et du bois de pin utilisé pour les cercueils royaux <i>huwangiangmok</i> (황장목 黃腸木) comme <i>pyŏlch'ibu</i> (별치부 別致贈) 궁궐에서 의복과 황장목을 하사하여 엄하게 하였다	18 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 18년	관찰사오공묘지명병서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敘
5 ^e mois de 1640	Enterrement sur le mont Mamwŏl à Koyang dans la province du Kyŏnggi 고양(高陽) 만월강(滿月崗) 신영묘에 장사	18 ^e année du règne de Injo 인조 18년	오단부인비문 青松沈氏碑文

18 ^e jour du 8 ^e mois de 1672	Son épouse, qui décède 33 ans après O Tan, est inhumée dans sa tombe le 18 ^e jour du 8 ^e mois 관찰공(觀察公)이 세상을 떠난 지 33년만에 부인이 세상을 떠나니 그 해 현종 18년 8월 18일에 만월(滿月)에 부장하였다	14 ^e année du règne de Hyönjong	오단부인비문 青松沈氏碑文
1915 ou 1916	Transfert de la sépulture de O Tan et de son épouse à Tanji-ri, Usöng-myön, ville de Kongju 공주시 우성면 단지리로 이장	Gouvernement colonial japonais	TOMOPR

Légende :

관찰사오공묘지명명서 觀察使吳公墓誌銘并敘

« Kwanch'alsa O kong myojimnyöng pyöngsö » (Avant-propos, biographie et éloge funéraire de son excellence le gouverneur O Tan), *Tongjujip* 동주집 東州集 compilé par Yi Min-gu (1589-1670)

승정원일기 承政院日記

Süngjüngwömilgi (Notes journalières du Secrétariat royal du Chosön)

오단부인비문 吳端碑文

Texte de la stèle de O Tan dans le *Kukchoinmulgo* 國朝人物考 (Dictionnaire des biographies d'hommes éminents du Chosön), vol. 22, « Myöngnyu » 名流

오단부인비문 青松沈氏碑文

Texte de la stèle de l'épouse de O Tan dans le 8^e texte du « Kumyomun » 丘墓文 du 21^e volume du supplément du *Misugion* de Hö Mok

조선왕조실록 朝鮮王朝實錄

Chosönwangjosillok (Chroniques royales du Chosön)

TOMOPR

Tongbok O si-ua Mukjae O Paeng-nyöng yöngdang 동북 오씨와 목재 오백령 영당 (Le lignage des O de Tongbok et le sanctuaire du portrait de Mukjae O Paeng-nyöng), 2010

En grisé : O Tan, fonctionnaire en poste à Kaesong

Nota Bene : Les rangs des postes sont empruntés au *Répertoire historique de l'administration coréenne* de Maurice Courant. Ils pouvaient être légèrement différents au cours de la période qui précède 1865. Ils sont notés à titre indicatif.

Lexique des mots en coréen

aeminbi 애민비 愛民碑 : stèle érigée en remerciement de l'affection portée au peuple (fait partie des stèles de « bon gouvernement », *sŏnjŏngbi*)

alsŏng mun'gwa 알성문과 謁聖文科 : concours de doctorat du Sacrifice royal qui avait lieu juste après l'*alsŏng*, sacrifice offert par le roi du Chosŏn au Munmyo 文廟, temple de Confucius, où la tablette de ce dernier était conservée, à l'intérieur du Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館, Collège des lettrés

ch'amch'an 참찬 參贊 : secrétaire, rang 3a

ch'amch'an'gwan 참찬관 參贊官 : vice-conseiller (sept charges), rang 3a

ch'amp'an 참판 參判 : directeur (vice-ministre), rang 2b

ch'anja 찬자 撰者 : rédacteur qui composait l'inscription qui devait être gravée sur une stèle

ch'ŏngdŏkpi 청덕비 淸德碑 : stèle commémorative de « pureté et de vertu » (fait partie des stèles de « bon gouvernement », *sŏnjŏngbi*)

Ch'ŏngsong Sim 청송 심 靑松沈 (1592-1672) : lignage des Sim de Ch'ŏngsong, lignage auquel appartenait l'épouse de O Tan. Son prénom n'est jamais cité dans les archives

Ch'ungch'ŏngnamdo 충청남도 忠淸南道 : province du Ch'ungch'ŏng du Sud, située dans l'ouest de la république de Corée

changnyŏng 장령 掌令 : premier censeur (deux charges), rang 4a, en charge de l'inspection des fonctionnaires et du rétablissement de l'ordre public

chikchang 직장 直長 : gardien en chef, rang 7b (fonctionnaire de rang inférieur)

chikkang 직강 直講 : explicateur (exégète) (quatre charges), rang 5a

chinsa 진사 進士 : licencié en lettres

chinsasi 진사시 進士試 : concours de licence qui testait les capacités littéraires des candidats qui souhaitaient entrer dans l'établissement national d'enseignement confucéen, le Collège des lettrés, Sŏnggyun'gwan. Les premières épreuves du niveau d'études supérieur étaient divisées en deux sections : *saengwŏnsi* et *chinsasi*

chip'yŏng 지평 持平 : second censeur, rang 5a

Chongch'inbu 종친부 宗親府 : Conseil de la Maison royale chargé des cérémonies célébrées en l'honneur des registres généalogiques et des portraits des rois

Chongzhen (cor. Sungjǒng 승정) 崇禎 : nom d'ère du dernier empereur de la dynastie des Ming de Chine, Zhu Youjian (r. 1627-1644)

Chosŏn 조선 朝鮮 : royaume coréen (1392-1910)

Chŏllanamdo 전라남도 全羅南道 : province du Chŏlla du Sud, située dans le sud-ouest de la république de Corée

chŏltosa 절도사 節度使 : général commandant en chef, rang 2b

Chŏng Ch'ang-sun 정창순 鄭昌順 (1727-?) : était préfet-commandant (*yusu*) de Kaesong en 1781 (cinquième année du règne de Chŏngjo), a compilé le *Songdoji*

Chŏngjo 정조 正祖 (1752-1800) : dynastie des Yi, vingt-deuxième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1776 à 1800

chŏngŏn 정언 正言 : selon l'administration, deuxième secrétaire aux ordres ou recteur (deux charges), rang 6b

chŏnjŏk 전적 典籍 : notaire (treize charges), rang 6b

Chungch'ubu 중추부 中樞府 : Conseil du gouvernement (militaire), ce conseil n'a pas d'attribution et se compose de hauts fonctionnaires sans charge

Chunggyŏngji 중경지 中京誌 : Chroniques de la capitale du centre (Kaesong), compilées par Kim Yi-jae 김이재 金履載 (1767-1847) en 1824, revues et augmentées par Cho Pyŏng-gi 조병기 趙秉夔 (1821-1858) *et al.* en 1855, de nouveau publié en 1914-1915 (Chosŏn kwangmunhoe 조선광문회 朝鮮光文會 / Kim Ton-hŭi 김동희)

chŭng yŏngŭijŏng 증 영의정 贈 領議政 : titre de premier ministre donné par le roi après la mort d'un fonctionnaire méritant

Hanyang 한양 漢陽 : l'une des appellations de Séoul à l'époque du Koryŏ

hojojwarang 호조좌랑 戶曹佐郎 : deuxième secrétaire (deux charges) du ministère du Cens, rang 6b

Hŏ Mok 허목 許穆 (1595-1682) : auteur du *Misugiŏn*, principale personne de la faction Namin 남인 南人, peintre et calligraphe. La faction Namin a été puissante à partir du règne de Injo, ayant collaboré avec la faction Sŏin 서인 西人 pour introniser Injo en 1623



Hwanghaebukto 황해북도 黃海北道 : province du Hwanghae du Nord, située dans le sud de la république populaire démocratique de Corée

Hwanghaenamdo 황해남도 黃海南道 : province du Hwanghae du Sud, située dans le sud-ouest de la république populaire démocratique de Corée

Hwangsong 황성 皇城 : Muraille impériale, l'une des cinq enceintes de la forteresse de Kaesong. Construite au début du x^e siècle lors de la fondation du Koryŏ

hyangch'ŏng 향청 鄉廳 : organisation locale qui conseillait et assistait les magistrats de province

Hyojong 효종 孝宗 (1619-1659) : dynastie des Yi, dix-septième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1649 à 1659

Hyojongsillok 효종실록 孝宗實錄 : Chroniques royales de Hyojong, r. 1649-1659

hyŏngjoch'amp'an 형조참판 刑曹參判 : directeur (vice-ministre) du ministère de la Justice (une charge), rang 2b

ijoch'amp'an 이조참판 吏曹參判 : directeur (vice-ministre) du ministère des Fonctionnaires civils (une charge), rang 2b

Im Pong-sik 임봉식 林鳳植 (?-?) : compilateur du *Kaesŏngji* 개성지 開城誌 en 1934 et du *Koryŏinmulchi* 고려인물지 高麗人物誌 en 1937

Injo 인조 仁祖 (1595-1649) : dynastie des Yi, seizième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1623 à 1649

Injosillok 인조실록 仁祖實錄 : Chroniques royales de Injo, r. 1623-1649

Inmoktaebi 인목대비 仁穆大妃 (1584-1632) : reine-mère Inmok, seconde épouse du père de Kwanghaegun, Sŏnjo

Inp'yŏngdaegun 인평대군 麟坪大君 (1622-1658) : grand prince Inp'yŏng, troisième fils de Injo. A épousé une des filles de O Tan en 1634

iphyangjo 입향조 入鄉祖 : la première personne d'un clan qui s'est installée dans un village

Kaegyŏng 개경 開京 : l'une des appellations de Kaesong à l'époque du Koryŏ

Kaesong (Kaesŏng) 개성 開城 : ville située dans la province du Hwanghae du Nord en république populaire démocratique de Corée, capitale du Koryŏ (918-1392) et du tout début du Chosŏn (1392-1394, 1399-1405)





Kaesŏngbu 개성부 開城府 : préfecture-forteresse de Kaesong

Kaesŏngji 개성지 開城誌 : Chroniques de Kaesong compilées par Im Pong-sik 임봉식 林鳳植 (?-?) et publiées par le Kaesŏngji p'yŏnch'anso 개성지편찬소 開城誌編纂所 en 1934 (tomes 1 à 8)

kamgwan 감관 監官 : surveillant de délégués. Il pouvait être chargé de la mission de surveillance du processus de fabrication d'une stèle

kamsa 감사 監司 : président, magistrat provincial (deux charges), rang 1a à l'époque de Maurice Courant. C'est un gouverneur, *kwanch'alsa*, qui a rang de ministre

Kim Se-ryŏm 김세렴 金世濂 (1593-1646) : ses œuvres de prose et de poésie furent compilées sous le titre de *Tongmyŏngjip* et publiées en 1737

Kim Yi-jae 김이재 金履載 (1767-1847) : a compilé en 1824 le *Chunggyŏngji*, Chroniques de la capitale du centre (Kaesong)

kongbangso 공방소 工房所 : Bureau de l'atelier des artisans

Koryŏ 고려 高麗 : royaume coréen (918-1392)

kŏmnyul 검률 檢律 : légiste (une charge), rang 9b

kŏsabi 거사비 去思碑 : stèle des « pensées après départ », stèle dressée dans le but de louer le bon gouvernement d'un gouverneur après son départ (fait partie des stèles de « bon gouvernement », *sŏnjŏngbi*)

Kukchobangmok 국조방목 國朝榜目 : Liste chronologique des lauréats des examens au cours du Chosŏn (établie du début du Chosŏn jusqu'en 1877, lors de la quatorzième année du règne de Kjong)

Kukchoinmulgo 국조인물고 國朝人物考 : dictionnaire biographique dans lequel les biographies d'hommes éminents du Chosŏn (de l'époque de T'aejo à celle de Sukjong) sont compilées et classées par thème. Rédigé sous le règne du vingt-deuxième roi du Chosŏn, Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800)

Kungsŏng 궁성 宮城 : Muraille palatiale, l'une des cinq enceintes de la forteresse de Kaesong. Édifiée au début du x^e siècle lors de la fondation du Koryŏ

kunsu 군수 郡守 : magistrat d'un district de première classe, rang 4b

kwagŏ 과거 科擧 : concours de la fonction publique





kwanch'alsa 관찰사 觀察使 : magistrat provincial, gouverneur. Avait autorité sur la police locale, la juridiction et les impôts. Rang 2b à l'époque de Maurice Courant.

Kwanghaegun 광해군 光海君 (1575-1641) : prince Kwanghae de la dynastie des Yi, quinzième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1608 à 1623

Kyŏngjong 경종 景宗 (1688-1724) : dynastie des Yi, vingtième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1720 à 1724

Kyŏngjongsillok 경종실록 景宗實錄 : Chroniques royales de Kyŏngjong, r. 1720-1724

kyŏngnyŏk 경력 經歷 : secrétaire général (une charge), rang 4b

kyori 교리 校理 : surveillant de l'impression (deux charges) au Cabinet des compositeurs Hongmun'gwan 弘文館, rang 5a

kyosu 교수 教授 : recteur du temple de Confucius dans les préfectures et sous-préfectures, rang 6b. Ce poste disparaît avant 1744

Misu 미수 眉叟 Hŏ Mok 허목 許穆 : Misu est le nom de plume de Hŏ Mok (1595-1682), auteur du *Misugiŏn*

Misugiŏn 미수기언 眉叟記言 : anthologie de poésie et de prose écrite par Misu Hŏ Mok, publiée en 1689

Ming (cor. Myŏng 명) 明 : nom de la dynastie chinoise qui régna de 1368 à 1644

moksa 목사 牧使 : sous-préfet de deuxième classe, rang 3a

Mukchae 목제 默齋 : nom de plume de O Paeng-nyŏng

Naesŏng 내성 內城 : Muraille intérieure, l'une des cinq enceintes de la forteresse de Kaesong. Édifiée à la fin du xiv^e siècle

Namdaemun 남대문 南大門 : grande porte du Sud, porte méridionale de la Muraille intérieure érigée à la fin du xiv^e siècle

Namhansansŏng 남한산성 南漢山城 : forteresse de montagne Namhan

O Ch'ŏn-gyŏng 오천경 吳天經 (?-?) : aïeul illustre de O Tan à la septième génération. En 1374 (fin du Koryŏ), il réussit le concours de fonctionnaires dans la section « lettres ». Au cours de la seconde moitié du xiv^e siècle, il a quitté Tongbok dans la province du Chŏlla pour s'installer à Paech'ŏn qui jouxte Kaep'ung dans le Hwanghae du Nord, zone qui appartient maintenant administrativement à la ville de Kaesong



O Chae-gyōng 오재경 吳在慶 : ancien président de la Société du lignage des O de Tongbok, décédé en 2018

O Chōng-byōk 오정벽 吳挺璧 (?- ?)

O Chōng-ch'ang 오정창 吳挺昌 (1634-1680)

O Chōng-il 오정일 吳挺一 (1610-1670)

O Chōng-wōn 오정원 吳挺垣 (1614-1667)

O Chōng-wi 오정위 吳挺緯 (1616-1692)

O Hoeng 오횡 吳竑 (1606 -1626)

O Ŏng-nyōng 오억령 吳億齡 (1552-1618)

O Paeng-nyōng 오백령 吳百齡 (1560-1633)

O Sang-yu 오상유 吳尙游 (1658-1716)

O Si-bok 오시복 吳始復 (1637-1716)

O Si-dae 오시대 吳始大 (1634-1694)

O Si-su 오시수 吳始壽 (1632-1681), nom de plume Such'on 水邨

O Si-t'ae 오시태 吳始泰 (1631-?)

O Tan 오단 吳端 (1592-1640)

O Yōng 오영(령) 吳寧 (?-?), époque du Koryō

Oesōng 외성 外城 : Muraille extérieure, l'une des cinq enceintes de la forteresse de Kaesong. Édifiée au XI^e siècle

« P'almabi » 팔마비 八馬碑 : « Stèle des huit chevaux » de la fin du Koryō

p'ansō 판서 判書 : ministre, rang 2b

p'ilsōn 필선 弼善 : second directeur de morale (une charge), rang 4a, de la Cour des explicateurs du prince héritier

pangōsa 방어사 防禦使 : lieutenant-général, rang 2b



Paröch'amsöng 발어참성 拔禦塹城 : muraille Paröch'am, l'une des cinq enceintes de la forteresse de Kaesong, construite en 896 selon les textes historiques

pisökköri 비석거리 碑石거리 : chemin de stèles

pisörang 비서랑 秘書郎 : sous-directeur chargé des textes confucianistes et des prières pour les défunts royaux lors des cérémonies aux ancêtres. Titre de fonctionnaire de l'époque du Koryö

pöpchö 법조 法曹 : légiste dans une sous-préfecture (pendant le Koryö)

pu 부 府 : préfecture-forteresse. Terme qui désigne les grandes divisions administratives du Chosön, au nombre de cinq, Hansöngbu 한성부 漢城府 (la capitale), Suwönbu 수원부 水原府, Kwangjubu 광주부 廣州府, Kaesöngbu 개성부 開城府 et Kanghaiabu 강화부 江華府

pugyori 부교리 副校理 : vice-surveillant de l'impression (deux charges), rang 5b, chargé de rédiger et corriger les messages royaux au Cabinet des compositeurs Hongmun'gwan 弘文館

pun'gyogwan 분교관 分敎官 : vice-recteur du temple de Confucius (une charge), rang 9b

pusa 부사 府使 : sous-préfet de première classe, rang 3a

pusa 부사 副使 : vice-sous-préfet (pendant le Koryö)

puyubu 부유후 副留後 : sous-préfet

puyun 부윤 府尹 : préfet, administrant une préfecture, un *pu* 府, rang 2b

pusajik 부사직 副司直 : vice-colonel, rang 5a

pusuch'an 부수찬 副修撰 : vice-collecteur (deux charges) du Cabinet des compositeurs Hongmun'gwan 弘文館, l'un des postes de rédacteurs des édits, rang 6b

pyölc'ibu 별치부 別致賻 : cadeaux de condoléances (argent ou produits) offerts par le roi à la famille des défunts qui ont occupé un poste de haut rang

pyönggwa 병과 丙科 : appellation des vingt-trois derniers candidats reçus au concours de doctorat de fonctionnaire

Pyongyang (P'yöngyang) 평양 平壤 : capitale de la république populaire démocratique de Corée





Qing (cor. Ch'öng 청) 清 : titre dynastique des Mandchous qui régnèrent sur la Chine de 1644 à 1911

saengwōn 생원 生員 : licencié en classiques

saengwōnsi 생원시 生員試 : concours de licence basé sur la connaissance des textes confucéens permettant aux candidats qualifiés d'entrer dans l'établissement national d'enseignement confucéen Sōnggyun'gwan, Collège des lettrés. Les premières épreuves du niveau d'études supérieur étaient divisées en deux sections : *chinsasi* et *saengwōnsi*

saye 사예 司藝 : littérateur (deux charges), rang 4a

Sejo 세조 世祖 (1417-1468) : dynastie des Yi, septième roi du Chosōn. A régné de 1455 à 1468

Séoul (Sōul) 서울 : capitale de la république de Corée

Sigangwōn 시강원 侍講院 : Cour des explicateurs du prince héritier

Sim Aek 심액 沈恪 (1571-1655) : père de l'épouse de O Tan

sindobi 신도비 神道碑 : monument commémoratif. Stèle de « la voix de l'âme ». Stèle en pierre dressée sur le côté sud-est du chemin principal conduisant au tombeau d'un roi ou d'un haut-fonctionnaire et qui rend hommage aux mérites du défunt

sinbujiji 신후지 身後之地 : emplacement de la tombe choisi avant la mort d'une personne

Songdogii 송도기이 松都記異 : Merveilles de Songdo, écrit par Yi Tök-hyōng, préfet-commandant (*yusu*) de Kaesong en 1631, puis repris dans le livre 71 du *Taedongyasūng* (Histoire officieuse du Grand Est), publié sous le règne de Sukchong et ceux de Yōngjo et Chōngjo

Songdoji 송도지 松都誌 : Chroniques de Songdo (Kaesong), compilées une première fois par Kim Yuk 김육 金瑄, préfet-commandant (*yusu*) de Kaesong en 1648, qui furent revues et augmentées par Chōng Ch'ang-sun 정창순 鄭昌順, préfet-commandant de Kaesong, en 1782. Composées en sept chapitres regroupés en trois volumes

songdōkpi 송덕비 頌德碑 : stèle de « l'éloge de la vertu » (fait partie des stèles de « bon gouvernement », *sōnjōngbi*)

Songgye 송계 松溪 : nom de plume du grand prince Inp'yōng





Songgyejip 송계집 松溪集 : compilation des écrits du grand prince Inp'yŏng par Yi Chin-ik 이진익 李鎭翼 (1728-1796) sur l'ordre de Yŏngjo et publiés par le Yemun'gwan (예문관 藝文館, l'Académie royale chargée de la composition des prières, édits et pièces de littérature officielle) en 1773 (49^e année du règne de Yŏngjo). L'éditeur y a inséré les ōjemun 어제 제문 御製 祭文 (prières pour un défunt écrit par un roi) écrites par Hyojong, Sukchong, Yŏngjo et Chŏngjo pour le prince et le texte de sa stèle de « la voix de l'âme » (*sindobi*) qui fut composé par Yi Kyŏng-sŏk 이경석 李景奭 (1595-1671)

sŏn'yŏng 선영 先塋 : tombes des ancêtres

Sŏnggyun'gwan 성균관 成均館 : établissement national d'enseignement confucéen, Institut national confucéen (cf. Li Ogg) ou Collège des lettrés (cf. Maurice Courant)

Sŏngjong 성종 成宗 (1457-1494) : dynastie des Yi, neuvième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1469 à 1494

sŏnjŏngbi 선정비 善政碑 : stèle qui commémore le bon gouvernement d'un fonctionnaire qui a été en poste dans une région et sur lequel a été écrit un rapport favorable du peuple

sŏri 서리 書吏 : clerc civil

such'an 수찬 修撰 : collecteur (deux charges) du Cabinet des compositeurs Hongmun'gwan 弘文館, l'un des postes de rédacteurs des édits, rang 6b

Sukjong 숙종 肅宗 (1661-1720) : dynastie des Yi, dix-neuvième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1674 à 1720

suryŏng 수령 守令 : dénomination générale pour les magistrats d'un district

Sŏngjŏngwŏnilgi 승정원일기 承政院日記 : Notes journalières du Secrétariat royal du Chosŏn. Rédigées depuis le début du Chosŏn, elles ont été brûlées pendant l'invasion japonaise de 1592. Subsistent les notes faites de 1623 (première année du règne de Injo) à 1894 (trente-et-unième année du règne de Kojong, r. 1863-1907)

T'aeboksi *chŏng* 태복시 정 太僕寺 正 : assistant au Conseil des écuries (une charge), rang 3a

T'aejo 태조 太祖 : Yi Sŏng-gye 이성계 李成桂 (1335-1408), fondateur de la dynastie des Yi et du royaume de Chosŏn. A régné de 1392 à 1398



Taedongyasŭng 대동야승 大東野乘 : Histoire officielle du Grand Est. Publié sous le règne de Sukchong et ceux de Yŏngjo et Chŏngjo, synthèse des publications comprenant l'histoire officielle, des biographies, des contes, des journaux, etc., parus du début du Chosŏn jusqu'au règne de Injo

tansagwan 당사관 斷事官 : peut-être traduit par « colonel » selon Maurice Courant

tangsangjimnye 당상집례 堂上執禮 : maître des Cérémonies

Tongakchip 동악집 東岳集 : anthologie de poésie et de prose composée par Yi An-nul 이안눌 李安訥 (1571-1637) et publiée en 1639 par son neveu, Yi Sik 이식 李植 (1584-1647). Wŏn Tu-p'yo 원두표 元斗杓 (1593-1664) et Ku Pong-sŏ 구봉서 具鳳瑞 (1596-1644), qui ont été présidents (*kamsa*) de la province du Chŏlla, ainsi que Han Hŭng-il 한흥일 韓興一 (1587-1651) et O Tan, préfet (*pyun*) de Chŏnju, ont aidé à la publication

Tongbok 동북 同福 : Tongbok est l'ancienne appellation (jusqu'au début du Chosŏn) de la région actuelle de Hwasun 화순 和順, située dans la province du Chŏlla du Sud

Tongbok Ossi kagye 동북오씨 가계 同福吳氏家系 : lignage des O de Tongbok fondé par O Yŏng 오영 (령) 吳寧 (?-?) à l'époque du Koryŏ

tongbusŭngji 동부승지 同副承旨 : vice-président auxiliaire (une charge), rang 3a

Tongjujip 동주집 東州集 : anthologie de poésie et de prose compilée par Yi Min-gu (1589-1670). Année de publication inconnue, l'ouvrage comporte cependant un avant-propos écrit par lui-même en 1639, dix-septième année du règne de Injo

Tongmyŏngjip 동명집 東溟集 : anthologie de poésie et de prose de Kim Se-ryŏm, publiée en 1737. Compilée dans la vingt-deuxième entrée « Myŏngnyu » 名流 du *Kukchoinmulgo*

Tonnyŏngbu 돈녕부 敦寧府 : Conseil des membres directs et par alliance de la Maison royale, fondé en 1414, formé des membres de la Maison royale descendant des rois, soit par les hommes soit par les femmes, et des membres de la famille de la reine. Ce conseil n'a pas d'attributions

tosa 도사 都事 : secrétaire

uŭijŏng 우의정 右議政 : président (conseiller politique) de droite, rang 1a, rang le moins élevé dans la hiérarchie des trois présidents du Conseil du Chosŏn, position au-dessus des ministres du Chosŏn

Ŭibinbu 의빈부 儀賓府 : Conseil des princes par alliance, composé des maris et fils des princesses, filles de rois et de princes héritiers. Ce conseil a été institué au commencement de la dynastie des Yi, il n'a pas d'attributions



Ŭigũmbu 의금부 義禁府 : Haute Cour de Justice

ũmgwan 음관 蔭官 : fonctionnaire par protection. Fils ou petits-fils de fonctionnaire éminent, qui reçoit un poste civil ou militaire alors même qu'il n'a passé aucun examen

Wang 왕 王 : dynastie qui a régné dans la péninsule coréenne de 918 à 1392 (royaume de Koryŏ)

Wanli (cor. Mal-lyŏk 만력) 萬曆 : nom d'ère du treizième empereur de la dynastie des Ming, Zhu Yijun 朱翊鈞 (r. 1572-1620)

yangban 양반 兩班 : l'aristocratie, qui comprenait les familles de lettrés et de fonctionnaires qui pouvaient revendiquer descendre des titulaires de charge de la fin du Koryŏ sans qu'il n'y ait eu de non-*yangban* dans les générations intermédiaires

yejoch'amüi 예조참의 禮曹參議 : sous-directeur (une charge) du ministère des Rites, rang 3a

Yesŏnggang 예성강 禮成江 : fleuve qui prend sa source dans le mont Ŏnjin situé à Suangun dans la province du Hwanghae du Sud et se jette dans le golfe de Kanghai, entre Paech'ŏngun et Kaep'unggun (Kaesong) dans la province Hwanghae du Nord en Corée du Nord

Yŏngjo 영조 英祖 (1694-1776) : dynastie des Yi, vingt-et-unième roi du Chosŏn. A régné de 1724 à 1776

Yongham 용함 用涵 : prénom secondaire du grand prince Inp'yŏng

yŏngsebulmangbi 영세불망비 永世不忘碑 : stèle de « souvenirs éternels » (fait partie des stèles de « bon gouvernement », *sŏnjŏngbi*)

Yi 이 李 : dynastie qui a régné dans la péninsule coréenne de 1392 à 1910 (royaume de Chosŏn)

Yi Chin-ik 이진익 李鎭翼 (1728-1796) : a compilé le *Songgyejip* en 1773

Yi Min-gu 이민구 李敏求 (1589-1670) : a rédigé le *Tongjujip*, année de publication inconnue

Yi Tŏk-hyŏng 이덕형 李德炯 (1566-1645) : préfet-commandant (*yusu*) de Kaesong de 1629 à novembre 1631. A compilé le *Songdogii* en 1631

Yi Yo 이요 李潯 (1622-1658) : nom de famille et prénom du grand prince Inp'yŏng



yuaebi 유애비 遺愛碑 : stèle de « legs d'affection », stèle dressée par le peuple pour conférer sa reconnaissance à un gouverneur (fait partie des stèles de « bon gouvernement », *sŏnjŏngbi*)

yubu 유후 留後 : préfet

yubusa 유후사 留後司 : préfecture

yusu 유수 留守 : préfet-commandant (deux charges), rang 2a

yusubu 유수부 留守府 : préfecture-forteresse, préfecture militaire, avec à sa tête un préfet-commandant

Zhu Youjian (cor. Chu Yu-gŏm 주유검) 朱由檢 (1611-1644) : seizième et dernier empereur de la dynastie des Ming qui a régné de 1627 à 1644. Ère Chongzhen



Comptes rendus / Book Reviews

CHŎNG Ŭn-u (Jeong Eunwoo) 鄭恩雨 and SIN Ŭn-je (Shin Eunjae) 申銀齊. *Koryŏ ūi sŏngmul, pulbokchang* 고려의 성물, 불복장 [Sacred Objects of the Koryŏ Kingdom, or the Abdominal Cache of the Buddha]. Seoul: Kyŏng'in munhwasa, 2017. 342 pages.

Koryŏ ūi sŏngmul, pulbokchang, co-written by an art historian, Chŏng Ŭn-u, and a historian, Sin Ŭn-je, represents a significant contribution to the study of Korean Buddhist art and history. *Pulbokchang* 佛腹藏, or the insertion of sacred objects in the inner recesses of Buddhist images, is a significant secretive Buddhist ritual with a long history. However, it is only recently that the ritual came to be known in public and began to receive scholarly attention. In the literature on Korean art history, *pulbokchang* is a relatively new topic. While reports of unexpectedly discovered *pokchang* 腹藏 deposits have been published since the 1960s, it was not until the 2000s that scholars began to consider it a serious topic for research and discussion.¹ The special exhibition, *Chisim kwimyŏngnye: Han'guk ūi pulbokchang* 至心歸明禮: 韓國의 佛腹藏, held at the Sudŏksa Museum 修德寺聖寶博物館 in 2004, was one of the events that stimulated academic interest in the topic by offering one of the first public presentations of significant sets of *pokchang* objects from the Koryŏ 高麗 (918–1392) and Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910) periods.² In-depth analysis of the materials by Yi Sŏn-yong (Lee Seonyong) 李宣鎔, the curator of the show, soon followed. In her pioneering Masters' thesis, she introduced almost all of the *pokchang* deposits that had been reported hitherto, and examined the form and meaning of each object based primarily on the *Chosang kyŏng* 造像經, or *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, presumably compiled during the Chosŏn period.³ Chŏng Ŭn-u, one of the authors of the book under review, also included an essay on *pulbokchang* in her book *Koryŏ hugi pulgyo chogak yŏn'gu* 高麗後期佛教彫刻研究 (Study of the

1. Although *pulbokchang* was not of much interest to art historians, scholars of textiles and texts have paid it greater attention, since the inner recesses of Buddhist statues were something like a time capsule that preserved the materials in the most favorable conditions possible. Accordingly, many articles were written by scholars in these two fields prior to the 2000s.

2. The exhibition catalogue is titled *Chisim kwimyŏngnye: Han'guk ūi pulbokchang* 至心歸命禮: 韓國의 佛腹藏, ed. Sudŏksa kūnyŏk sŏngbogwan 修德寺權域聖寶館 (Yesan: Sudŏksa kūnyŏk sŏngbogwan, 2004). It is also worth noting that there was an important exhibition on *pokchang* at the Onyang Folk Museum in 1991 (Onyang minsok pangmulgwan 溫陽民俗博物館, ed., *1302 nyŏn Amit'abul pokchangmul ūi chosa yŏn'gu* 1302年 阿彌陀佛腹藏物の 調査研究 [Seoul: Kyemongsa, 1991]). However, the 1991 exhibition was not as inclusive as the one held later at the Sudŏksa Temple Museum in 2004.

3. Yi Sŏn-yong, "Pulbokchangmul kusŏng kwa chingmul e kwanhan yŏn'gu" 佛腹藏物 구성과 직물에 관한 연구 (MA thesis, Dongguk University, 2006). Part of the thesis was published in English; see Lee Seonyong [Yi Sŏn-yong], "History of the *Bokjang* Tradition in Korea," *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* 7 (2013): 60–75.



Buddhist Sculptures of the Late Koryŏ Period). The central focus of that essay was the patronage of Koryŏ Buddhist sculptures that contained *pokchang* deposits.⁴

The study of *pulbokchang* was further accelerated by the nation-wide investigation of sacred objects from Korean Buddhist temples, organized and run by the Cultural Heritage Administration (Munhwajae ch'ŏng 文化財廳) and the Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage (Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn'guso 佛教文化財研究所) that began in 2002.⁵ That research, which revealed a significant number of Buddhist images containing *pokchang*, contributed to a more complete understanding of the *pokchang* process, since some statues still contained their original *pokchang* installations intact and they were thoroughly examined.⁶ Assisted by the accumulation of new data, studies on *pulbokchang* have been revitalized over the past decade, resulting in the publication of significant essays on various aspects of the tradition, including the origin and characteristics of Korean *pulbokchang*, their relation to the *Sūtras on the Production of Buddhist Images*, the *pokchang* of Buddhist paintings, and so on.⁷ It is also notable that diverse types of events, such as museum exhibitions, symposia, and documentary films related to the Korean *pokchang* tradition also emerged.⁸ The symposium, “Consecrating the Buddha: On the Practice of Interring Objects (*bokjang*) in Buddhist Statues” held at Ewha Womans University in 2017, brought together researchers from disciplines as diverse as art history, textile history, and bibliographic study to discuss studies of Korean *pulbokchang* in an international context. Published under such circumstances, *Koryŏ ūi sŏngmul, pulbokchang* represents the culmination of the increasing interest in and study of Korean *pulbokchang*. It includes almost all *pokchang* deposits of the Koryŏ period discovered and researched thus far, and introduces them with high-quality illustrations. The authors painstakingly translate the dedicatory inscriptions found inside the statues into modern Korean and provide detailed interpretations of the

4. Chŏng Ũn-u, “Koryŏ hugi pulsang ūi pokchangmul kwa huwŏncha” 고려 후기 불상의 복장물과 후원자, in *Koryŏ hugi pulgyo chogak yŏn'gu* 高麗後期 佛教彫刻 研究 (Seoul: Munye ch'ulp'ansa, 2007), 53–86. Translation and analysis of *Chosang kyŏng* by Venerable T'aegyŏng is also a significant work worth noting. T'aegyŏng sŏnim 泰銳스님, *Chosang kyŏng: Pulbokchang ūi chŏlch'a wa kŭ soge tamgin sasang* 造像經: 佛腹藏의 節次와 그 속에 담긴 思想 (Seoul: Unjusa, 2006).

5. The result of the investigation has been published as a series of volumes titled *Han'guk ūi sach'al munhwajae* 한국의 사찰문화재.

6. The *pokchang* of the Anjŏngsa statue is a good example. Yi Yong-yun (Lee Yongyun) 李容胤, “Pulsang pongan ūisik ūi chŏngsu, pokchang” 불상 봉안의식의 精髓, 腹藏, in *Pulbokchang ūisik hyŏnhwang chosa pogosŏ* 불복장의식 현황조사보고서, ed. Pulgyo munhwajae yŏn'guso 불교문화재연구소 (Seoul: Taehan pulgyo Chogyejong, 2012), 20–21.

7. About the studies, see the annotated bibliography in the current *CEA* volume.

8. These comprise the documentary series titled “Pulbokchang,” aired by KBS (Korean Broadcasting System) in 2013; the demonstration of *pokchang* ritual by The Society for the Preservation of the Traditional Procedures for Enshrining Objects in Buddhist Images and the Eye-Dotting Ceremony in Korean Buddhism in 2014; the special exhibition at the National Museum of Korea in 2015, *Parwŏn: Kanchŏran param ūl tamda* 발원: 간절한 마음을 담다 (Devout Patrons of Buddhist Art), where the issue of patronage was examined mainly through *pokchang* materials; and a panel presentation titled “Formation and Characteristics of Korean *pulbokchang*,” at the Spring meeting of the Art History Association of Korea in the same year.

contents. By so doing, they successfully reconstruct the historical, religious, and cultural contexts of each set of *pulbokchang* that had been prepared and installed by Koryŏ Buddhists of diverse social strata.

Although the book contains voluminous information, the authors state their purpose concisely. According to the preface, the book aims to examine the *pokchang* ritual and dedicatory inscriptions of the Koryŏ period. Part I, “Buddhist Images and *Pokchang* Objects of the Koryŏ,” provides a general overview of *pokchang* deposits of the Koryŏ period and discusses several fundamental issues related to Korean *pulbokchang*. Part II, “The Current State of Koryŏ *pulbokchang* and Their Dedicatory Inscriptions,” introduces ten sets of *pokchang* deposits individually, and translates their dedicatory inscriptions into modern Korean. Part III, “The Contents of the Dedicatory Inscriptions and Patrons of Late Koryŏ Period,” presents the characteristics of Koryŏ dedicatory inscriptions, particularly in terms of the social status and religious background of the patrons, who participated in the creation of Buddhist statues and the installation of the *pokchang*.

The book’s most obvious strength stems from its inclusiveness. This is the first academic volume to comprehensively examine sets of *pokchang* deposits from the Koryŏ period, as heretofore most studies have researched deposits individually. The first chapter, for instance, introduces fifteen Buddhist statues and lists their *pokchang* objects (Chart I-1). The list begins with a lacquer Bhaiṣajyaguru at Chŏngnyangsa 淸涼寺, whose date of production was recently reassessed after the investigation of its *pokchang* deposits. Considering that the image was produced in the Unified Silla (676–935) or early Koryŏ period, the authors include it in the list since it contained two *pokchang* objects (a printed *maṇḍala* and a *dhāraṇī*) dated by an inscription to 1239. Statues at Pogwangsa 普光寺 (ca. 13th century), Kaesimsa 開心寺 (repaired in 1280), and Kaeunsa 開運寺 (repainted in 1274), and the materials yielded from them are listed thereafter. Although the images are likely to have been made in the thirteenth century, they also contain *pokchang* objects that are dated to a later period. The remaining images belong to the fourteenth century. While materials yielded from the statues of Pusŏksa 浮石寺 (1330), Munsusa 文殊寺 (1346), and Changgoksa 長谷寺 (1346) were reported earlier, those of Taesŏngsa 大乘寺 (ca. 1301), Chaunsa 紫雲寺 (repaired 1388), Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art (1383), Anjŏngsa 安靜寺 (dates unknown), National Museum of Korea (dates unknown), and Ch’ŏngwŏnsa 淸源寺 (dates unknown) were only recently discovered. This chapter also discusses the dedicatory inscription of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara dated to 1322. The inscription, along with a few *pokchang* materials, is currently in a private collection, while the whereabouts of the statue remain unknown. The *pokchang* materials currently in the collection of Onyang Folk Museum, which are also absent from the list, are closely examined in Part II.

Introduced together for the first time, these examples offer a comprehensive overview of Koryŏ period *pulbokchang*. In terms of their overall composition, the materials display more similarity than disparity. Most of the deposits are small containers, dedicatory inscriptions, Buddhist scriptures, printed *maṇḍalas* and *dhāraṇīs*, textiles, and clothing. Made of wood or silver, the container is usually filled with materials such as Buddha relics, grains, textiles, and pieces of wood. Bronze bells

have been found within several images as well. The original placement of each item inside the cavity has been interpreted according to the detailed report on the Munsusa statue. Revealed in 1973, the deposited items include a small bronze bell inside the throat, a lidded wooden container inside the chest, and various documents (e.g., votive inscriptions and copies of Buddhist *sūtras*) in the stomach of the statue. At the bottom were pieces of textiles and numerous papers, either blank or printed with *dhāraṇī*. Such precise placement of the items has been confirmed by the Anjōngsa statue, whose *pokchang* was examined in 2009 through the nationwide investigation of sacred objects in Korean Buddhist temples.

The names of the items deposited in the image's cavity have also been clarified thanks to a document found inside the Munsusa statue. The "Record of Deposited *pokchang* Items of Amitābha" (*Mit'a pokchang immul saekki* 彌陀腹藏入物色記) lists thirty kinds of objects, beginning with the specific names of the five kinds of incense, grains, treasures, and *materia medica*. These are likely the substances found in the silk pouches contained in the wooden container. The list also provides the names of various other objects, such as the throat bell (*buryōng* 喉鈴), relic container (*sarit'ong* 舍利筒), eight-petal container (*p'aryōp t'ong* 八葉筒), and yellow cloth wrapper (*hwangch'opokcha* 黃絹幅子)—all corresponding to the materials found in the cavity. As the authors indicate, a similar document was found among the *pokchang* of the Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara dated to 1322. Its dedicatory inscription contains a section separately titled "*kō'an*" 舉案, which is a list of donors, numbering at least 307, along with the kinds of materials donated. Despite the document's significance, Chōng and Sin could not examine it in detail, as the inscription, along with the other *pokchang* materials, is in a private collection and was unavailable to them.

Another particularly significant contribution of the book is its discussion of the historical and religious background of image-making and *pokchang* installation based on a full translation of the dedicatory inscriptions. Some inscriptions treated in this volume have already been translated into modern Korean and examined in previous studies; however, the meticulous treatment of them here yielded not only corroborating but also corrective interpretations. A notable example is the new view of the votive inscriptions included in the Onyang Folk Museum set. Chōng and Sin identified the main patron, Lady Chang of Ch'angnyōng County 昌寧郡夫人張氏, whose name appears in two inscriptions written in 1301 and 1302, respectively, as the wife of Kim Hūn 金忻, whose name appears only in the 1302 piece. Utilizing available literary sources, such as *Koryō sa* 高麗史 (The History of Koryō), epitaphs of the Koryō period, and genealogical records, Chōng and Sin identified Kim Hūn as the second son of the renowned military official Kim Pang-gyōng 金方慶 (1212–1300) of the Andong 安東 region. This ultimately suggests that significant members of the Kim family, whose names appear in other inscriptions deposited in the image, participated in the making of the statue and the installation of the *pokchang* in the early fourteenth century.

In addition to identifying the ritual participants, Chōng and Sin considered the format of the inscription, and its relation to patterns of donation. They saw that two different formats existed: one was mainly written by the patrons themselves,

on behalf of their family or themselves; the other, which seemed more prevalent, was written by a leading Buddhist monk, and donors of diverse social status simply wrote their names, signatures, and brief wishes. The number of participants listed in the second format varies from thirty-two (Pusöksa) to 1,117 (Changgoksa). Chōng and Sin provide statistical analyses of the participants, grouping them into various categories such as male and female, lay and monastic, and upper and lower classes. As a result, diverse patterns of patronage are identified. Among the many fascinating motifs treated in the volume with regard to the inscription are the religious aspirations expressed by devotees. Written mostly on the occasion of making or repairing images, votive inscriptions provide a rare opportunity to observe the goals and wishes that Koryō Buddhists had when they participated in the making of Buddhist images. Particular wishes manifested in the inscriptions are closely associated with the specific natures of the divinities represented. In the case of the Avalokiteśvara statues, for instance, secular merit and worldly powers were requested. The inscriptions found in the Bhaiṣajyaguru statues express desires for, in most cases, longevity without illness. Sometimes the safe delivery of a child, which is also one of the Twelve Vows of Bhaiṣajyaguru, is mentioned as well. Inscriptions yielded from Amitābha statues include the most diverse range of wishes—not just rebirth in the Western Pure Land, which is the most typical wish, but the wish to be reborn as a man in the afterlife (Kaeunsa). While the latter is one of the Forty-eight Vows of the Amitābha, it is intriguing that a wish to be reborn in China, which is not part of Amitābha’s vows, is indicated in the inscription by Lady Chang of the Onyang Folk Museum set. It is also worth noting that the wish to be reborn in the Western Pure Land was sometimes not the final goal; the wishes also include mention of the desire to meet the Buddha and hear his sermon in the Pure Land, and then reach the state of Nirvāṇa or Enlightenment; after Nirvāṇa, the devotees also wish to return to this world and lead sentient beings to the Buddha’s realm (Onyang Folk Museum; Leeum). As Chōng and Sin have aptly noted, this expanded notion of rebirth in the Western Pure Land is based on the well-known text *Pohyōn posal haengwōn p’um* 普賢菩薩行願品, or the “Practices and Vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra” (hereafter, “Practice and Vows”). As the last fascicle of the forty-fascicle recension of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* translated by Prajña in 798, the “Practices and Vows” includes the ten great vows taken by Samantabhadra to gain access to the Dharmadhātu, which thereby enable him to benefit sentient beings. As in the Tibetan tradition, where it is called the “king of prayers” (Tb. *smon lam gyi rgyal po*), this fascicle has been one of the most beloved texts in Korea, incorporated into liturgies, daily recitations, and votive inscriptions of various genres.⁹ The assimilation of the “Practices and Vows” into the dedicatory inscriptions also manifests in the ways in which wishes are narrated. The ten wishes listed in the dedicatory inscriptions written by Ch’ōnjōng 天正 (fl. 14th century) and

9. Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, “Kōrai no Amida gazō to Fugen gyōgan bon” 高麗の阿彌陀画像と普賢行願品, *Bijutsu kenkyū* 美術研究 362 (1995): 1–32; idem, “The World of Goryeo Buddhist Painting,” in *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea’s Age of Enlightenment (918–1392)* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2013), 34–47.

Hye-hŭng 惠興 (fl. 14th century) of the Kaeunsa statue, according to Chŏng and Sin, emulate the ten great vows set forth by Samantabhadra. Their influence is evident in the wishes themselves: in the eighth wish, for example, Ch'ŏnjŏng and Hye-hŭng explicitly mention that they hope to accomplish the ten vows of Samantabhadra in this life; the ninth mentions their desire to accomplish the vows rapidly in this life and in their afterlives.

Unprecedentedly informative and descriptive, *Koryŏ ūi sŏngmul, pulbokchang* makes relatively few interpretive claims. One part that could have been more argumentative appears in the discussion of the origin of Koryŏ *pulbokchang*. This issue is briefly mentioned in the second chapter, “The Characteristics of Koryŏ *pulbokchang* and the Background of Its Formation,” which deals with various topics, including the origin and features of Koryŏ *pulbokchang*, their relation to Buddhist scriptures, and the significance of the *pokchang* ritual. Based mostly on Chŏng’s previous study, the discussions more or less reiterate her earlier theoretical arguments. For instance, she has suggested that the term *pokchang* 腹藏, a consistently used idiom in Korean *pulbokchang*, may have originated from the expression *pokchang* 伏藏 (Ch. *fuzang*), a term she found in the *Jingangding yiqie rulai zhenshi shedasheng xianzheng dajiaowang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大教王經 (The Adamantine Pinnacle: The Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Being the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings, T 865). She also pointed out that the combination of various objects that constitute Koryŏ *pokchang* deposits, such as treasure bottles, grains, medicines, and different types of incense, show great similarity to the objects required when establishing the altar for esoteric rituals. As for textual evidence, she cites several scriptures of Esoteric Buddhism, including the *Da piluzbena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (The Scripture of the Enlightenment, Supernatural Transformation, and Empowerment of Mahāvairocana, T 848), *Jingangding yuqie zhong lüechu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (The Scripture of Outlining Recitations and Contemplations of the Yoga of the Peak of the Vajra, T 866), and *Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集經 (Collected Dhāraṇī Sūtra, T 901). It is also proposed that various materials which served previously as votive objects for relic enshrinement in pagodas, as well as those used on the altar for esoteric rituals, may have come to be employed as *pokchang* objects in statues.¹⁰ These insights could have been more persuasive, if missing links between the similarities were considered more fully. The most overarching of these links is, as I have stated elsewhere, the relationship between so-called Esoteric Buddhism and the practice of *pokchang* installation in the Koryŏ period.¹¹ Most of the textual sources Chŏng cited in support of her theories belong

10. With regard to these arguments, readers may refer to Chŏng’s paper in the current *CEA* volume [where the name is Romanized as Jeong Eunwoo].

11. Ch’oe Sŏn-a (Choi Sun-ah) 최선아, “Sŏp’yŏng: Chumun, sang, mandara: milgyo ūirye ūi chŏngae kwajŏng” 書評: 呪文, 像, 曼荼羅: 密教 의례의 전개과정, *Inmun kwahak yŏn’gu nonch’ong* 인문과학연구논총 37 (2016): 223 (The cited work is a book review of Koichi Shinohara’s *Spells, Images and Mandalas: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2014]).

to Esoteric Buddhist scriptures translated in the seventh and eighth centuries, while the *pokchang* deposits treated in the volume come from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The evident temporal gap between the two, alongside the regional gap, raises many questions. When and how (or by whom) were the elements of Esoteric Buddhism employed for the *pokchang* ritual in Koryŏ (or in earlier stages)? More significantly, what does it mean that Koryŏ *pokchang* deposits are similar to the objects required for esoteric ritual altars and relic deposits in pagodas? Some of these questions have been approached by other scholars and still remain a subject of heated discussion. It is hoped that these issues will be more extensively studied, not just in relation to Korean *pulbokchang* but also in the context of East Asia and beyond, where the practice itself was contemporarily prevalent but developed in markedly different traditions. The pentad grouping of various materials—such as the five kinds of grains, incense, treasures, and treasure bottles, all wrapped in silk pouches of five different colors—is the most unique characteristic of Koryŏ *pulbokchang*, distinguishing it from its counterparts in China and Japan. The practice of inserting mock organs, which was widespread in China, is not found in Korea. The use of *gorintō* 五輪塔 or five-wheel pagoda, one of the representative items inserted in Japanese Buddhist statues, or *zōnai nōnyū hin* 像内納入品, is also absent in the Korean tradition, although the notion of “five” is shared. While the main items for enshrinement differ, there are also several distinctive similarities. In addition to the enshrinement of Buddhist scriptures including *maṇḍalas* and *dhāraṇīs*, the participation of a great many donors in one *pokchang*, which is typically called *kechien* 結緣 (lit. “to form a karmic connection”) in Japan, is also witnessed in Koryŏ *pokchang* practice. I can only hope that future research will probe further into these issues in a broader context and extend our understanding of the practice of *pulbokchang*.

In this sense, *Koryŏ ūi sŏngmul, pulbokchang* opens more possibilities than it provides conclusions. With its comprehensive gathering of all available materials and its scrupulous translation and analysis of the inscriptions, it lays a firm foundation for further study of Korean *pulbokchang*. This book will be of great use to scholars interested in the lesser-known Korean *pulbokchang*, which constitutes a significant part of the practice of consecrating sacred images shared by all Buddhist traditions.

Sun-ah CHOI 崔善娥

Yu Xin 余欣, *Savoir traditionnel et pratiques magiques sur la route de la Soie*, Paris, Demopolis, 2018, 572 pages.

Cet imposant ouvrage réalisé par Yu Xin 余欣, professeur d'histoire médiévale chinoise à l'université Fudan de Shanghai, rassemble des articles résultant d'une série de conférences données à l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales à Paris, entre janvier et mars 2015, avec la participation de TransferS-ENS/ICSCC-Fudan.

La route de la Soie représente un terrain de recherche foisonnant pour ceux qui s'intéressent à toutes sortes de circulations, que l'auteur s'efforce de traiter en profondeur grâce à des exemples atypiques issus des découvertes archéologiques réalisées dans cette zone géographique. Une longue introduction pose les bases intellectuelles de cet ouvrage, en insistant sur les limites historiographiques auxquelles nous confrontent les études réalisées jusqu'à nos jours dans les domaines de l'histoire intellectuelle, des religions et l'histoire des échanges commerciaux; domaines pour lesquels la route de la Soie, et notamment l'un de ses carrefours, Dunhuang, se prête particulièrement bien. Yu Xin répond dans cet ouvrage à la volonté de présenter de nouvelles possibilités d'analyse concernant cette aire culturelle déjà largement étudiée.

De manière générale, cet ouvrage vise à montrer les processus de la création, de la circulation et de l'intégration des savoirs entre les nombreuses aires culturelles constituant la route de la Soie. L'auteur présente ainsi chaque objet, formant un chapitre, à travers le prisme de l'histoire matérielle, et d'une discipline pour laquelle il se pose en chef de file : l'histoire naturelle. Yu Xin nous propose ainsi un réel manifeste de l'histoire naturelle de la Chine, à la fois élément constitutif et prisme de la structuration des connaissances et croyances en Chine. Il présente de ce fait un cadre explicatif général de l'histoire naturelle et des arts occultes, permettant d'élaborer une « image du monde » (p. 59). L'auteur s'évertue à définir les caractéristiques matérielles de chaque objet, déplorant ce manque dans de nombreux autres travaux et, par la comparaison avec les sources littéraires ou des objets similaires, nous propose une large histoire sociale des pratiques associées à ces objets.

Le premier chapitre prend l'exemple d'un classique, le *Hanshu* 漢書 (*Livre des Han*), pour montrer comment non seulement un ouvrage, mais aussi tout un savoir académique se diffusaient en Chine dans toutes les catégories de la population, et ainsi exposer une histoire culturelle de l'écrit. Une présentation des fragments retrouvés à Dunhuang et Turfan donne un aperçu de la diffusion des ouvrages historiographiques et des questions que la comparaison entre ces fragments a soulevées. Dans l'étude « classique » de ces ouvrages, le chercheur essaiera de dater le fragment suivant le style d'écriture, les mots taboués et les commentaires, mais tout cela peut représenter de l'information erronée ou peu fiable. En revanche, les annotations révèlent d'autres informations précieuses, notamment sur les lecteurs, le but de la copie et le niveau de connaissances de son propriétaire. L'auteur analyse ensuite les pratiques des élites et la transmission du savoir. Les exemplaires retrouvés à Dunhuang et Turfan sont révélateurs du cheminement géographique et intellectuel parcouru par un texte, depuis le centre de la Chine jusqu'aux périphéries. Les reproductions

illustrent les choix faits par les copistes de copier fidèlement ou de modifier des passages, les différences variant selon les époques, les besoins des lecteurs, les tendances. De même, l'étude du matériau en lui-même permet de collecter des éléments relevant de l'histoire culturelle : qui produisait ces copies, comment, pourquoi les étudiait-on ? Grâce à l'exemple des manuels pour enfants et des légendes locales, l'auteur dépeint la pénétration d'un classique dans la société et le rôle du consensus de légitimité de ces classiques dans leur diffusion et intégration dans la culture populaire. Une étude des fragments du *Hanshu* de Dunhuang et Turfan permet ainsi d'en savoir davantage sur l'apprentissage à cette période.

Le deuxième chapitre, très succinct, ouvre sur les notions de rapport à soi, à l'autre, et sur la question de la réception et l'absorption d'éléments extérieurs dans une culture. Sur la base d'un légume associé à un type de betterave, le *zhujunda* 諸軍達, il est démontré comment, à partir de la volonté de comprendre un mot inconnu dans un dictionnaire, l'on peut recréer l'histoire d'un objet. L'auteur insiste particulièrement sur l'utilité de la philologie et de l'histoire naturelle pour remonter le fil de l'histoire du légume. Dans la démarche visant à comprendre la nature de cet aliment, l'origine de son nom et sa provenance, émergent des informations sur les échanges culturels, économiques, linguistiques, entre plusieurs pays ayant permis l'arrivée du *zhujunda* en Chine, nous emmenant jusque dans l'empire perse. Le fait que ce soit un légume n'est qu'un hasard, et la démarche serait identique pour tout autre chose, mais cet exemple permet une approche pluridisciplinaire. En effet, les documents de Dunhuang traitant des légumes ont principalement été étudiés sous les deux angles de l'histoire culinaire et de l'histoire économique et sociale. Le *zhujunda* a permis d'entrer dans les domaines de la linguistique, de l'histoire agricole, de la médecine, de l'histoire naturelle ainsi que des échanges commerciaux.

Le troisième chapitre explore l'imaginaire culturel entourant les objets provenant de Qiuci 龜茲 (Koutcha 庫車). Cette étude répond au constat qu'il existe un manque dans les études sur Qiuci (nous aurions souhaité que l'auteur introduise plus amplement ce royaume et ajoute éventuellement une carte), notamment sur sa production matérielle. Fondé par les Tokhariens installés dans le bassin du Tarim à partir du I^{er} siècle AEC environ, ce royaume a laissé comme seuls vestiges encore visibles des monastères bouddhiques ainsi que des grottes creusées dans les falaises. S'appuyant sur plusieurs groupes d'objets *koutchéens* dont Yu Xin retrace les circulations (culturelles ou physiques), de la culture chinoise vers la culture *qiuci* et inversement, c'est à nouveau la question de l'imprégnation d'une culture étrangère à une autre que l'auteur met principalement en avant, à travers l'exemple des objets. L'auteur tisse une comparaison entre l'objet *poluo* 頗羅, « bol évasé à la panse petite et au pied rond qui servait à boire du vin » (p. 271) d'origine zoroastrienne comportant dans l'exemple cité des motifs Han et démontrant l'influence culturelle Han sur Qiuci, et des coupes à boire de l'antiquité gréco-romaine. Yu Xin présente ainsi un vase à Borovo (Bulgarie) et un bas-relief du Pirée en Grèce, représentant Dionysos, un *poluo* à la main, ainsi qu'un objet similaire sur une fresque de Pompéi. Il nous semble que trouver une origine commune à ces deux objets ne devrait pas être plus qu'une supposition, et nécessiterait davantage de travaux à ce sujet. En

effet, il ne serait pas étonnant que différentes civilisations aient pu utiliser des objets semblables sans qu'il n'y ait eu de contacts.

A travers les recherches de Yu Xin, nous constatons une appropriation volontaire d'éléments culturels entre les Han et la population de Qiuci (éléments décoratifs ou techniques, que l'on peut certainement comprendre comme des techniques commerciales, mais qui doit beaucoup au bouddhisme), qui sont très représentatifs de l'imaginaire culturel de l'époque. La littérature et les mythes faisant référence à Qiuci rendent compte de l'extrême richesse de ce royaume. Les objets *qiuci*, ou imprégnés d'éléments *qiuci*, montrent la représentation de cet « autre », désirée ou subie, l'idée d'un « ailleurs culturel » (p. 299) et de l'exotisme du royaume Qiuci. Comme un « orientalisme » avant l'heure, Yu Xin rend compte de l'importance du fantasme : le fantasme de l'autre riche et beau, mystérieux. Finalement, ce chapitre invoque l'utilité d'étudier le sens social (p. 244) d'un objet, de comprendre la « métaphore culturelle greffée sur un objet étranger » (p. 295) dont il est ici question, nous amenant un pas plus loin dans la compréhension de la conception du monde en vigueur sous les Tang 唐 (618-907).

Le quatrième chapitre est d'un intérêt méthodologique certain pour ceux qui étudient l'histoire des disciplines et l'histoire des savoirs à travers le paradigme de compréhension du monde chinois ancien qui est la physiognomonie du cheval sous les Han 漢 (206 AEC-221 EC) et les Tang. Etant à l'origine une forme de divination, reposant sur le concept des nombres et des signes trouvés dans le *Yijing* 易經 (le *Livre des mutations*), la physiognomonie permettait de déterminer des vérités sur l'objet examiné et de connaître son avenir, grâce aux caractéristiques (principalement physiques) observées. Cette technique s'intégra plus tard dans des catégories plus larges, comme dans les vœux et textes rituels, puis dans les traités d'agriculture. L'étude sur la physiognomonie du cheval, à partir des textes excavés à l'époque des Qin et des Han, des découvertes d'Aurel Stein à Mogao 莫高窟 au Gansu et de la littérature transmise, permet de remarquer qu'ils contiennent la somme des connaissances acquises depuis le début de l'élevage équin en Chine et sont le reflet d'une standardisation des pratiques liées à la physiognomonie. La multiplicité des connaisseurs, possédant leur propre méthode (le plus souvent selon une partie distincte du corps du cheval) ainsi que des textes, rédigés par des physiognomonistes, des possesseurs de chevaux ou des éleveurs, permet de comparer les pratiques de physiognomonie à des périodes différentes, ainsi que l'acceptation de certaines caractéristiques dans le vocabulaire courant. L'oasis de Dunhuang joue un rôle important dans l'étude de cette pratique : étant un lieu de passage obligatoire des soldats et des marchands, les chevaux jouent un rôle prépondérant dans les échanges. On peut ainsi comprendre l'intérêt particulier accordé à ces animaux, justifiant aussi la grande spécialisation des physiognomonistes dont fait part l'auteur. Les travaux de Yu Xin ont aussi permis de constater la littérisation des figures de style à l'époque médiévale, comme les comparaisons faites avec des caractéristiques animales, notamment équines, ainsi qu'une préférence pour le genre encyclopédique pendant la période des Tang et des Cinq Dynasties (907-960).

Le cinquième chapitre traite de l'observation des phénomènes climatiques : l'aéromancie (*zhan feng* 占風, divination par les vents) à partir d'ouvrages découverts

à Turfan, au Xinjiang. Brossant un nouveau tableau des perceptions géographiques du passé, ce chapitre présente surtout une méthode pour déterminer l'origine d'un savoir ou d'une technique et son imprégnation dans la société, les pratiques et les savoirs, notamment par le biais d'ouvrages sur la religion, incluant la divination. L'auteur introduit d'abord les livres de divination de Turfan présents dans le fonds allemand (collections de Turfan à Berlin, Berliner Turfan Sammlung), les travaux effectués sur ces documents ainsi que les études japonaises effectuées sur le sujet. Après une description détaillée du document Ch3316 (période Han), qui est une méthode d'aéromancie, sont présentées les origines de cette pratique. L'auteur fait le constat que l'aéromancie, l'astronomie, l'uranomancie (*feng yun qihou zhan* 風雲氣候占, divination par les vents, les nuages et le *qi*) et la géomancie étaient initialement un même art. Celui-ci serait né du concept ancien de « vent » *feng* 風, déjà présent dans les inscriptions sur carapace et os des Shang et des Zhou, et mentionné dans le *Guoyu*, *Zengyu* 國語·鄭語 (*Discours de Zheng*, *Discours sur les principautés*). En recherchant les origines géographiques et conceptuelles de l'aéromancie, on se rend compte que cette discipline s'est constituée grâce à des apports et des concepts provenant d'ethnies non han, notamment par la divination née probablement dans les pays de Wu 吳 ou de Yue 越. Certains éléments sont par la suite ajoutés dans les classiques et se distillent en savoirs bien particuliers, encore visibles dans des documents comme ceux de la tombe de Shuihudi 睡虎地, de Yinqueshan 銀雀山 et du fonds Pelliot. Outre les prédictions agricoles, la divination par les tuyaux sonores (présentée notamment dans le *Lüshu* 律書, *Traité des tubes diapason*) fut beaucoup utilisée, l'auteur citant l'exemple des divinations de Fangma tan 放馬灘, en faisant un rapprochement peu développé entre la divination et la médecine. Le Ch3316 servait en effet à prédire les récoltes et les maladies, il était accompagné d'un diagramme sur l'interprétation des huit vents d'après la course de l'Un Suprême (Tai yi 太一) et d'une association des huit trigrammes (*bagua* 八卦) avec les neuf palais (*jiugong* 九宮). On perçoit donc le mélange de différents systèmes de divination des temps anciens, connaissant par la suite des spécialisations concernant la destinée du pays, les récoltes, les affaires militaires, les maladies, les bonheurs et malheurs individuels. Toutefois très peu d'informations sur la pratique réelle de l'aéromancie et l'uranomancie sous les Han nous sont parvenues. Grâce à l'exemple de la divination par les vols d'oiseaux développé par Yu Xin, une des plus fréquentes et anciennes formes prise par l'aéromancie, on peut percevoir la vulgarisation des connaissances liées à cette discipline. C'est encore plus aisé à Dunhuang, où les manuels d'éducation et surtout leurs commentaires permettent l'intégration de ces pratiques dans la culture générale de l'époque. C'est ainsi qu'aujourd'hui, nos seules connaissances sur l'aéromancie proviennent de la littérature transmise, notamment par les monographies, encore au gout du jour sous les Song 宋 (960-1279).

Le sixième chapitre s'intéresse aux rituels d'exorcisme à partir des figurines magiques trouvées le long de la route de la Soie. D'emblée, l'auteur justifie le choix d'appeler « figurines » les objets décrits dans le chapitre, en les définissant comme des objets magiques, *faqi* 法器 (pouvant être traduit par instrument liturgique), servant à pratiquer l'exorcisme (il serait intéressant de s'interroger sur la nature réellement magique de ces pratiques, ou de présenter selon quel point de vue elles

peuvent être considérées comme telles). La première partie du chapitre s'intéresse à l'aspect matériel des figurines comme le matériau, la description physique, les couleurs, la forme de l'écriture ainsi que celle des figurines, et à leur contexte. Certaines figurines sont ainsi des objets à part selon leur forme ou lieu de trouvaille, puisqu'elles étaient conservées sur des sites très divers entre Dunhuang et Kyōto : Dunhuang 敦煌, Gaotai 高臺, Juyan 居延, Turfan 吐魯番, Changsha 長沙, Gorbunovo ainsi que les sites japonais. La deuxième partie du chapitre vise à faire une analyse fonctionnelle des figurines. L'auteur énonce les premières hypothèses émises sur leur utilisation, comme la fonction de piquet de tente ou de torche, d'objet exorciste, mais seulement utilisé par des ethnies minoritaires, ou encore quelque chose de semblable aux divinités de la fécondité du néolithique comme les poupées de terre, de bois, de papier, de pierre, de plomb, en bois de pêcher des Royaumes combattants (v^e siècle-221 AEC), utilisées pour jeter des sorts. L'importance d'étudier le contexte entourant ces objets transparait particulièrement dans ce chapitre, puisque le lieu de trouvaille, les objets découverts en même temps et la position des figurines donnent beaucoup d'informations au chercheur. C'est ainsi que l'auteur remarque que les plus anciennes figurines ont été retrouvées sur un même site (une tour de guet). La littérature transmise peut par la suite confirmer des hypothèses, par exemple pour comprendre la fonction de ces figurines : ainsi, l'action de les planter dans le sol, qu'on devine à la forme pointue du bout des figurines, est attestée dans la littérature transmise. L'auteur définit ces figurines comme des « armes » au pouvoir spirituel permanent, pouvant repousser les attaques ennemies. Ce serait selon lui une « pratique *yin yang* », magique, appliquée à l'art militaire, mais faisant aussi partie des arts divinatoires. Ces objets rentreraient dans un mélange d'anciens cultes associés au règne végétal et à des pratiques exorcistes, lorsque « du temps des religions primitives, de nombreux peuples croyaient que certaines plantes, de même que les os, les griffes, la queue, les plumes ou les cornes de certains animaux étaient dotés de pouvoirs magiques » (p. 476). L'auteur emploie des termes qui, du moins en français, ne sont pas heureux, comme l'idée que ces pratiques relèvent de ce que l'anthropologie appelle « fétichisme » (*ibid.*), ou d'art magique. Nous regrettons que la définition de ce qu'est le « magique » ne survienne qu'à ce stade avancé de l'ouvrage, sous forme d'une note de bas de page alors que ce terme fait partie du titre du livre, même si nous devinons que le « magique » est compris dans les « arts occultes » mentionnés en introduction. Cette définition fait sens si on prend en compte l'année de parution de l'ouvrage cité pour la définition (*Zhongguo gudai wushu – zongjiao de qi yuan he fazhan* 中國古代巫術 – 宗教的起源和發展 [Arts magiques de l'antiquité chinoise. Origine et essor des religions], Guangzhou, Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 1989, p. 8-15). Nous estimons que comparer des pratiques et croyances anciennes à travers notre prisme de la rationalité, comme on l'entend dans les termes cités dans la définition « par association d'idées ou par erreur », « faussement scientifiques » (p. 476), est aujourd'hui quelque peu daté. L'auteur revient par la suite sur les matériaux dans lesquels sont fabriquées les figurines. Le murier, le pêcher, le saule ainsi que le jujubier sont des bois déjà mentionnés dans le *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (*Commentaire de Zuo*, un des commentaires des *Annales des Printemps et Automnes*), et souvent utilisés pour les vertus protectrices

qu'on leur accorde. Il présente ainsi implicitement des rituels que l'on définit comme apotropaïques voire démonifuges, à partir du moment où les figurines sont plantées dans le sol, soit dans les tombes, soit dans les maisons. L'origine taoïste de ces pratiques a souvent été avancée; toutefois, comme le souligne l'auteur lui-même, l'usage de figurines protectrices fichées dans le sol devant les maisons est attesté dès le néolithique, l'argument taoïste serait peut-être à manier avec plus de prudence. Evidemment, cette explication ne s'applique pas aux figurines retrouvées aux tours de guet. L'étude des figurines fait émerger un autre aspect important dans la religion populaire, que met aussi en avant Li Ling 李零 : le pouvoir du dessin et de l'écrit, rappelant un aspect intéressant de l'art figuratif chinois, qui est le pouvoir des représentations figuratives dans le système de croyances de la Chine antique. Ce chapitre ouvre à nouveau sur la conception de l'espace et des frontières chez les Chinois de l'antiquité. La Grande Muraille devient ainsi une muraille « magique » par la grande quantité de figurines retrouvée autour. Cet argument semble convaincant. Il s'agit par la suite de déterminer si ces pratiques étaient officielles ou tacitement admises par le commandement. L'auteur n'en connaît pas encore la réponse. Il est intéressant d'observer ce phénomène tout le long de la route de la Soie, en dépit des barrières ethniques et culturelles. Les figurines servaient donc à deux choses : à la protection d'un lieu et, ou d'une personne; et comme substitut humain, prenant le mal du défunt et des vivants. En somme, ce chapitre cherche à expliquer l'utilité de ces objets, leur sens symbolique, la place qu'ils occupaient dans les croyances chinoises. L'objectif est aussi de montrer l'importance de réintégrer l'archéologie dans l'histoire, plutôt que de maintenir ces deux disciplines séparées comme ce fut longtemps le cas. Faire preuve de « compréhension empathique » (p. 444), être ouvert aux études participatives, en prenant part aux fouilles ou en essayant d'examiner l'objet physique, sont les méthodes privilégiées par l'auteur, ce qui ne peut qu'être salué.

Le septième chapitre clôt l'ouvrage sur les destinées individuelles et les planètes, en présentant une étude documentaire et iconographique de l'astrologie pratiquée à Dunhuang. Yu Xin part du constat que la divination d'après le jour de naissance en Chine provient de l'étranger, alors que la dimension auspiciuse du jour de naissance d'après l'alignement des planètes serait en revanche chinoise. La présentation de cette étude se justifie par le manque d'études sur la diffusion des croyances astrologiques dans la société, du rôle des rituels religieux, de l'influence sur les mentalités et les comportements. Le document présenté, Ch.lvi.0033, que l'auteur rebaptise « Talisman *dharani* en hommage à Ketu et Mercure, divinités planétaires du Nord », fut découvert par Aurel Stein dans les grottes de Mogao et actuellement conservé au British Museum. Toute une partie de l'argumentaire dans ce chapitre vise à montrer un point de vue différent sur ce document, justifiant un nouveau titre. L'auteur met en avant la nécessité aujourd'hui de donner un concept plus précis que « religion populaire », qui est trop dichotomique et lourd de présupposés. Il invite à réfléchir aux éléments durables de la vie socioreligieuse chinoise, comme la mythologie, les rituels, les concepts cosmologiques, les acteurs religieux ou le culte ancestral. Dans ce chapitre prime la question de la religion à Dunhuang. L'auteur suit les idées de certains chercheurs mettant en avant le fait que le bouddhisme n'était pas

l'unique religion, ni la principale, dans cette région ; notre document en est un bon exemple. A travers l'étude de ce dernier, Yu Xin parvient par l'analyse du culte et de l'importance accordée aux divinités de Mercure et Ketu à mettre en évidence les origines provenant d'autres religions que le bouddhisme et des éléments astronomiques provenant d'Inde, arrivés en Chine grâce aux calendriers. De cette manière, on constate que des éléments du bouddhisme tantrique, du manichéisme, ainsi que de la tradition chinoise, ont fusionné afin de donner les pratiques astrologiques de la Chine médiévale à Dunhuang. L'influence de cultures de régions chinoises contribua à son tour au développement de l'astrologie, notamment avec des textes taoïstes provenant du royaume de Shu 蜀. Mercure est déjà présente dans la culture ancienne chinoise par les liens imaginés entre les cinq planètes, les cinq éléments, les cinq directions, que l'on retrouve dans le *Shiji* 史記 (*Mémoires historiques*) comme dans un texte de Mawangdui 馬王堆, la « Divination par les cinq planètes » (*wu xing zhan* 五星占), dans lequel Mercure est en relation avec les cinq éléments et les cinq directions. Finalement, il est évident que l'astrologie chinoise a connu bien plus d'échanges avec l'astrologie étrangère qu'on ne l'imaginait jusque-là.

La diversité des objets utilisés pour l'argumentaire de cet ouvrage montre à quel point les échanges culturels, scientifiques et religieux ont profondément influencé le monde chinois, et surtout son quotidien. L'auteur a présenté différentes catégories d'objets définissant la culture chinoise : la culture textuelle et la littérature, l'enseignement avec l'exemple du *Hanshu* ; le commerce, le langage, l'alimentation avec le *zhujunda* ; l'imaginaire culturel : la conscience de soi, de l'autre, de la Chine et de l'étranger, à travers les objets *qiuci* ; la standardisation de pratiques, de savoirs, et la spécialisation des disciplines avec la physiognomonie et l'aéromancie ; l'évolution de concepts anciens propres à l'élite et leur implantation dans la « religion populaire » dans de nombreux champs, comme par exemple l'observation des phénomènes climatiques ; la religion, la magie et les échanges culturels dans le cas des rituels d'exorcisme le long de la route de la Soie. Le syncrétisme religieux est particulièrement visible à travers l'exemple du « Talisman *dharani* en hommage à Ketu et Mercure, divinités planétaires du Nord ».

« Quelle était la réalité des savoirs, des croyances et des sociétés de la Chine médiévale ? » Une nouvelle description de la conception du monde par les anciens Chinois s'esquisse à travers les chapitres, qu'elle soit géographique, par la manière dont ils représentaient leur milieu de vie, ou imaginaire, par la conception de son propre territoire et de l'autre, l'élaboration de frontières à défendre, évidemment militairement, mais aussi spirituellement. L'auteur répond à sa propre question en présentant une Chine médiévale en plein essor intellectuel se traduisant sur la route de la Soie par les échanges commerciaux mais aussi intellectuels : la circulation de copies, de traductions et l'adaptation d'objets et de concepts prenant place dans la conscience populaire sous forme de textes, d'images, de rituels et de savoirs. Le syncrétisme religieux est évident dans la Chine des Tang, mais Yu Xin parvient à démontrer la puissance du syncrétisme culturel qui, par la route de la Soie, s'immisce lentement au cœur de la Chine.

Nous déplorons l'absence de conclusion à la fin de l'ouvrage qui aurait permis au lecteur, après cette longue pérégrination vers l'Ouest, de faire plus aisément un

bilan de son voyage. Le nombre plus important d'illustrations à la fin de l'ouvrage permet une meilleure compréhension des sources et objets mentionnés, ce qui aurait été bienvenu dans les premiers chapitres. Nous aurions aussi apprécié une plus grande régularité dans l'utilisation des caractères chinois et du *pinyin*, qui ne sont pas utilisés systématiquement après chaque nouveau terme chinois, cela aurait facilité la recherche des références ou la lecture pour les non-sinisants.

Il va toutefois sans dire que cet ouvrage est un exemple remarquable de la nouvelle manière de faire l'histoire de la Chine, dans laquelle prime le décroisement. Faire une nouvelle histoire d'un sujet a priori largement traité, sous l'angle de l'histoire intellectuelle grâce à des sources non seulement textuelles mais aussi matérielles, démontre l'infinité des possibilités d'études si tant est que l'on sache toujours questionner différemment les sources.

Éléonore CARO





Auteurs du présent volume / Contributors to This Volume

Éléonore CARO (nom chinois LU Yiliu 鹿依柳) est doctorante contractuelle en Histoire à l'EHESS sous la direction d'Alain Arrault depuis octobre 2018 et rattachée au laboratoire Chine, Corée, Japon (UMR 8173, EHESS-CNRS). Ses recherches, dans le cadre de la thèse en préparation, portent sur les pratiques magico-médicales chinoises entre les Royaumes combattants et la fin de la dynastie des Han, du v^e siècle AEC au III^e siècle EC, en mettant particulièrement l'accent sur les sources archéologiques, incluant des textes provenant de tombes mais aussi des textes et objets découverts sur des sites non funéraires. Par l'incorporation de la littérature transmise comme élément de comparaison, cette recherche associe histoire, archéologie et philologie.

Dr. Élisabeth CHABANOL is Associate Professor at the French School of Asian Studies (École française d'Extrême-Orient, EFEO, French Ministry of Higher Education, Research and Innovation) specialized in Korean art history, archeology and heritage. She is the head of the Seoul Center of the EFEO and director of the Archaeological French-DPRK Mission in Kaesong (French Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs). She is a leading member of the Agence Nationale de la Recherche funded "City, Architecture and Urbanism in North Korea" (ANR-17-CE27-0012) project. Continuing her field research on the Kaesong site since 2003, she has written several texts on the city's heritage, including, in collaboration with the National Authority for the Protection of Cultural Heritage (NAPCH) of the DPRK, *Chosŏn-P'üransŭ Kaesong sŏng kongdong chosa palgul = France-RPD de Corée, EFEO-NAPCH, Mission archéologique à Kaesong. Exposition sur les recherches et les fouilles archéologiques conjointes de la forteresse de Kaesong*, Paris/Pyongyang, EFEO/NAPCH, ed. Ateliers des cahiers, 2017.

Sun-ah CHOI 최선아 (崔善娥) is Associate Professor of Buddhist Art in the Department of Art History at Myongji University. After receiving a Ph.D. in Art History from the University of Chicago in 2012, she served as a Postdoctoral Fellow and Lecturer at Columbia University and joined Myongji University in 2013. Her research interest centers on the notion of images, particularly the ways in which the ontological status of sacred images was imagined and represented. One of her recent articles, "Zhenrong to Ruixiang: The Medieval Chinese Reception of the Mahābodhi Buddha Statue" (*Art Bulletin* 97, no. 4 [2015]) delves into that issue. At present, she is working on a book which examines how the concept of *zhen* 眞 (real) was used in the context of image worship in East Asian Buddhist traditions.

HWANG Yoon Ah 황윤아 (黃閔雅) is a Ph.D. candidate of the Department of Art History at the University of Southern California. Her research interests include the Buddhist art and material culture in northwestern China with a focus on artistic production and exchange along the Silk Road during the ninth–tenth centuries. Her dissertation, "Projecting Wishes on Flying Banners: Materiality and Painted Banners from Cave 17 in Mogao Caves, Dunhuang, China in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," examines artistic practice, materialistic qualities, and religious efficacy of painted banners and their functional purpose. She has held an internship at



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the Metropolitan Museum of Art and also worked as a curatorial assistant at the National Museum of Korea in Seoul.

JEON Seung Hee 전승희 (全丞姬) is a literary scholar and critic as well as a leading translator of Korean literature. Her articles include “War Trauma, Memories and Truths: Representations of the Korean War in Pak Wan-so’s Writings and in ‘Still Present Pasts,’” *Critical Asian Studies* 42, no. 4 (2010): 623–51. Her translations include the 2016 Man Booker Prize-winning novelist Han Kang’s *Convergence* (Seoul: ASIA Publishers, 2013) and Bang Hyeon-seok’s fiction *Time to Eat Lobster: Contemporary Korean Stories on Memories of the Vietnam War* (Maine: MerwinAsia, 2016), which was selected for “75 Notable Translations of the Year” by *World Literature Today*. She has been honored with a Fulbright Grant, a Korea Foundation Fellowship, and two Daesan Foundation Translation grants. Based in both Boston and Seoul, she is a visiting assistant professor in Korean at Boston College.

JEONG Eunwoo 정은우 (鄭恩雨). After studying art history and earning a Ph.D. at Hongik University, with a dissertation on Buddhist sculpture, Jeong is currently an Associate Professor at the Department of Archeology and Art History at Dong-A University, while also serving as the director of the Seokdang Museum at the university. She has served as the president of the Art History Association of Korea and is currently the president of the Association of Art History. Her publications include *Koryŏ hugi pulgyo chogak yŏn’gu* 高麗後期 佛教彫刻 研究 [A Study of Buddhist Sculpture during the Late Koryŏ Period] (Seoul: Munye ch’ulp’ansa, 2007); *Pulsang’ŭi miso* 불상의 미소 [The Smile in Buddhist Images] (P’aju: Porim ch’ulp’ansa); and *Koryŏ’ŭi sŏngmul, pulbokchang* 고려의 성물, 불복장 [The *pulbokchang*, Sacred Objects of the Koryŏ Period] (co-authored) (Seoul: Kyŏng’in munhwasa, 2017), as well as numerous articles, including: “Sŏ Ilbon chiyŏk ŭi Koryŏ pulsang kwa Pusŏksa tongjo Kwanŭm posal chwasang” 西日本地域の 高麗佛像과 浮石寺 銅造 觀音菩薩坐像 [Koryŏ Buddhist Images in Western Japan and the Seated Bronze Image of Avalokiteśvara of Pusŏksa], *Tongak misulsabak* 14 (2013); and “Changgoksa kŭmdong Yaksa yŏrae chwasang kwa pokchang yumul ŭi naeryŏk kwa t’ŭkching” 장곡사 금동약사여래좌상과 복장유물의 내력과 특징 [The Origin and Characteristics of the Seated Gilt-Bronze Image of Bhaiṣajyaguru of Changgoksa and Its Interred Objects], *Misulsa yŏn’gu* 29 (2015).

KANG Heejung 강희정 (姜熺靜) is a professor at the Institute for East Asian Studies of Sogang University. Kang specializes in Buddhist art history, and she is particularly interested in the relationship between Buddhist images and esoteric Buddhist rituals, as well as the question of sacredness illuminated from a material cultural perspective. Her major publications include: *K’ŭllik Asia misulsa* 클릭 아시아미술사 (co-authored) (Seoul: Yegyong, 2015); *Nara ŭi chŏnghwa, Chosŏn ui p’yosang: Ilje kangjŏm gi Sŏkkuram non* 나라의 정화, 조선의 표상: 일제강점기 석굴암론 (Seoul: Sogang University Press, 2012); “7 segi p’yŏndanugyŏn puripsang ŭi kiwŏn kwa chŏngae” 7세기 偏袒右肩 佛立像의 起源과 전개, *Sillasa hakbo* 36 (2016); “Powŏnsa-chi o-ch’ŭng sŏkt’ap sariham

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KIM Sinae 김시내 (金溪) is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Religion at Princeton University. Her research focuses on the history of religious practices in medieval China. In particular, she is interested in the dynamic relationship between Buddhist canonical scriptures, popular religious practices, and oral literary traditions in medieval China. She studies Chinese Buddhist preaching culture, sūtra lectures, rituals, and popular religious literature, with a focus on Dunhuang manuscripts, stele inscriptions, and archeological materials. Her study also examines the role peripatetic preachers or performers played in the popularization of Buddhism in medieval China. She received both B.A. and M.A. in Chinese Language and Literature from Seoul National University and studied religion at SOAS, University of London.

KIM Soyeon 김소연 (金昭妍) is a Lecturer in the Department of Korean History at Korea University. She received her Ph.D. in Art History from UCLA in 2019, having written her dissertation on “Worshipping the Stars: The Buddha of Polaris in Early Modern Korean Visual Culture.” She has worked at the National Museum of Korea and Horim Museum, Seoul, and has served as a junior fellow at the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. Her current research interest focuses on the religious and visual culture of port areas in pre-modern East Asia. Her major publications include “1764 nyön chak Changhüngsa Chijangsiwangdo siron” 1764년 작 장흥사 지장시왕도 시론, *Misulsa wak yön'gu* 302 (2019); and “Sibiryo üi kiwön munje wa chungguk pul togyo üi sibiryong” 십일요의 기원 문제와 중국 불·도교의 십일요 수용, *Pulgyo hakpo* 85 (2018).

KIM Sujung 김수정 (金秀廷) is an Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at DePauw University. While her research primarily centers on the premodern transcultural interactions between Japan and Korea, her interdisciplinary research interests also include modern/contemporary Korean Buddhism. Her first book, *Shinra Myōjin and Buddhist Networks of the East Asian “Mediterranean”* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019) focuses on a deity called Shinra Myōjin. The book explains that Shinra Myōjin is not only an influential protector god of the Onjōji temple in Japan, but also part of the transnational network of people, ideas, and gods, spanning China, Korea, and Japan. She is currently working on her second book project, which explores the interplay between emotion and *etoki* (picture-explaining) with an emphasis on the *Illustrated Biographies of the Kegon Sect Patriarch*, a thirteenth-century Japanese narrative scroll that depicts the biographies of two seventh-century Korean Buddhist monks. Also, she has published several book chapters and articles on Korean Buddhism. She is the recipient of the 1st KABS Mujin Writing Award and is one of the co-cluster leaders of the international research project, “Talismsans and Talisman Cultures in Contemporary Vietnam, Korea, and Japan: Meaning, Making, Medium” (2020–22) funded by the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council and the University of British Columbia.

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Youn-mi KIM (KIM Yŏn-mi) 김연미 (金延美), Associate Professor in Asian Art at Ewha Womans University, is a specialist in Buddhist art. Before joining the Ewha faculty, she was an Assistant Professor in Chinese Art History at Yale University (2012–16), an Assistant Professor in Asian Art History at The Ohio State University (2011–12) and a postdoctoral associate at the Council on East Asian Studies at Yale University (2010–11). She is particularly interested in symbolic rituals, in which an architectural space serves as a material agent; the interplay between visibility and invisibility in Buddhist art; and the sacred spaces and religious macrocosms created by religious architecture for imaginary pilgrimages. She is the editor of *New Perspectives on Early Korean Art: From Silla to Koryŏ* (Cambridge, MA: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2013). She is currently completing a book manuscript entitled *Visualizing the Invisible: Space, Body, and Ritual in Liao Pagodas (907–1125)*.

LEE Seonyong (Yi Sŏn-yong) 이선용 (李宣鎔) is currently a researcher at the Institute for Esoteric Buddhism at Uiduk University, a member of the Cultural Heritage Committee of Northern Ch'ungch'ŏng Province and a senior researcher at the Reproduction of Traditional Textile Research Center of Korea National University of Cultural Heritage. Also, she was an adjunct professor at the Korea National University of Cultural Heritage. Her master thesis, entitled “Pul pokchangmul kusŏng kwa chingmul e kwanhan yŏn'gu” 佛腹藏物 구성과 직물에 관한 연구 was the foundation of her research on *pokchang* in Korea and traditional textiles. She just completed her dissertation on the *pokchang* practice. Her selected publications include “Purhwa e kirok toen pŏmja e kwanhan yŏn'gu” 불화에 기록된 범자에 관한 연구, *Misulsabak yŏn'gu* 278 (2013), and “Urinara pulbokchang ūi t'ŭkching” 우리나라 불복장의 특징, *Misulsabak yŏn'gu* 289 (2016).

Seunghye LEE (Yi Sŭng-hye) 이승혜 (李勝慧) is a specialist of Chinese and Korean Buddhist art and is currently Curator of Buddhist Art at Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, in Seoul. She has also held a position at the Academy of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University. Her research focuses on the relationship between Buddhist art and practices of worship from the tenth to the twentieth centuries. Her major publications include *A Study of Korean Pagodas: Joseon tappa ui yeon'gu* (translated and annotated with introduction) (Seoul: Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism, 2017); “Hall of Underground Palace of the Tianfeng Pagoda: Changing Form, Function, and Meaning of Reliquary Space in Southern Song China,” in *Refiguring East Asian Religious Art: Buddhist Devotion and Funerary Practice*, ed. Wu Huang and Paul Copp (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2019); and “Consecrating the Buddha: The Formation of the *Bokjang* Ritual during the Goryeo Period,” *Journal of Korean Art & Archaeology* 14 (2020).

LEE Yongyun (Yi Yong-yun) 이용운 (李容胤) received her Ph.D. in Buddhist art history from the Hongik University. Currently, she is a senior researcher at Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage. She is a co-author of *Han'guk pulgyo misulsa* 한국불교미술사 (Seoul: Mijinsa, 2011) and author of *Chinyŏng e kittŭn sŏnsa ūi sam kwa sasang* 진영에 깃든 선사의 삶과 사상 (Seoul: Chogyejong ch'ulp'ansa,



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LONG Junxi 龍俊希 est doctorante en histoire à l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales (EHESS) sous la direction d’Alain Arrault, et le co-encadrement de Sylvie Hureau (École pratique des hautes études, EPHE). À la suite de son mémoire de master intitulé « L’identité de Huiming : une fabrication dans les récits du Chan » sous la direction de Sylvie Hureau à l’EPHE en 2018, elle interroge dans le cadre de son doctorat la relation qui peut exister entre les cultes locaux et les récits religieux. Sa thèse porte en effet sur les hagiographies et les récits légendaires concernant le mont Lu 廬山 (sud-est de la Chine, province du Jiangxi) en Chine prémoderne, des Cinq Dynasties (907-960) à la dynastie des Song du Nord (960-1127).

Richard D. McBRIDE II is Associate Professor of Asian and Near Eastern Languages at Brigham Young University. He is the author of *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), the editor of *State and Society in Middle and Late Silla* (Cambridge, MA: Early Korea Project, Korea Institute, Harvard University, 2010), and the editor and primary translator of *Hwaŏm I: The Mainstream Tradition* and *Hwaŏm II: Selected Works*, *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism*, vols. 4 and 5 (Seoul: Tae-Han Pulgyo Chogyejong, 2012). His most recent work is *Doctrine and Practice in Medieval Korean Buddhism: The Collected Works of Ŭich’ŏn*, Korean Classics Library, Philosophy and Religion (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2017). His current projects include the monograph titled *Aspiring to Enlightenment: Pure Land Buddhism in Silla Korea*.

James ROBSON 羅柏松 is the James C. Kralik and Yunli Lou Professor of East Asian Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University and the William Fung Director of the Harvard University Asia Center. He received his Ph.D. from Stanford University, after spending many years doing research in China, Taiwan, and Japan. He previously taught at Williams College and the University of Michigan and was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford University. He specializes in the history of Chinese Buddhism and Daoism. He is the author of the *Power of Place: The Religious Landscape of the Southern Sacred Peak [Nanyue 南嶽] in Medieval China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), which was awarded the Stanislas Julien Prize awarded by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and the Toshihide Numata Prize in Buddhist Studies. He has also published widely on topics ranging from sacred geography and local religious history to the historical development of Chan/Zen Buddhism and the contents of religious images. He is the co-editor of *Images, Relics and Legends: The Formation and Transformation of Buddhist Sacred Sites* and *Buddhist Monasticism*





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in *East Asia: Places of Practice* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 2012). He is the editor of the *Norton Anthology of World Religions: Daoism* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2015) and is currently the co-editor of *T'oung-Pao*.

SONG Il-gie (SONG Il-gi) 송일기 (宋日基) is a professor emeritus at Chung-Ang University, previously worked as a professor at Chonnam National University, was the former head of the Institute of Korea Bibliography, and a former member of the Cultural Properties Committee. SONG Il-gie has been studying Buddhist documents produced at the royal courts and Buddhist temples across the country from ancient times through the Chosŏn period (1392–1910). His current main research interests are gold paper copies of the *Diamond Sūtra* produced in the Paekche Kingdom (18 BCE–660 CE), Buddhist scriptures published between the eighth and the tenth centuries that were discovered inside Buddhist statues, and texts published at Buddhist temples in the Chosŏn period.

Maya STILLER is Assistant Professor of Korean Art and Visual Culture at the University of Kansas and a former post-doctoral fellow at Harvard University's Korea Institute and Department of Art History and Architecture. Her research focuses on the visual, material and religious cultures of late Chosŏn period (1392–1910) Korea. She is currently completing a book manuscript about Kŭmgangsan, which developed from a Buddhist pilgrimage site to a symbol of Korean cultural identity. Her most recent article, "The Politics of Commemoration: Patronage of Monk-General Shrines in Late Chosŏn Korea," was published in the *Journal of Asian Studies* in February 2018. An article titled "Specific Aspects and Functions of Korean Monk Portraits" was published in Korean by the Kwangju National Museum in 2017. Maya STILLER has also contributed to the *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (ed. Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez Jr.) published in 2014.

