

**Mirrors in Koryŏ Society  
Their History, Use and Meanings**

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**Volume 1**

**Text**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
SOAS, University of London  
2005



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## Abstract

The Koryŏ dynasty (AD 918-1392) witnessed an unprecedented rise in the production of bronze mirrors that were cast in a large variety of shapes, sizes and motifs. This thesis explores the history, use and meanings of Koryŏ mirrors and challenges preconceived interpretations viewing them as one-dimensional everyday objects whose mundane existence persisted irrespective of context. Through a detailed study of the surviving evidence, a complex picture emerges and mirrors are proven to be meaningful commodities that operate within unique social, political and religious settings. These conditions govern their production and consumption and determine their stylistic attributes and uses.

The body of material examined consists of archaeologically recovered mirrors from tombs and pagodas and unprovenanced examples in museum collections. The former undergo a rigorous structuralist analysis within their known framework of use, whereas the latter expand and enrich the sample. Pre-Koryŏ examples are also brought into the discussion in the belief that earlier traditions informed the ways in which Koryŏ mirrors functioned. Stylistic comparisons are made with foreign examples and the few available written sources provide further insights into the use of mirrors in Koryŏ.

In this way, the multiple functions and meanings of Koryŏ mirrors are brought to light and interpreted. As secular commodities, mirrors performed both ordinary and complex roles as grooming utensils, diplomatic and trade items, luxury artefacts and collectibles of aesthetic and antiquarian value. Their production was controlled by the government and the best specimens, apparently restricted to the aristocracy, came to manifest high social status, a quality that members of local elites sought to emulate through the consumption of similar items. As ritual objects, mirrors were associated with status and auspiciousness and assumed apotropaic qualities; they also embodied key concepts within the Buddhist teaching. For these reasons, they were used as burial goods and were also included alongside relics within pagodas. Their secular and ritual roles were thus interwoven and the one did not preclude the other.

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## Acknowledgements

This project would not have come to light without the advice, help and support from a large number of friends and colleagues. My deepest and sincerest thanks go to my supervisor, Dr Pak Young-sook without whose enthusiasm, unfaltering encouragement and academic guidance this project would not have taken shape.

I am deeply grateful to numerous scholars in Korea who over the years have given me advice, tracked down precious research material, and offered me access to museum and private collections. In particular, I would like to thank staff at the National Museum of Korea, where I undertook research from December 1997 to May 1998. I have also received valuable help from scholars at other institutions, in particular the Munhwajae yŏn'guso.

My thanks go also to Dr Tania Tribe whose insightful readings of the first drafts of my thesis were of enormous help. I am also grateful to Prof. Roderick Whitfield for his meticulous reading of my last drafts.

Lastly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my family and friends whose love and support over the years have been essential. To Justin Blair I extend special thanks for providing me with a home. George Manginis, Cecile Jeffries and Fiona Reavley all lent their time to the reading of the thesis. The project would not have been completed without the understanding, patience and support by my husband David Coppen, who kept me focused and helped me through the last stages.

This undertaking would not have been possible without the generous support of the Korea Foundation, which granted me language, research and field trip scholarships.

This study would never have materialised were it not for Dr Pak Young-sook. More than a decade ago she urged me to study Korean art and language and she gave me the confidence to take up postgraduate research. Without her continuous encouragement, my life would have taken a very different path. It is therefore with gratitude that I dedicate this thesis to her.

## Notes and Abbreviations

### References

Korean authors have been referred to with their family name followed by their first name.

### Transliterations

The McCune-Reischauer system has been used for Korean, *pinyin* for Chinese and Hepburn for Japanese. Sanskrit terms are transliterated without diacritical marks. Exceptions in transliteration are made for some words and names with established spellings in other systems, such as Seoul.

### Illustrations

Some figures appear to be discoloured and out of focus. This is due to the poor quality of the original illustrations.

### Abbreviations

Korean	K.
Chinese	Ch.
Japanese	J.
Sanskrit	Sk.
Diameter	d.
Height	h.
Length	l.
Thickness	t.
Weight	wt
Width	w.

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	Korea	China	Japan
Palaeolithic Age	舊石器時代 500,000-c.10,000	商 c.1700-1027	
Mesolithic Age	中石器時代 c.10,000-c.6000	西周 1027-771	
Neolithic Age	新石器時代 c.6000-c.1000	東周 771-221	
Bronze Age	青銅器 c.1000-c.300	春秋 771-481	
Iron Age	鐵器 c.300 BC-AD 1	戰國 475-221	Yayoi c.300 BC-c. AD 300
Proto-Three Kingdoms	原三國 AD 1-300	秦 221-207	
Three Kingdoms	三國 300-668	漢 206 BC-AD 220	
Koguryō	高句麗 (trad. 37 BC)-668	西漢 206 BC-AD 9	
Paekche	百濟 (trad. 18 BC)-660	東漢 AD 25-220	
Silla	新羅 (trad. 57 BC)-668	三國 221-280	
Kaya	伽耶 (trad. AD 42)-562	六(南)朝 265-589	Kofun 古墳 c.300-552
Unified Silla	統一新羅 668-935	西晉 265-316	
Koryō	高麗 918-1392	東晉 317-420	
		劉宋 420-479	
		南齊 479-502	
		梁 502-557	
		陳 557-589	
		南朝 386-581	
		隋 581-618	Asuka 飛鳥 552-710
		唐 618-906	Nara 奈良 710-794
		遼 907-1125	Heian 平安 794-1185
		五代 907-960	
		宋 960-1279	
		北宋 960-1126	
		南宋 1127-1279	
		金 1115-1234	Kamakura 鎌倉 1185-1336
		元 1279-1368	
		明 1368-1644	Muromachi 室町 1336-1573
		清 1644-1911	Momoyama 桃山 1573-1615
			Edo 江戸 1615-1868
			Meiji 明治 1868-1912

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

Bronze mirrors were produced in Korea from the Bronze Age 青銅器時代 (circa 1000-circa 300 BC) until around the mid-Chosŏn period 朝鮮 (AD 1392-1910) and have an extensive and for the most part traceable history of manufacture and use. It was during the Koryŏ kingdom 高麗 (AD 918-1392) that they were at their most popular, as evidenced by a remarkable rise in production and by a myriad of sizes, shapes and patterns. Over the course of Koryŏ, spectacular achievements were made in all the arts, prompting twentieth century scholars to proclaim the period a 'Golden Age' of Korean arts and culture. The transformation in the output of mirrors could be understood as a natural part of this efflorescence, but this would be a simplistic view of a complex phenomenon; the production and use of mirrors should also be assessed in relation to the ritual and social significances that had become attached to them over time.

The majority of pre-modern Korean mirrors were made of bronze, which is an alloy of copper, tin and lead.<sup>1</sup> The reflective surface was polished to a high sheen, while on the reverse side was a knob through which a string could be inserted to hold or suspend the object.<sup>2</sup> Motifs cast in relief often adorned their backs and they varied significantly in quality and complexity

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<sup>1</sup> From the Tang period (AD 618-906) onwards zinc was also added to Chinese mirrors, and it is found in Koryŏ mirrors too.

<sup>2</sup> The exceptions to this are mirrors of the Bronze Age, which have two or three knobs, and Koryŏ mirrors with handles or loops.

from elaborate subject matters to simple lines (figs 1.1-1.2). The appeal of mirrors was not only due to their aesthetic merits but also to their functional attributes, which encompassed their inherent as well as assigned qualities.<sup>3</sup>

By definition a mirror serves as a reflective surface and its basic purpose is to reproduce the image placed in front of it. It is therefore used as a domestic instrument for dressing and making up, and historical and archaeological evidence shows that in Korea it was employed in this manner from the Unified Silla period 統一新羅 (AD 668-935) at the latest. Yet, depending on when and where it was used, the primary role of a mirror was not always to reflect an image. Findings from Bronze Age graves show that it functioned in a ritual setting long before it was used in a domestic one, suggesting that its symbolic and ceremonial roles may have taken precedence over and later operated alongside its secular ones. Historical sources and mirror iconography indicate that the objects connoted a range of different, though not unrelated, metaphorical associations which often alluded to truth, auspiciousness and longevity.

This is reflected in a number of secular Korean texts. The earliest historical reference to mirrors appears in the twelfth century *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (History of the Three Kingdoms) under “*Solssinyō*” 薛氏女 in the eighth chapter of “*Yōlchōn*” 列傳 in fascicle 48.<sup>4</sup> It tells the story of a couple

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<sup>3</sup> Properties directly related to the purpose of an object are ‘functional’ attributes, while those that reflect the choices carried out by the maker of the artefact are ‘stylistic’ variables. For a discussion of the stylistic versus functional properties of artefacts, see Sackett 1973: 320. For a discussion of the choices made by the individual artists in the making of objects, see Chatman 1987: 231.

<sup>4</sup> *Samguk sagi* 48: 7a-8b. The *Samguk sagi* is Korea’s oldest extant history and an official court-sponsored work compiled by the Confucian scholar-official Kim Pusik 金富軾 (AD 1075-1151) and others during the reign of King Injong 仁宗 (r. AD 1122-1146). It was assembled to provide the Koreans with a deeper

who commit themselves to marrying each other by breaking a mirror and dividing the pieces. In this context, the mirror was clearly not used for its reflective qualities, but rather as a token of love and fidelity.

In Koryŏ writings, mirrors are frequently associated with truth as signified in one of the Koryŏ foundation myths recorded in the *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 (History of Koryŏ).<sup>5</sup> The legend concerns a salesman from Tang 唐 China, named Wang Changqin 王昌瑾, who in the third month of 918 bought a large mirror with an inscription from a strange-looking man. Wang Changqin offered it to Kungye of T'aebong 泰封의 弓裔,<sup>6</sup> who had three scholar officials decipher the 147 characters. Their interpretation can be summed up as follows: "Kungye is the king now, but he will fall. A man from Songakkun will take over as leader and his sons and grandsons will govern the country. After Wang Kŏn has become ruler, Silla will fall first and thereafter the area to the Yalu river will be taken." Upon reading the inscription the scholars feared Kungye's anger if they told him its true message, and thus they decided to give him a false interpretation.<sup>7</sup> As the myth prophesised, Kungye was indeed overthrown by a rebellion led by

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understanding of their history and heritage. Based on earlier documents which have since been lost, the work is modelled on the format of standard Chinese dynastic histories and presents chronological annals for the kingdoms of Silla, Koguryŏ and Paekche.

<sup>5</sup> The *Koryŏsa* is the official history of the Koryŏ dynasty. It was initiated under the auspices of the first king of Chosŏn, T'aejo 太祖 (r. 1392-1398) who, in keeping with the practice of Chinese official historiographic traditions, had the records of the previous dynasty compiled and edited. After several re-writes, Chŏng In-ji 鄭麟趾 and Kim Chong-sŏ 金宗瑞 completed the final editing in 1451 and it remains the fundamental document for the study of Koryŏ.

<sup>6</sup> Kungye was a Silla prince who in the late ninth century captured wide areas of the Kangwŏn 江原, Kyŏnggi 京畿 and Hwanghae 黃海 provinces and assembled a large army under his control. In 911 he established the T'aebong 泰封 state with the city of Ch'ŏrwŏn 鐵圓 as his capital in present day North Kangwŏn province 江原北道. After Lee Ki-baik 1984: 99-100.

<sup>7</sup> *Koryŏsa* 1: 6a-7b.

Wang Kōn 王建 who was born near Songak 松岳 and who founded the Koryō kingdom in 918.

In the above story, the mirror was imbued with the ability to foretell the future by means of its inscription. Further references to a mirror's truth-telling powers appear in writings by the Koryō minister and writer Yi Kyu-bo 李奎報 (1168-1241), though emphasis is placed on the object's reflective qualities.<sup>8</sup> In an essay titled "A story about a mirror" 鏡說, a retired scholar suggests that a person's character is reflected in a mirror:

古之對鏡所以取其清吾之對鏡所以取其昏<sup>9</sup>

The passage can be translated as follows:

"In old times, people looked at a mirror by which to obtain its [the mirror's] clarity. But I look at it to obtain its obscurity."<sup>10</sup>

Similar sentiments are expressed in a poem by the same author titled "A reflection in a mirror" 鏡中鑑影.

未知形大瘦	I did not know my body was so emaciated
猶不愧於人	Still, there is no shame in being human
今日鏡中炤	Today, I am reflected in the mirror
翻慙見自身 <sup>11</sup>	I overflow with embarrassment looking at myself.

Initially the poem refers to the mundane act of reflecting oneself in a mirror and pondering one's appearance. Yet, the author's embarrassment lies less in his disappointment with his exterior and more in his dissatisfaction with his

<sup>8</sup> Yi Kyu-bo was one of the most prolific writers of the Koryō dynasty. He passed the civil service examination in 1190 and rose to be the first privy counsellor. During his lifetime his son compiled his writings, including his state papers, in the *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip* 東國李相國集.

<sup>9</sup> "Sōlsō" 設序, fascicle 21: 1a-1b, in *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip*.

<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to Grace Koh for her comments on this passage.

<sup>11</sup> "Koyulsi" 古律時, fascicle 2: 4a, in *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip*. Author's translation. I am grateful to Dr Jay Lewis for his comments on this poem.

character. In this, Yi draws on the belief that mirrors reflect the true inner spirit of a person.

Furthermore, the frequent allusions to mirrors, reflection and polishing in Buddhist texts, which will be discussed in following chapters, created an additional symbolic role for mirrors from the late Three Kingdoms period 三國時代 (AD 300-668) onwards and had a significant impact on how they functioned in Koryŏ society. In Buddhist texts, mirror metaphors are mainly used in relation to the perception and analysis of the empirical world, this being one of the most crucial elements of the Buddhist doctrine. A reflection in a clear mirror is, for example, likened to how the pure mind perceives the external world without confusion.<sup>12</sup> These concepts influenced both the functional attributes and stylistic variables of Koryŏ mirrors.

The archaeological record testifies to the different uses of bronze mirrors in ritual settings, predominantly as burial goods, with the earliest examples appearing in Bronze Age tombs from the fourth century BC. They continued to be placed in graves until the mid-Chosŏn period, when changing funerary customs coupled with an influx of imported glass mirrors ended this long-lived tradition. From the sixth century, ritual mirror use extended into Buddhist practices, as evidenced by their appearance in reliquary deposits from the Three Kingdoms, Unified Silla and Koryŏ periods. Thus, the non-secular roles of mirrors persistently took primacy over their secular ones.

This thesis does not aim to be a chronological survey of bronze mirrors from the Koryŏ kingdom. Rather, I am interested in exploring mirrors as social

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<sup>12</sup> Demiéville 1987: 22-25.

constructs shaped by the milieu and time in which they operated, as well as by their earlier uses. I will question how mirrors were valued and used in Koryŏ society and show how this was manifested, particularly with regards to their role in funerary rituals. In doing so, I will also take into account how they functioned outside burial practices, as secular objects of commercial and collectable value and as ritual objects placed in Buddhist relic deposits.

The Korean historical sources which make any mention of mirrors largely amount to those discussed above. In as much as they describe how mirrors were used in different social contexts, they provide little insight into the stylistic attributes of the objects. Nor do we get any sense of how mirrors functioned within society as a whole, where they were made and whom they were used by. We can only begin to unravel the wider picture by turning to the objects themselves and to their archaeological contexts.

Earlier studies on Koryŏ mirrors have focused on examples in museum collections. Despite their large number, their provenances are for the most part unknown, and it is therefore difficult to reconstruct their social functions. In contrast, the increasing numbers of Koryŏ burial sites that have been excavated in South Korea over the past decade or so coupled with finds from pagodas broaden our understanding of mirrors and their uses in specific contexts.<sup>13</sup> The key focus of this thesis is on mirrors excavated from 304 intact, *i.e.* unlooted and undamaged, graves dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. To date, twenty-eight mirrors have been discovered from such graves, while an additional ten have been found in partially damaged or looted burials. Other mirrors from scientifically excavated sites that have also

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<sup>13</sup> Reports on sites in North Korea are difficult to obtain and it is therefore unclear how many Koryŏ graves have been unearthed since the 1950s.

been examined include those placed in Buddhist relic deposits. Though such pieces are few in numbers, they contribute to our understanding of the use and meanings of mirrors in Koryŏ society. In my discussion I will also include selected Koryŏ mirrors housed in museum and private collections in Korea, Japan, Europe and the United States of America.<sup>14</sup> Their original provenances are for the most part unknown, but some have been catalogued as being from tombs near Kaesŏng 開城 – the capital of the Koryŏ kingdom.

### **1.1. State of the field**

The study of Korean mirrors is considerably less developed than that of Chinese and Japanese ones, and this thesis aims to fill this gap in knowledge. That they have not been subjected to the same kind of scholarly attention as their Chinese and Japanese counterpart is not unique to this particular topic. For several reasons, studies on Korean art and culture tend not have matured along the same lines as Chinese and Japanese ones. Firstly, the field has been considerably hampered by Korea's troubled history in the twentieth century. The first serious attempts at unearthing Korea's past were carried out during the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula (1910-1945), when Japanese scholars excavated hundreds of tombs, particularly those in the former regions of Lelang 樂浪, Silla 新羅 and Kaya 伽耶 and undertook the

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<sup>14</sup> I have closely examined Koryŏ bronze mirrors in the following museum collections. In Korea: National Museum of Korea 國立中央博物院, Chinju National Museum 國立晉州博物院, Ch'ŏngju National Museum 國立淸州博物館, Seoul National University Museum 서울大學校博物館 and Koryŏ University Museum 高麗大學校博物館. In Japan: Kyoto National Museum 京都國立博物館. In the United States: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Cleveland Museum of Art, Chicago Institute of Art, Philadelphia Museum of Art. In the United Kingdom: British Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum. In Sweden: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. In Denmark: The National Museum.

restoration of several important sites, including Pulguksa temple 佛國寺 and Sökkuram cave temple 石窟庵. Extensive excavations and surveys were carried out annually by the *Chôsen koseki chôsaka* (Research division of Korean historical remains 朝鮮古跡調査課) and published by the *Chôsen Sôtokufu* (Government-General of Korea 朝鮮總督府). In the 1930s more specialised studies of Korean art were pursued by professionally trained Korean and Japanese archaeologists, historians and art historians, including Kim Che-won (1909-1990), Yi Pyŏng-do (1896-1986) and Kim Sang-gi (1901-1977).

In the first decades after independence in 1945, strong anti-Japanese, nationalistic feelings pushed Koreans to ignore most of the pioneering work done by the Japanese without any attempt at re-evaluating it. Much effort was spent on stressing 'Koreanness' in art history with the result that relationships with the cultures of China and Japan were overlooked until the late twentieth century.<sup>15</sup> The division of the country in 1953 created further obstacles, as studies on Korean material culture diverged between North and South with virtually no collaboration between the two.

Secondly, it is not until recently that interest in Korean studies has gained momentum among Western scholars. For a large part of the twentieth century, those working on Korean art history and archaeology were largely Korean. Foreign researchers were significantly outnumbered by those focusing on Chinese and Japanese material. Consequently, the field is relatively new, and many topics are still awaiting attention.

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<sup>15</sup> For further discussion on the development of Korean archaeology and art history, see Park Soon-won 2001.

Thirdly, within the fields of Korean archaeology and art history studies on the social history of artefacts have largely been overshadowed by chronological and typological surveys, especially with regards to pre-Chosŏn material, as scholars have been more concerned with asking the question ‘how’ rather than ‘why’. This is partly due to the many unsolved problems that still dominate the field. The chronology of the stylistic development of Koryŏ celadon is, for example, still a subject of much debate. Thus, whereas research on Japanese and especially Chinese material culture has moved significantly beyond chronological, typological and stylistic debates, Korean archaeology and art history seem for the most part to be still concerned with such issues. In other words, while recent scholarship on Chinese and Japanese material has sought to categorise artefacts as commodities operating within political, religious and social national and international networks, such approaches have been less explored in relation to Korean material.

Relevant to this thesis are several studies which have been published on connoisseurship and the consumption of antiquities in China and which draw on catalogues on antiquarian collections that began to be published in the Song period 宋 (AD 960-1279). Notable among these are Craig Clunas’ volume on antique collecting in the Ming period 明 (AD 1368-1644) and Ankeney Weitz’s discussion of the collecting of artefacts as a social phenomenon shaped by the social and intellectual interaction between the northern and southern Chinese in Song and Yuan 元 (AD 1279-1368) China. In highlighting the consumption rather than the production of commodities,

both Clunas and Weitz present new insights into the social systems in which artefacts operated at the time.<sup>16</sup>

In this thesis I aim to adopt a similar approach by primarily focusing on the significance of mirrors in Koryŏ society. As highlighted earlier, I have for this reason treated the mirrors less as *objets d'art* and more as artefacts which function within meaningful social exchanges. The methodological trajectories lying behind this argument will be analysed in sections 1.3.1 and 1.3.2.

### **1.1.1. Previous scholarship on Korean mirrors**

The little research that has been carried out on Korean bronze mirrors is centred on those dating from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age 鐵器時代 (circa 300 BC-AD 1). No comprehensive examination has been made of Koryŏ mirrors despite their prominence as burial objects and their flourishing production. The small number of publications on the subject is predominantly in the Korean language and focuses on their stylistic qualities, with a compilation by Yi Nan-yŏng being the most extensive.<sup>17</sup> More than 500 Koryŏ mirrors from Korean collections are illustrated and arranged typologically according to their decorative schemes in her book titled

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<sup>16</sup> Craig Clunas has addressed features of Chinese society that have traditionally been taken for granted. For example, by raising the question “What is a book?” he highlighted that current (Western) perceptions of ‘things’ do not necessarily correspond to those of late Ming China. See Clunas 2004: 10-11. Elsewhere, in a discussion on Chinese painting, he drew attention to how Western scholarship on this topic has often been conditioned by Western art historical trajectories while largely ignoring that the value placed on different forms of artistic expression in China may not be the same as it has been historically in Europe. See Clunas 1999. Ankeney Weitz has published several works on the art market and art collecting during the early Yuan dynasty. Addressing the modes by which art circulated, she suggested art was an important vehicle of social interaction. Weitz 1997 and 2002.

<sup>17</sup> Yi Nan-yŏng 1983.

*Han'guk ūi tonggyōng* 韓國의銅鏡 (Korean bronze mirrors). She also includes a smaller number of pre-Koryŏ and Chosŏn mirrors with brief captions detailing the size, original provenance and current location of each piece. Despite the poor quality black and white photographs and the limited contextual information that is provided, the book is important as it offers the most comprehensive illustrated collection of Koryŏ bronze mirrors to date.

Another noteworthy contribution to the subject is by Hwang Ho-gŭn whose volume on patterns focuses on the iconography of Koryŏ mirrors.<sup>18</sup> In the opening pages, he briefly discusses Koryŏ mirrors within a social and historical context, before surveying common mirror designs and their stylistic elements. He also provides a short analysis of the meanings of selected motifs. Albeit useful, his book provides little insight into the social and ritual significance of mirrors. The only study which attempts to address this is a recently published Master's thesis by Hwang Chŏng-suk, who not only discusses the objects stylistically but also briefly places them within a social setting.<sup>19</sup> The primary aim of Hwang's research, however, lies in assessing the underlying stylistic characteristics of Koryŏ mirrors and in comparing them with contemporary Chinese ones. Other less comprehensive publications on Koryŏ mirrors are mainly in the form of illustrated catalogues and brief discourses.<sup>20</sup> Among those, an article on mirrors in the collection of the Seoul National University Museum by Chu Kyŏng-mi is the most interesting, in that not only does she discuss the motif of each mirror

<sup>18</sup> Hwang Ho-gŭn 1996.

<sup>19</sup> Hwang Chŏng-suk 2000.

<sup>20</sup> See Chŏn Yŏng-sun 1972; Yi Pae-gŭn 1991; Kungnip Ch'ŏngju pangmulgwan 1992; Gana at'ŭ kongyegwan 2000.

but also the weight and the casting of the object, hinting at a correlation between these elements.<sup>21</sup>

Studies on Koryŏ mirrors in Western languages are few and all focus on their iconography. Among those, the most comprehensive discussion is by Pak Young-sook, who tentatively dates a small number of Koryŏ mirrors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by comparing them with contemporary Chinese examples.<sup>22</sup> Beth McKillop and Jane Portal have briefly presented the Korean mirrors in the collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum respectively. McKillop examines three mirrors believed to date from the Koryŏ period, whereas Portal offers a lengthier analysis of selected Bronze Age and Koryŏ mirrors.<sup>23</sup> The three publications are helpful in the sense that they provide some basic information on Korean mirrors to those with no knowledge of the Korean language; but as independent and original discussions on a specialised topic, they are of limited value.

As can be seen from the above, only few publications have assessed the social and ritual significances of Koryŏ mirrors. Yi Nan-yŏng has suggested that as grave goods they were used by lower-ranking members of society and therefore had 'little significance' as burial objects.<sup>24</sup> Kim U-rim and others have taken a gender-based approach and suggested that mirrors in graves may denote women's burials due to their secular use for toiletry purposes.<sup>25</sup> Hwang Chŏng-suk's argument is similar in maintaining that since Koryŏ mirrors have been excavated alongside combs or tweezers, they were

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<sup>21</sup> Chu Kyŏng-mi 1998.

<sup>22</sup> Pak Young-sook 1998: 419-423.

<sup>23</sup> McKillop 1992: 104-105 and Portal 2000: 34-36, 98.

<sup>24</sup> Conversation with Yi Nan-yŏng in Kyongju, February 1998.

<sup>25</sup> Conversation with Kim U-rim, in September 2000.

by this time regarded as everyday items and carried no ritual significance as burial objects. In other words, with the secularisation of mirror use, their ritual connotations weakened and had, by the time of the Koryŏ kingdom, disappeared.<sup>26</sup>

These points of view contrast with my own, as I do not believe that the appearance of mirrors in Koryŏ tombs can simply be explained in terms of gender or low social status. Nor do I think that the earlier ritual and social significances of mirrors had been ‘lost’ by the tenth century, but rather that they took on different dimensions. There is no doubt that the increase in the production of mirrors that took place in the Koryŏ period would have made them available, in principle, to high and low-ranking people alike, at least as domestic objects. However, the wide variety in quality, as manifested in the range of sizes and designs, suggests that they were made for a diverse group of consumers who were likely to be of different social groups. Moreover, judging from the analysis of Koryŏ burials in Chapter 3, there is no evidence that they were perceived as women’s objects, as they do not appear any more frequently with combs or tweezers than with other items, notwithstanding the fact that, at this stage, there is no evidence to suggest that even combs and tweezers were exclusively associated with women.

Pre-Koryŏ mirrors have received more attention from both Korean and Japanese scholars who have provided detailed examinations of the decorative schemes of multi-looped bronze mirrors made in Korea during the late Bronze and early Iron Ages, and in Japan during the Yayoi period 弥生 (circa 300 BC-circa AD 300). Among the numerous Japanese scholars that

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<sup>26</sup> Hwang Chŏng-suk 2000: xii, 239-240.

worked on this area Umehara Sueji (1893-1987) should be singled out as being one of the first to undertake comprehensive stylistic comparisons between early Korean and Japanese mirrors. In covering a wide range of topics, such as mirror patterns, typologies and chronologies, Umehara's work raised a number of issues, including that of the mirrors' origins in China.<sup>27</sup> This was a key question, which was later developed by Korean and in particular Japanese scholars, such as Uno Takao.<sup>28</sup> Kim Wŏn-yong, one of the key figures of Korean archaeology and art history, wrote several articles on the origins of Bronze Age mirrors, some of which were later translated into English.<sup>29</sup> A recent and more detailed study of this topic is that by Chŏn Yŏng-nae, which presents a chronology of early Korean multi-looped bronze mirrors.<sup>30</sup>

Studies in English on pre-Koryŏ mirrors are few in number. The most comprehensive analysis is by Sarah Nelson, detailing mirrors from sites dating from the Bronze Age to the Three Kingdoms period.<sup>31</sup> Gina Barnes examines not only Korean but also Japanese and Chinese mirrors from this time span and briefly places them within a historical, social and ritual context. Particularly interesting is her discussion of their use as gifts in political transactions between the Chinese mainland, Korea and Japan, and their later function as talismans for Japanese seafarers.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Umehara 1943 and 1968. For other early twentieth century studies on Korean and Japanese multi-looped mirrors, see Komai 1938 and Gotô 1943.

<sup>28</sup> Uno 1977.

<sup>29</sup> For English publications on this topic, see Kim Wŏn-yong 1963 and 1986. For more detailed discourses in Korean, see Kim Wŏn-yong 1987 and 2001.

<sup>30</sup> Chŏn Yŏng-nae 1977.

<sup>31</sup> Nelson 1993: 113-163, 176-204, 241, 259, 265.

<sup>32</sup> Barnes 1999: 164, 198, 202, 229, 232, 265.

### **1.1.2. Scholarship on Chinese and Japanese mirrors**

As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, Korean mirrors have been strongly influenced stylistically by those from the Chinese mainland and, to a lesser degree, by those from Japan. Also pertinent to this argument is the extent to which mirror use in China influenced that of Korea. Therefore, a discussion on Chinese and Japanese mirror scholarship, followed by a brief synopsis of Chinese mirror traditions, is appropriate at this point.

Chinese mirrors have been researched far more extensively than their Korean counterparts by Chinese, Japanese and Western scholars alike. Their study has been assisted by a wealth of surviving material, including numerous discoveries *in situ* and several historical sources describing their use and social value. Published research covers both the formal and functional qualities of mirrors, including issues related to technology, style, inscriptions and use, though (as in the case of Korea) early mirrors have received more scholarly attention than those dating after the Tang dynasty (AD 618-906).

Scholarship on mirrors began as early as the Song period, when antiquarian studies thrived and ancient bronzes became prized collector's items. Archaeological collections were amassed and voluminous catalogues were printed with illustrations of the objects. Two of the most important catalogues are the *Kao gu tu* 考古圖 (Illustrated examination of antiquities), which was compiled by Lu Dalin 呂大臨 (1040-1092) and published in 1092, and the *Xuan he bo gu tu lu* 宣和博古圖錄 (Illustrated Description of the Antiquities in the Xuanhe collection), written in the beginning of the

twelfth century. In contrast to the *Kao gu tu*, the *Xuan he bo gu tu lu* includes sections on bronze mirrors.<sup>33</sup>

The Japanese collector Tomioka Kenzô (1873-1918) was among the first to publish a study of Chinese mirrors that went beyond chronologically based typologies. In his study *Kokyô no Kenkyû* 古鏡の研究 (Studies on ancient mirrors) published in 1920, he addressed wider issues, such as the origins of mirrors.<sup>34</sup> His seminal work was further developed by Umehara Sueji, whose research drew on the archaeological material that was being unearthed in China at this time.<sup>35</sup> As mentioned above, Umehara also produced publications on early Korean mirrors. Since then, chronological surveys based on excavated finds have been compiled by several Chinese scholars; the earliest was a catalogue on pre-Han and Han 漢 (206 BC-AD 220) mirrors by Liang Shangchun.<sup>36</sup>

Later mirror scholarship by Chinese scholars tends to follow the taxonomic approach adopted by earlier scholars and has traditionally valued matters of formal classification and periodisation over questions of meaning and function.<sup>37</sup> Whenever the meaning and function of mirrors has been addressed, the focus was on Han mirrors. Schuyler Cammann and Michael

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<sup>33</sup> The *Kao gu tu* illustrates around two hundred archaic bronzes from both the Palace collection and the collections of private individuals. It significantly set up a system of cataloguing bronzes by period that was used by post-Song scholars. The *Xuan he bo gu tu lu*, often known by its abbreviated title *Bo gu tu lu*, records more than eight hundred bronzes in the imperial collection. The catalogues are discussed in detail by Poor 1965. See also Bushell 1909: 77-78; Kerr 1990: 14-15 and Clunas 2004: 95.

<sup>34</sup> Tomioka 1920.

<sup>35</sup> Umehara 1925, 1936, 1939, 1943 and 1968.

<sup>36</sup> Liang 1940.

<sup>37</sup> See for example, Kong and Liu 1992.

Loewe's studies have significantly enhanced our understanding of the roles ascribed to examples with the *liubo* 六博 design in Han burial traditions.

The relatively recent interest in post-Tang mirrors is more relevant to the current study on Koryŏ examples. Noteworthy publications are Liu Shujuan's work on Liao 遼 dynasty (AD 907-1125) mirrors and Rose Kerr's research on later Chinese bronzes, including mirrors of the Song, Yuan and Ming periods.<sup>38</sup> Caroline Schulten's doctoral dissertation on Tang, Liao and Song mirrors, completed in 2000, is a significant contribution to our understanding of the production and use of medieval Chinese mirrors and serves as a valuable means for comparisons between Chinese and Koryŏ mirrors.<sup>39</sup>

As for Japanese mirrors, it was, as in the case of their Korean and Chinese counterparts, the early ones that first attracted the attention of researchers. The previously mentioned pioneering scholars Tomioka Kenzō and Umehara Sueji both worked on Yayoi mirrors, focusing on the origins of their production and use.<sup>40</sup> While studies on Yayoi and Kofun 古墳 (circa AD 300-552) period mirrors have prevailed, the iconography and uses of later Japanese mirrors have not been ignored. One of the most recent studies is that by Kubō Tomoyasu, who focuses on the stylistic development of post-Heian mirrors through analysis of their motifs and shapes.<sup>41</sup> Timon Screech

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<sup>38</sup> Liu Shujuan's main focus is the classification and chronological development of Liao mirror designs, but she also briefly discusses the function of mirrors. Rose Kerr summarises the production and use of bronze mirrors from the Song to the Qing periods, also addressing their use as trade items and their popularity as collector's objects as well as metallurgical issues with regards to their making. Liu 1997 and Kerr 1990.

<sup>39</sup> Schulten 2000: 19-27.

<sup>40</sup> Tomioka 1920: 9-38 and Umehara 1943.

<sup>41</sup> Kubō 1999.

has examined the import and popularity of silvered mirrors from the West during the Edo period.<sup>42</sup> A few scholars have also assessed the symbolic functions of Japanese mirrors, such as Sugaya Fuminori and Nakamura Junko, who have discussed their practical and metaphorical uses from the Yayoi to the Meiji 明治 (AD 1868-1912) periods.<sup>43</sup>

## **1.2. Uses of mirrors in China**

The earliest appearance of the term ‘mirror’ in China suggests that water vessels 盤 may initially have been used as mirrors. The character read as *jian* 鑑,<sup>44</sup> which appears on bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhou period 西周 (1027-771 BC), features a figure above a basin.<sup>45</sup> Excavated material suggests that, in addition to simple reflection, early Chinese bronze mirrors of the late Shang 商 period (circa 1700-1027 BC) may also have been used in ceremonial displays of sunlight, in the creation of fires and as burial furnishings.<sup>46</sup> During the Han dynasty, mirrors came to be closely associated with divination and common motifs include the *liubo* design, immortals and the animals of the four cardinal directions (fig. 1.3).<sup>47</sup> The *liubo* motif,

<sup>42</sup> Timon Screech argues that plain, silvered mirrors were frequently imported in eighteenth century Edo Japan, since they provided a significantly better reflective surface than that offered by traditional bronze mirrors. Screech 1996: 157-161.

<sup>43</sup> Sugaya 1991 and Nakamura 1999.

<sup>44</sup> Hanyu 1981: 529.

<sup>45</sup> O’Donoghue 1990: 16.

<sup>46</sup> O’Donoghue 1990: 16. For further discussion on the function of mirrors in early China, see Juliano 1985: 36-45.

<sup>47</sup> In their studies on Han mirrors with the *liubo* design, Schuyler Cammann and later Michael Loewe, to mention but two, suggested a link between this pattern and divination boards. See Cammann 1948 and Loewe 1979: 60-61. The name *liubo* (Ch. *liubo* 六博) means ‘six sticks’ and refers to a game that was popular in the Han period. The rules are still unclear, but it appears to have been a chance game which was used independently for divination. For a recent discussion of the game, see Zeng 2002. In Western publications mirrors with the *liubo* design have

though in a simplified and highly stylised form, was extremely popular and continued to be used on mirrors in the succeeding dynasties. It was also widespread in Korea where it is seen on many mirrors dating from as early as the Iron Age until the end of the Koryŏ period. Its popularity in Korea poses interesting questions as to the social value of mirrors, the import and export of objects and designs, and the impact this had on their function within Korean society. These issues will be dealt with in following chapters.

During the Han period mirrors played an important role as burial objects, as they acquired a multitude of meanings and associations, mainly relating to cosmology, divination, light and longevity. Over the course of the following dynasties, mirrors were especially linked to cosmology, as seen in the widespread casting of motifs like constellations and the twelve zodiac animals. Caroline Schulten cites several examples of both Liao and Song tombs where they have been found inside the coffin, placed around or on the body of the tomb occupant, or have been located outside the coffin or attached to the ceiling of the tomb chamber.<sup>48</sup> It seems that, as burial objects, mirrors may have functioned as powerful representations of cosmological ideas, and they were also perceived as sources of light that lit up the tomb interior and aided the deceased's *hun* 魂 soul in its ascent to heaven.<sup>49</sup> This

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traditionally been referred to as TLV mirrors due to the T, L and V shapes that appear on them. The most popular type of *liubo* mirrors are decorated with a central square with four Ts set on each side of the square. Two bosses are positioned on either side of each T. Four Ls are placed so that the horizontal bars lie level with the cross-bars of the Ts. The Vs are set between the Ls. The Four Guardian Animals, as well as other animals, birds and mythological creatures decorate the space between the letters.

<sup>48</sup> Schulten 2000: 165-170.

<sup>49</sup> Caroline Schulten argues that the position of mirrors in graves complemented the cosmological and celestial elements of the tomb chambers as represented in murals and sculptures featuring the twelve animals of the zodiac and images of

can be verified in written sources. Zhou Mi 周密 (1232-1308), for example, states in his *Guixin zazhi* 癸辛雜識 (Miscellaneous Notes from the Guixin Quarter) that it was common in the thirteenth century to fix a mirror on the inside of the coffin lid, so as to throw some light on the body in the darkness.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, mirrors were associated with purity, since in Buddhist texts the mirror image was frequently used as a metaphor for the enlightened mind.<sup>51</sup>

Yet, bronze mirrors were not only used in funerary settings, but also functioned in other contexts. They were secularised in the form of toiletry accessories already in pre-Han times and continued to be used as such throughout their history as, for example, evidenced in historical texts and in tomb murals.<sup>52</sup> By the middle of the Tang dynasty, mirrors also featured in wedding rituals<sup>53</sup> and by the Song period they had become collectors'

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constellations, the sun and the moon. Schulten 2000: 170-172, 183-198. For further discussion of the practice of placing mirrors in the ceilings of Song tombs, see Kuhn 1994: 35. Elaine Buck considers Jin 金 dynasty (AD 1115-1234) burial mirrors as sources of light. See Buck 2000: 133-137.

<sup>50</sup> Translated in Groot 1892-1910: 399: "The present generation when coffining a body suspend a mirror against the lid of the coffin to shed light upon the corpse, and now and then they aver that the object of this is to break the darkness by means of light."

<sup>51</sup> Nancy Steinhardt points to a Buddhist practice where the devotee is to imagine two mirrors, one at his heart and a second at the heart of the Buddha in front of him. In positioning the heart under the mirror, the believer can observe a three-dimensional interpretation of a Buddhist concept. See Steinhardt 1997: 346.

<sup>52</sup> A poem by Wang Bo 王播 (AD 650-676) includes the following phrase: "At dawn they (the ladies) hide in the azure of the singing screens, / and look to their evening rouge in the make-up mirrors." Translated in Owen 1977: 115-117. Ellen Laing gives examples of Jin dynasty (AD 1115-1234) tombs with murals of ladies adorning themselves in front of mirrors. See Laing 1988-89: 80, 95.

<sup>53</sup> Schuyler Cammann argues that by this time, if not earlier, it had become customary for the bride to carry in her lap a bronze mirror, which would avert evil influences as she rode in a sedan chair to the wedding ceremony. After the wedding this mirror would be hung over the marriage bed to ward off evil spirits and to ensure happiness. For further discussion and examples of such wedding mirrors, see Cammann 1955: 51-52, 61-62.

items.<sup>54</sup> However, their secularisation did not weaken their ritual significance as they continued to be used as burial objects and were also enshrined in pagoda relic chambers until at least the Song period.

### **1.3.1. Methodological considerations – the archaeological record**

Throughout this thesis artefacts will be perceived as manifestations of the social, political and economic contexts of their production and consumption. At the centre of this discussion lies the theory of semiotics, as rooted in the tenets of Charles S. Peirce (1839-1914) and Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), which in the late twentieth century came to play an important role within the fields of Western art history and archaeology.<sup>55</sup> By applying the Saussurian idea of an artefact being the signifier of a signified concept,<sup>56</sup> the artefact can be placed, 'read' and interpreted within a social system. Viewing objects as physical formations of social ideas assumes that, in Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson's words: "[Human] culture is made up of signs, each of which stands for something other than itself [...]."<sup>57</sup> As such, not only may artefacts be treated as parts of a functioning cultural system, but they can also be seen to play a meaningful role within this system as products made deliberately to form part of a social process. Within the field of archaeology, the volume *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, edited by Ian Hodder, has

<sup>54</sup> For an account of Chinese historical sources on bronzes, see Kerr 1990: 13-29.

<sup>55</sup> Semiotics is the theory of signs and sign use, including *seeing* signs. For a summary and explanation of Peirce and Saussure's definitions of the sign, see Fiske 1990: 41-48. Also see Peirce 1931 and Saussure 1974. For a discussion of how the use of semiotics can be applied to the understanding of visual art, see Bal 1998.

<sup>56</sup> Ferdinand de Saussure analysed the nature of the linguistic sign in terms of the relation between the 'signifier' (or sound-image) and 'signified' (or concept). He pointed out that the relation is arbitrary as there is no necessary or natural connection between the two, but only a connection established by convention and tradition. See McNeill and Feldman 1998: 297.

<sup>57</sup> Bal and Bryson 1998: 174.

been particularly important to this argument.<sup>58</sup> Hodder explored the way in which material culture operates as a means of communication, and laid the foundations for an increasingly refined understanding of the role of material culture in processes of social reproduction. He argued that the past cultural meanings of an object can be inferred by means of its interactive relationship with other factors and processes, including economic and social structures. In doing so, material residue is 'read' in the same manner as written texts.<sup>59</sup>

The extent of information required to render works of art adequately 'legible' has been the cause of major debate. For some, an understanding of an object's formal properties, and the manner in which such properties might change over time in chronological sequences of like objects, have constituted sufficient information. For others, circumstantial factors of production or reception are considered necessary in the interpretative process.<sup>60</sup>

The very nature of archaeological objects, prehistoric ones in particular, rarely offers a large amount of in-depth, contextual material. Another problem in the analysis and interpretation of archaeological material lies in the frequent lack of full artefact recovery. This is a major issue with regards to Korean archaeological material, since many sites have been subject to looting or are in other ways damaged. In terms of the current study, the popularity of collectible Koryŏ celadon wares at the beginning of the twentieth century instigated the plundering of tombs when Korea was under Japanese occupation and while Japanese archaeologists were still in the preliminary stages of carrying out excavations on the peninsula. Thus,

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<sup>58</sup> Hodder 1982.

<sup>59</sup> Hodder 1986: 119-120.

<sup>60</sup> Preziosi 1998: 227.

according to a volume published by the *Chōsen Sōtokufu* in 1916, a large number of the royal tombs located around Kaesōng were already empty when excavated and the few objects which were found were rarely described in detail.<sup>61</sup> However, in the late twentieth century an ever-increasing number of undamaged Koryō burials have been unearthed in South Korea, the majority of which have been discovered by chance during construction work, and they have significantly deepened our understanding of the field.

Some archaeologists have also questioned the effectiveness of applying structural and semiotic design-grammars to material culture. Christopher Chippendale, for example, argued that “it may be better to depend on morphology than on what amounts often to guesses about function, social values, or ‘meaning’.”<sup>62</sup> Similar concerns seem to occupy Korean archaeologists and art historians in their reluctance to address questions of meaning and how a specific artefact may have functioned within society at a given time. Instead, most Korean scholars have been more concerned with placing objects in typologies of associated material objects and with establishing chronologies. Such work clearly has a significant place in the study and understanding of the archaeological record. Yet, as a result of an active excavation programme and continuous discoveries of new material, little room has been left for progress beyond these methods towards a more contextualised approach. When such efforts have been made, the interpretative focus has mainly been concerned with the cultural diffusion process and the establishment of regional boundaries of specific cultures, rather than with interpreting the social, religious and political set-up of a

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<sup>61</sup> *Chōsen Sōtokufu* 1916: 363.

<sup>62</sup> Chippendale 1991: 273.

particular social group. In other words, the study of archaeological material has been directed towards 'macro' rather than 'micro' structures.

There may be a fear that a concern with the latter would be too premature when not even the 'basics', in the form of dating, have been firmly established and when the extent of existing material is still relatively small. Kim Jong-il has recently argued that another cause may, in his words, "lie in the absence of a theoretical paradigm as a proper platform for interpretation."<sup>63</sup> Pertinent to the study of Korean archaeological material are theories on how to deal with small data samples, incomplete data (in terms of looted and/or partially destroyed graves), and the lack of skeletal and other organic remains.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the methodological problems which affect the study of Korean material culture, I believe we need to address the archaeological record in a more open-minded and interpretative manner, and this has been one of the aims of this thesis. In the West, the contextual, post-processual and postmodernist schools of archaeological thought have ventured beyond the assumption that there is only one correct and proper manner of approaching,

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<sup>63</sup> In his study on Korean Bronze Age graves at Songgungni 松菊里 in South Ch'ungch'öng province 忠清南道, Kim Jong-il makes a conscious attempt at stepping beyond traditional chronological and typological examinations of individual graves and associated objects. Instead he applies a post-processual approach to the study of the material, in particular focusing on how social organisation and gender is manifested in the burial remains. Kim Jong-il 2002. Also known as interpretive archaeology, post-processual archaeology incorporates many different approaches derived from Marxism, hermeneutics and post-structuralism in an attempt to provide archaeology with more sophisticated conceptions of past society and the tools to explore ancient societies through archaeological remains. See Hodder 1986, Shanks and Hodder 1995, Tilley 1991 and 1993.

<sup>64</sup> The methodological problems related to fragmentary and incomplete archaeological data have not yet been discussed at length by Western and Korean scholars. In one of the few Western publications on the topic, Patricia Galloway used a corpus of medieval antler combs to demonstrate how cluster analysis may be carried out on fragmentary data. See Galloway 1976.

describing and explaining reality.<sup>65</sup> While not all sites can be studied within a large array of comparative archaeological data and written sources, scholars like Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley have demonstrated how a collection of material can be successfully examined using different methodological approaches and by incorporating as many contextual examples as possible.<sup>66</sup>

Thus, it is the work of scholars who have argued for archaeology as an interpretative practice requiring active intervention and engagement in a critical process of theoretical labour relating past and present that has informed this study.<sup>67</sup> I have attempted to use a similar method here by drawing into the discussion uses of mirrors in pre-Koryō society as well as comparisons with foreign, mainly Chinese, mirror traditions.

### **1.3.2. Methodological considerations – style and iconography**

In addition to the examination of the archaeological material, an investigation into the mechanisms of meaning and use of mirrors through their iconography will also be undertaken. For this purpose the thesis draws on discourses on the nature of signification and meaning in art, as well as on art historical developments in terms of ‘how’ and ‘what’ objects mean.<sup>68</sup> From the main principles of this argument it is clear that the form and style of an object are essentially governed by two primary concerns that Arthur Jelinek has summed up as follows:

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<sup>65</sup> Shanks and Tilley 1987: 103.

<sup>66</sup> Shanks and Tilley 1982. For an interesting case study, see Christopher Tilley’s analysis of prehistoric rock carvings in Sweden in Tilley 1991.

<sup>67</sup> Shanks and Tilley 1987: 103.

<sup>68</sup> Preziosi 1998: 228. The social production of meaning is also discussed in Preziosi 1989, in particular chapter six “The End(s) of Art History”: 156-179.

The finished form of an artifact is assumed to embody two distinct kinds of properties: those that are dependent upon the task for which it was intended and those that reflect choices on the part of the fabricator of the artifact from among a variety of ways in which those qualities necessary for its function can be produced.<sup>69</sup>

Therefore, in focusing on the social functions of mirrors, discussions of iconography and style have not been excluded from the study, in the same way as archaeological discourses of the late twentieth century do not abandon stylistic analyses, but interpret and use style in a different light. Style is, in Willibald Sauerländer's words, taken to be "a highly conditioned and ambivalent hermeneutical 'construct' worked out at a distinct moment in social and intellectual history."<sup>70</sup> In addressing how the social environment may play a role in conditioning the physical form of an object, style takes on an important role as the signifier of meaning. For Meyer Schapiro, for example, "style is, above all, a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression."<sup>71</sup> Style can therefore be seen to serve as a mirror that reflects to us certain ideas or characteristics about the past.<sup>72</sup>

As highlighted above, a typical trait of Koryŏ mirrors is their great diversity in shapes, sizes and motifs. This is likely to be the main reason why studies on these objects have endeavoured to place them within iconographical typologies. Some attempt has also been made to identify their chronological development. Yet, although commonly involving identification of motifs and discussion of stylistic attributes, studies on Korean mirrors

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<sup>69</sup> Jelinek 1976: 19.

<sup>70</sup> 'Style' is here synonymous with an artefact's 'stylistic variables'. As mentioned earlier, these contrast with its 'functional' attributes, in that they reflect the choices carried out by its maker. Sauerländer 1983: 254.

<sup>71</sup> Schapiro 1998: 143.

<sup>72</sup> Conkey and Harstorf 1990: 3.

have not examined the possible connections between the iconography and function of the objects.

Research into Korean motifs is also limited. Among the few publications that delve into their meanings are those by Hwang Ho-gŭn, who focuses his discussion on Koryŏ mirror motifs, and a recent publication by Kyŏngju National Museum (K. *Kungnip Kyŏngju pangmulgwan* 國立慶州博物館) that contains short explanations of selected patterns on roof and floor tiles from the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods. A survey of popular motifs on celadon wares of the Koryŏ period published by the National Museum of Korea (K. *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan* 國立中央博物館) is also useful.<sup>73</sup>

Though informative, the above volumes do not compare in breadth to the extensive body of studies on Chinese and Japanese iconography.<sup>74</sup> Many Korean motifs, including several on Koryŏ mirrors, have been borrowed from China and to a lesser extent from Japan. The close contact between the three countries and the frequent exchange of books and artefacts throughout the period in focus suggest that the original meanings of imported motifs were well known to the Koreans. Consequently, in my research on the meanings of Koryŏ mirror patterns I have also extensively consulted publications on their Chinese and Japanese equivalents.

<sup>73</sup> Hwang Ho-gŭn 1996, *Kungnip Kyŏngju pangmulgwan* 2000 and *Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan* 2001.

<sup>74</sup> Numerous publications examine Chinese botanical motifs, including Gyllensvärd 1965, Li Huilin 1956 and 1959; Siggstedt 1999; Bartholomew 1985a and 1985b; Krahl 1987a and 1987b. For animal as well as botanical motifs, see Cammann 1962 and Wirgin 1979: 166-207. For brief explanations of a wide range of Chinese motifs, see Williams 1932. For Japanese motifs, see Mizoguchi 1968: 1-110.

#### 1.4. Sources

Questions abound as to whether archaeology alone and unaided can provide knowledge about past societies.<sup>75</sup> While increasingly sophisticated methods of data collection and analysis have facilitated this process, there is no doubt that written sources offer perspectives on spatial and temporal scales markedly different to those that archaeological finds can provide.<sup>76</sup>

The main literary sources dealing with social organisation of the Koryŏ period are the *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 (History of Koryŏ), the *Koryŏsa chŏryo* 高麗史節要 (Condensed History of Koryŏ) and the first few volumes of the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty), all compiled during the course of the Chosŏn kingdom. As mentioned above, the *Koryŏsa* was begun almost immediately after the inception of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1392 and was completed in 1451. Written as a supplement to the *Koryŏsa*, the *Koryŏsa chŏryo* dates from 1452. Both works were produced by Confucian scholars, who had little interest in the social conditions of the preceding kingdom, therefore detailed information on Koryŏ life and people is scant. Unfortunately, historical materials compiled during the Koryŏ period no longer exist, though they must have been available and consulted at the time of writing the records mentioned above.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> This has been the subject of much debate within the field of funerary archaeology. First raised by Peter Ucko 1969, who illustrated the difficulty of interpreting beliefs from funerary practices, it has since been addressed more optimistically. See Shanks and Tilley 1982 and Morris 1988. A recent case study by Scarre 1994 used evidence from early Egypt to assess the extent to which a purely archaeological approach, as opposed to one which incorporates historical sources, can detect and interpret Egyptian royal funerary beliefs.

<sup>76</sup> Kepecs 1997 and Storey 1999 provide case studies on the integration of written sources and archaeological data. For a discussion of how textual sources in general may complement archaeological records, see Feinmann 1997.

<sup>77</sup> Deuchler 1992: 30-31.

Further insight into early Koryŏ society, in particular twelfth century customs, can be gained through the *Koryŏ togyŏng* 高麗圖經 (Ch. *Gaoli tujing*) – an account written by the Chinese envoy Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091-1153), who stayed in Kaesŏng for about a month in 1123. Finally, poems, lyrics and essays from the Koryŏ period, such as those by Yi Kyu-bo mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, have also added to our understanding of Koryŏ society and its psychological and cultural framework.

As the thesis is closely concerned with funerary customs, it has to be mentioned here that they are not recorded in detail in any of the extant historical sources – a point that will be addressed again in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2. Instead, the burial settings and the meaning of mirrors within them have to be analysed primarily through the archaeological record.

### **1.5. Dating**

A short discussion on the periodisation of Korea's history is essential at this point, as it is another area on which much debate has arisen. The introduction of iron around the fourth century BC coincides with the first recorded references to Korean history, geography and culture in Chinese texts.<sup>78</sup> On the basis of these and later written sources, it has been possible to identify the dates marking the beginning and closing years of the dynasties succeeding the Iron Age, whereas the time-frames regarding Korea's Palaeolithic 舊石器時代 (circa 500,000-circa 10,000 BC), Mesolithic 中石器時代 (circa 10,000-circa 6000 BC), Neolithic 新石器時代 (circa

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<sup>78</sup> Nelson 1993: 11.

6000-circa 1000 BC), Bronze and Iron Ages have been subject to considerable disagreement among Korean and Western scholars.<sup>79</sup> All divisions into time periods are of course arbitrary, and it is arguable whether a Bronze or Iron Age must include the production of these metals and not just their use.<sup>80</sup> Throughout the thesis, the term ‘Bronze Age’ will be used to refer to the period starting at around 1000 BC when not only bronze was in use and manufactured, but also when other important social changes took place, such as rice planting, horse riding and the differentiation into social classes. By 400 BC or perhaps earlier, iron technology, advanced ceramic technology and an above-ground house style appeared in the Korean peninsula marking a new stage of social and political complexity. By the third century BC iron was mined and worked throughout the peninsula. In keeping with Kim Wŏn-yong’s chronological scheme – this being the most widely used chronology to date – the Iron Age has here been dated to the last three centuries BC.<sup>81</sup>

Controversy also surrounds the dating of the Three Kingdoms period which traditionally spans from 57 BC to AD 668. The *Samguk sagi* records the dates for the establishment of the Silla kingdom as 57 BC, 37 BC for Koguryŏ 高句麗 and 18 BC for Paekche 百濟. However, whether the Three Kingdoms existed as early as these records imply has been subject to discussion, especially since archaeological evidence for social stratification and for the formation of state-level societies in the form of richly furnished

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<sup>79</sup> Bronze and Iron Age chronology will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, section 2.2.

<sup>80</sup> Sarah Taylor, for example, maintains that an ‘Iron Age’ must include native iron production and not just iron use. It is therefore necessary to consider whether excavated iron wares were cast locally or imported. Taylor 1989.

<sup>81</sup> Kim Wŏn-yong 2001: 101-118, 268.

tombs does not appear until much later. According to Kim Wŏn-yong's scheme, the first three centuries AD are considered 'Iron Age', but in order to distinguish it from the early Iron Age, it is most frequently called the 'Proto-Three Kingdoms period' (K. *Wŏnsamguk sidae* 原三國時代), a term coined by Kim Wŏn-yong in the 1970s, or the 'Early Three Kingdoms period' (K. *Samguk sidae chŏn'gi* 三國時代前期), which was proposed by Ch'oe Mong-nyong in 1987.<sup>82</sup> I have here used the term 'Proto-Three Kingdoms period'. However, it should be noted that many publications, particularly art historical ones, do not make a distinction between the Proto-Three Kingdoms and the Three Kingdoms periods, but name the entire span of time the 'Three Kingdoms period'. As for the later periods, the traditionally accepted chronological schemes have been followed (see Chronology on page 10).

### **1.6. Outline of thesis**

Bronze mirrors were not 'invented' in the Koryŏ period. Instead, they derived from a long tradition of secular and ritual use. The function of artefacts depends on the previous uses and meanings of these or similar artefacts which, through a conscious or subconscious process, have shaped the attributes linked to them.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, an object cannot be studied in

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<sup>82</sup> For an in-depth discussion of these terms, see Barnes 2001: 8, 82-85. Also see Denès 2000: 124.

<sup>83</sup> In Ian Hodder's words: "[...] any use of an artefact depends on the previous uses and meanings of that artefact or of similar artefacts within a particular historical context." See Hodder 1992: 14. For a discussion on the symbolic significance of objects and their materiality, see Thomas 1995: 211: "The study of material culture means investigating the ways in which things are incorporated into a symbolic order and how these 'things' are either retained or forgotten, as memory, trace or tradition."

isolation but should be perceived in terms of its past and present environments. If past meanings influenced the ways in which mirrors functioned within Koryŏ society, understanding their precedents can provide a clearer picture of their social and ritual meanings between the tenth and the fourteenth century.

Chapter 2 examines bronze mirrors from the Bronze Age to the Unified Silla period by discussing both their formal and cultural constituents through an analysis of the contexts in which they appear and by means of a stylistic examination of the imagery on them. Conclusions are reached as to the changing function of mirrors in burials from the Bronze Age to the Three Kingdoms period. Particular stress is placed on the Chinese impact on Korean mirror production and use, as channelled through tributary and trade relations between China and the various polities and kingdoms of the peninsula. In contradistinction to this, the emergence of a strong Korean self-awareness is detected in the appearance of native mirror iconography in the Unified Silla period, concurring with a new framework of use as manifested in the secular contexts of mirrors.

Another important development coincided with the advent of Buddhism in the late Three Kingdoms period, when mirrors began to be placed in pagoda relic chambers; this phenomenon is discussed in the latter part of Chapter 2. The tradition continued and examples from Koryŏ relic deposits are featured in Chapter 3, which examines mirrors from known contexts. It was not always possible to obtain details of how mirrors were situated inside the relic chambers, nor have they all been illustrated, and for these reasons the assessment of this particular context is supplementary to

the study of mirrors from better published environments. The main aim of this chapter is to give a comprehensive account of unlooted Koryŏ burials and to present as complete a picture as possible of the occurrence of mirrors in graves and the social framework that defined this custom. As no comprehensive analysis of Koryŏ tombs has been undertaken, it was necessary to carry out a detailed examination of the graves in order to answer fundamental questions on the nature of the burial assemblages and to better assess how mirrors fit into this setting.<sup>84</sup>

Chapter 4 assesses the use of mirrors as ‘meaningful commodities’, in other words, as objects that were produced and consumed within a social and political framework that determined their stylistic attributes. Their varied and at times parallel roles as status symbols, secular objects and ritual artefacts are highlighted, and the social concerns which dictated their production and use are examined. Foreign, in particular Chinese, influences on mirror use and iconography, and the meaningful divergences from the Chinese canon are also interpreted, especially in relation to social hierarchies.

Chapter 5 brings together the arguments and conclusions from the previous chapters and recapitulates the methodologies used and choices of material made. It underlines the complex roles of Koryŏ mirrors and places

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<sup>84</sup> To date the most in-depth study on Koryŏ burials is that by Kang In-gu who has surveyed a select number of Koryŏ graves and their burial goods. Though insightful, Kang’s study does not achieve a comprehensive understanding of Koryŏ burial customs and only touches briefly upon questions of how regional customs, chronological changes and social status are reflected in Koryŏ burial traditions. Kang In-gu 2000: 631-704. Another important study is that by Hwang Chŏng-uk, who presents a detailed analysis of Koryŏ stone cist tombs in the provinces of Kyŏnggi 京畿道, North Ch’ungch’ŏng 忠清北道 and South Ch’ungch’ŏng, focusing on how chronological and stylistic changes are manifested in their construction. However, he does not examine other types of grave constructions nor does he discuss burials from other regions of Korea. Hwang Chŏng-uk 2002. For a more general discussion of funerary rituals in Korea, see Chŏng Chong-su 1990.

them within the historical reality that informed their function and meanings, stressing both their secular and ritual dimensions. It explores questions that future scientific research could potentially address. Finally, a pattern of continuation and change originating in pre-Koryŏ times is outlined and, following its trajectories, mirror use in the succeeding Chosŏn period is summarised.

## Chapter 2

### Uses and Meanings of pre-Koryŏ Mirrors

#### 2.1. Introduction

Bronze mirrors were cast and used on the Korean peninsula by at least the fourth century BC, thus marking the beginning of a tradition that was to last for nearly two thousand years. In Chapter 1, I stressed the importance of examining the significance and function of mirrors in pre-Koryŏ times, since it is their development in this period that shaped the ways in which they were used between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. The first part of Chapter 2 is devoted to mirrors from the Bronze Age to the Proto-Three Kingdoms period, a formative stage for functional attributes and stylistic variables of later Korean examples. Particularly pertinent to the understanding of the tradition in question are the roles of mirrors during the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods, therefore they will be examined with particular attention.

Archaeological evidence suggests that initially the most important function of mirrors was as burial goods. It will be demonstrated that until the tenth century they were closely linked to elite groups within society and that this had a bearing on their role in Koryŏ. In the late Three Kingdoms period, the ritual role of mirrors broadened as they were incorporated in Buddhist relic worship. A significant change occurred in the Unified Silla, when they were introduced into secular life for the first time. The chapter will also

explore the influence exerted on mirrors by the increased Chinese presence on the peninsula between the late Iron Age and Three Kingdoms periods. All the roles mirrors came to assume in Korean society between the fourth and the ninth centuries were influenced by earlier attributes and form the foundation for their use and manufacture in the Koryŏ period.

## **2.2. Late Bronze and early Iron Age society**

The history of the Korean Bronze and Iron Ages is fraught with questions. Korean scholars have, for example, failed to agree upon the dates marking the beginning of these periods (see Chapter 1, section 1.5). Moreover, problems concerning social strata and the religious framework, both closely affecting mirror production and usage, have not been resolved. In order to establish the circumstances behind the formation of mirror use in early Korean society, I will first address these questions through a brief introduction to late Bronze Age and early Iron Age society.

Scholars have traditionally given 1000 BC as a nominal starting point for the Bronze Age, as it coincides with a time when various changes took place, the introduction of bronze artefacts being one of them.<sup>85</sup> By the middle of the first millennium BC bronze manufacture was widespread, as indicated

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<sup>85</sup> Most Korean scholars agree that bronze was in use by at least 900 BC. This date is associated with a clay mould used for casting bronze which was found at Yanggulli 양굴리, Kyŏnggi province 京畿道. For a brief outline of the dates proposed by different scholars, see Kim Wŏn-yong 2001: 68-69. For a discussion of these dates, see Ch'oe Mong-nyong 1984b: 23 and 1994. For further discussion of Korean prehistoric dates, see also Im Hyo-jae 1989: 63-67 and Nelson 1993: 110-116.

by the findings of moulds for daggers, mirrors, arrowheads, fishhooks, axes and other objects at sites throughout the peninsula.<sup>86</sup>

The dates marking the beginning of the Korean Iron Age are still under discussion, since disagreements abound as to whether an 'Iron Age' must include iron production and not just iron use. The iron artefacts that were used in the fourth century BC appear to have been imported, in accordance with archaeological evidence suggesting that iron mining and smelting did not take place before around 300 BC. It is for this reason that the Iron Age is traditionally argued to begin around this date.<sup>87</sup> States of considerable size and political importance also developed around that time, and the Korean peninsula progressively came to the notice of an increasingly unified China, culminating with the establishment of three Chinese commanderies in the northern half of the peninsula in the first century BC.

There is limited information on the structure of society during the Bronze and early Iron Ages. This is in part due to the nature of the frequently incomplete material that has made studies on intra-cultural variation difficult. Some archaeologists have suggested that there was little central organisation of any kind, but this argument contrasts with the occurrence of richly furnished burials that indicate a degree of social ranking. Ch'oe Mong-nyong

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<sup>86</sup> For details of these discoveries, see Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992 and Nelson 1993: 116 and 137-138.

<sup>87</sup> However, Sarah Nelson and others have argued for an earlier date, highlighting that by 400 BC advanced ceramic technology and a ground-level type of house with *ondol* floor (subfloor heating) appeared in the Korean peninsula. According to Nelson, these changes are closely related to the development of iron technology, since stoneware and iron production depend on the same methods for making hotter fires, and the new type of house required iron tools to make planks for floors. See Nelson 1993: 116, 164-205. For further discussion on the impact of iron production on early Korean society, see Barnes 2001: 82-91.

opines that the leaders of society may have played a dual role as military and religious leaders.<sup>88</sup> Kim Wŏn-yong has examined the co-existence of independent social or political entities on the peninsula, but the schema is still very broad and a narrower picture of the social reality is yet to be established.<sup>89</sup> The lack of significant variations in the designs on mirrors indicates that their use may have been governed by certain shared norms and traditions, which were accepted throughout the peninsula.

Stone cists and dolmens are the most common form of Bronze Age burials, but their relationship is yet to be clarified.<sup>90</sup> Dolmens are generally believed to have been in use from around 2000 to 300 BC. They are interpreted as graves of the upper class only, due to burial artefacts of beads and bronzes, and because there are too few of them to account for the entire population.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, the amount of manpower needed for the construction of dolmens implies that figures of authority were laid to rest

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<sup>88</sup> In basing his analysis on the surveys and excavations of various sites, including dolmens and subterranean settlements with round or rectangular plans, Ch'oe Mong-nyong suggests that clan-based chiefdoms with hierarchical social organisation dominated society. See Ch'oe Mong-nyong 1994: 10-13. This argument is similar to that of Kim Chŏng-bae who believes a state-level society was established during the Bronze Age. See Kim Chŏng-bae 1979: 14-22. In contrast Pai Hyung-il argues that it was not until the middle of the Three Kingdoms period that the first full-fledged states appeared. See Pai Hyung-il 2000: 122.

<sup>89</sup> Kim Wŏn-yong 2001: 60-100, 268.

<sup>90</sup> Ch'oe Mong-nyong has suggested that dolmens may predate stone cists as smaller amounts of bronze artefacts have been found in dolmens. He further argues that if the construction of stone cists was contemporary to that of dolmens, the occupants of stone cists must have been of higher social status. Due to the large amount of incomplete archaeological data from this period, Ch'oe's theory appears somewhat premature. See Ch'oe Mong-nyong 1984b: 26-28.

<sup>91</sup> More than 5,500 dolmens have been identified in southwest Korea, leading Nelson to suggest that there may be more than 100,000 dolmens on the peninsula. Yet, considering the large time span over which they were used, this only allows an average of fifty or so to be erected each year. See Nelson 1993: 147-150.

under them. However, no dolmen burials have been found intact and the exact nature of the burial goods is unknown.

Stone cists were the most widespread form of burial and seem to have been used by people of different social levels.<sup>92</sup> Unlike dolmens, stone cists appear in proximity to settlements. Some stone cist graves are likely to have been used for the elite, in particular those that contained bronzes, which were evidently precious and appear to have functioned as status markers.<sup>93</sup> Bronze mirrors have only been found in stone cists. Since all dolmens were looted, it is impossible to know whether mirrors also accompanied those interred under dolmens.

Dolmens ceased to exist around 300 BC. In the Iron Age several burial modes existed, including stone cists, pit burials, jar-coffins and cairns covering stone-lined pits.<sup>94</sup> Their use and distribution patterns differ from region to region and it is as yet unclear how the different constructions functioned socially and chronologically.<sup>95</sup> As in the Bronze Age, burial goods appear to be a more consistent marker of social status than burial construction. Burial objects differ significantly from those found at dwelling sites, where mirrors and other bronze artefacts with apparent ritual connotations have not been found.

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<sup>92</sup> Other burial constructions in use at this time are jar-coffin burials and pit graves with a wooden chamber. For an extensive study of Bronze Age burial systems, see Yi Chong-sŏn 1976.

<sup>93</sup> Stone artefacts, pottery, necklaces of tubular beads and comma-shaped beads, also known as curved jades (K. *kogok* 曲玉), have also been found in stone cists. *Kogok* became an important symbol of power in the Silla kingdom when large numbers were put in royal graves.

<sup>94</sup> For details of these constructions, see Kim Wŏn-yong 2001: 115-118.

The iconography of mirrors appears to be closely associated with early Korean world-views. It is widely believed that shamanism was practiced and some Korean scholars have suggested that rituals centred on sun worship, though clear evidence of this is lacking. The argument relies on diffusionist theories based on the widespread practice of shamanism in North Asia, where sun worship prevailed.<sup>96</sup> A stronger argument has been presented by Kim Wŏn-yong who has suggested that the swirls and concentric circles carved between the mid-Neolithic period and the Bronze Age onto a rock surface at Ulchu 蔚州, Ch'ŏnjŏlli 川前里 in South Kyŏngsang province 慶尙南道 symbolise the sun.<sup>97</sup> Similar images appear on late Bronze Age mirrors and their significance will be discussed in the following section.

Within this framework of social relationships and religious beliefs, I will examine the role of mirrors in the late Bronze to early Iron Ages and their use as symbols of status and explain the iconography on their decorated backs. This will be followed by a discussion of the late Iron Age when the well-cast native Korean mirrors were replaced with Chinese ones and poorly made Korean copies. The inferior quality of the latter is curious considering the high level of skill involved in making their indigenous Korean forerunners. By

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<sup>95</sup> Pit burials are, for example, more common in the north than in the south. For specific examples of regional differences among Iron Age burials, see Nelson 1993: 183-202.

<sup>96</sup> Kim Chŏng-hak 1964 has found elements of sun worship in the egg myths of the ancestral mythologies of Silla and Koguryŏ. In contrast, Pai Hyung-il argues that no evidence can be found to support such theories. For a discussion of Kim Chŏng-hak and other Korean scholars' theories on Korean sun worship, see Pai Hyung-il 2000: 88-90.

<sup>97</sup> The rock carvings at Ulchu cover an area of 1x2.5m. Kim Wŏn-yong 1987: 172-175. They are geographically close to the later rock carvings at Pan'gudae 盤龜臺, North Kyŏngsang province 慶尙北道, which are dated from the mid-Iron Age to the early Three Kingdoms period.

the late Iron Age, the 'Chineseness' of such mirrors was more important than the appearance of the artefacts themselves, in contrast to the evidently high standards of production of earlier Korean mirrors.

### **2.3. Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age mirrors**

#### **2.3.1. Categories of mirrors**

Early Korean mirrors are in the form of discs and vary in diameter from around 8cm to 22cm. Their backs have two or more loops situated off-centre. They have been divided into two main groups, coarse-lined (K. *chomun'gyŏng* 粗文鏡) and fine-lined (K. *chŏngmun'gyŏng* 精文鏡).<sup>98</sup> The former are characterised by designs of crude geometric lines, often with a central pattern in the shape of a pointed star, such as one from the late Bronze Age site of Yŏuidong 如意洞 near Chŏnju 全州 in North Chŏlla province 全羅北道 (fig. 2.1).<sup>99</sup> This type was cast using stone moulds, some of which have been excavated (fig. 2.2). Decorations of very fine lines<sup>100</sup> characterise the mirrors of the latter group, which began to appear in graves during the early Iron Age, and which are likely to have been made using moulds of clay (fig. 2.3).<sup>101</sup> More than twenty coarse and fine-lined mirrors

<sup>98</sup> Umehara Sueji was among the first scholars to publish on this topic. See Umehara 1943 and 1968. For other studies on multi-looped mirrors, see Komai 1938, Gotô 1943 and Uno 1977. For a chronological study of early Korean Bronze Age mirrors, see Chŏn Yŏng-nae 1977. Chŏn attempts to provide a chronological outline of coarse-lined mirrors and divides the mirrors into twelve stylistic categories based on their decorations.

<sup>99</sup> Four-, five-, six- and eight-pointed stars can be seen on coarse-lined mirrors.

<sup>100</sup> At times three lines have been incised within the width of 1mm. For close-up illustrations of Korean Bronze Age mirrors, see Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 82-89.

<sup>101</sup> Gina Barnes briefly discusses the manufacture of coarse and fine-lined mirrors. Barnes 1999: 164.

have been found throughout the peninsula (fig. 2.4). The production was relatively short-lived since it did not survive the influx of Chinese bronze equivalents in the late Iron Age.

### **2.3.2. Burial contexts**

From the scant archaeological evidence, it has not been possible to determine a pattern in the position of the burial goods, including mirrors, inside the tomb, apart from the fact that artefacts tend to be found close to the body, often in clusters.<sup>102</sup> It may be noted that the apparent lack of rules with regards to the location of burial objects is also seen in Koryŏ burials.

Mirrors have predominantly been unearthed from relatively well-equipped tombs, containing bronze daggers and a number of other artefacts, such as bronze chisels, beads and curved jades (K. *kogok* 曲玉). They may also include less common bronze artefacts such as protective plates (K. *pangp'aehyŏngdonggi* 防牌形銅器)<sup>103</sup> (fig. 2.5), trumpet-shaped objects (K. *nap'arhyŏngdonggi* 喇叭形銅器) (fig. 2.6) and bells (K. *nyŏng* 鈴) (fig. 2.7).

<sup>102</sup> In a stone cist at Tasongni 多松里 at Iksan 益山 in North Chŏlla province 全羅北道 (fourth to third century BC) a coarse-lined mirror was found in the western side of the tomb together with tubular beads, whilst two earthenware jars were placed at the eastern end. In a burial at Tongsŏri 東西里 at Yesan 禮山 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province 忠清南道 (latter half of third century BC), the mirrors were placed in the eastern side of the tomb together with a bronze dagger, a stone arrowhead and pottery sherds. In the case of a grave excavated at Taegongni 大谷里 near Hwasun 和順 in South Chŏlla province 全羅南道 (around second century BC), two fine-lined mirrors were found in the south-eastern corner of the cist, slightly distanced from the other burial objects (two rattles, two bells, three daggers, a chisel and a drill). For discussions of these sites, see Chŏn Yŏng-nae 1975; Chi Kŏn-gil 1978 and Cho Yu-jŏn 1984.

### **2.3.3. Mirror chronology**

A chronology of Bronze and Iron Age mirrors is yet to be firmly established. However, it seems that as casting techniques became more advanced, so did the patterns on mirror backs. Unlike coarse-lined mirrors, fine-lined mirrors have been excavated alongside iron artefacts, indicating that they post-date coarse-lined ones.

Though the production of Bronze Age mirrors followed a progression made possible by improved methods of casting, several factors indicate that earlier products continued to be highly valued. At three sites, different types of mirrors have been found within the same tomb.<sup>104</sup> The finds at Tongsŏri 東西里 at Yesan 禮山 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province 忠清南道, dating to the latter half of the third century BC, are especially intriguing, in that a mirror with no decoration and of seemingly inferior quality was placed in the tomb together with others of superior manufacture (figs 2.8a-b). In view of the archaeological evidence, it seems possible that mirrors were handed down from generation to generation as heirlooms, before being placed inside the grave.

<sup>103</sup> The function of protective plates is not clear. They are always well-cast with finely executed designs.

<sup>104</sup> These sites are: Koejŏngdong 槐亭洞 at Taejŏn 大田 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province (around fourth century BC), which yielded a coarse-lined and a fine-lined mirror; Tongsŏri 東西里 at Yesan 禮山 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province (latter half of third century BC), where a mirror with no motif, a coarse-lined and three fine-lined mirrors were found; and Kubongni 九鳳里 at Puyŏ 扶餘 in South

**2.3.4. The function of mirrors**

Despite variations in the size of mirrors and the width of the rim, the repertoire of designs of early Korean mirrors is limited. A five-pointed star is the most commonly occurring motif on coarse-lined mirrors, indicating the popularity and potential significance of this particular imagery. A modification of the design can be seen on all fine-lined mirrors excavated on the peninsula, including those from Yŏuidong, North Chŏlla province and Taegongni 大谷里, South Chŏlla province 全羅南道: the decorative band closest to the rim always has an arrangement of narrow hatched triangles – a decorative feature which presumably evolved from that of the pointed star (figs 2.9-2.10). The uniformity of the mirror designs is of great significance, considering they were found in burials throughout the peninsula, as it indicates that their production was governed by a prevailing, commonly shared system of ideas and ritual principles. It also suggests that the motifs on mirrors form an intrinsic part of their role as burial objects.

Variations of the star pattern in the form of triangular shapes appear on a number of other contemporary bronze objects, including bells of various kinds and sword hilt-shaped objects (K. *kŏmp'ahyŏngdonggi* 劍把形銅器) (figs 2.11a-b and 2.12). Such artefacts were often found alongside mirrors and probably performed similar or related ritual functions.

As already mentioned before, several Korean scholars have suggested that sun worship was practiced in Korea. Stylistically, links have been made to geometric designs found on Korean and on North and Central Asian

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Ch'ungch'ŏng province 忠清南道 (late third to early second century BC), where a

artefacts. In the case of the latter such designs are believed to have represented the sun.<sup>105</sup> Mirrors were widely used on the Central Plains where their functions ranged from talismans to shamanic symbols of the sun.<sup>106</sup> On a number of fine-lined mirrors, such as those from Taegongni in South Chŏlla province and those said to be from Nonsan 論山 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province (figs 2.10 and 2.3 respectively), circular patterns which may be symbolic references to the sun feature in the outer decorative band close to the rim. The nature of early Korean religious practices and the focus of worship are not known, but it has widely been accepted that shaman practices were in use. The star motif found on early Korean Bronze Age mirrors may be interpreted as a reference to the sun and perhaps an indication that the solar cult was prevalent in Korea, too. The indication that early Korean

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coarse-lined and a fine-lined mirror were found.

<sup>105</sup> The star motif, which constitutes the basic motif of early Korean mirrors and other objects from this period, is rare in ancient China. According to O'Donoghue its foremost appearance is on a group of inlaid chariot fittings from a burial at Anyang. See O'Donoghue 1990: 20. Instead it occurs in various guises on artefacts produced by cultures living on the Central Asian plains, leading Kim Wŏn-yong and Kim Chŏng-hak to suggest that the designs on early Korean mirrors may have derived from the Siberian tradition of using hatched triangles on different kinds of artefacts. See Kim Wŏn-yong 1977: 139 and Kim Chŏng-hak 1978: 174-175. However, it should be noted that linear patterns are extremely common in most ancient cultures and a shared usage of striated patterns does not necessarily justify a diffusion theory. With their geometric designs and two, or in some cases three loops situated off-centre, early Korean mirrors differ significantly from their Central Asian and Siberian counterparts.

<sup>106</sup> In cultures of the Scytho-Siberian world a large number of bronze amulets and badges relating to the sun cult have been found. Bronze disks, to which the name 'mirror' has been attached, were cult objects and have been found in northern Asian graves usually by the chest or the stomach, indicating that they were hung from a cord around the neck. Mirrors probably symbolised light and in many cases the sun itself. The solar badges of the Stepanovo hoard of the third century BC are marked with concentric circles and small oval indentations resembling rays of light. See Martynov 1991: 69-71 and Antonini 1994. For further discussion of Central Asian solar symbols in the form of engraved and stamped designs on pottery, see Gimbutas 1965: 589.

mirrors with the central star motif were handed down as heirlooms certainly testifies to the value attached to this motif.

#### **2.4. The late Iron Age and Proto-Three Kingdoms periods**

Over the course of the Iron Age, Korean mirrors became increasingly rare, while Han mirrors and their Korean imitations spread more widely.<sup>107</sup> The increased Chinese presence on the peninsula resulted in traditions and artefacts from this country being absorbed into Korean culture.

Correspondingly, mirrors from China came to be important status symbols – a role which had hitherto been played by native Korean mirrors.

The Chinese made their first appearance in Korea during the fourth century BC. They brought iron with them, and the new metal culture came to influence Korean society in a number of ways. In contrast to bronze, iron was made into utilitarian objects, especially for farming and woodworking. Coarse and fine-lined mirrors made of bronze continued to be placed in graves as important symbols of rank and political power until the first century BC, when their popularity waned as a result of the spread of Chinese mirrors.

The Chinese presence became increasingly strong after 108 BC, when the Han established the commanderies of Lelang (K. Nangnang 樂浪), Daifang (K. Taebang 帶方), Lintun (K. Imdun 臨屯) and Zhenfan (K. Chinbŏn 眞番) in the northern part of the peninsula and in 107 BC set up Xuantu (K. Hyŏnto 玄菟), around the Yalu river (K. Amnokkang 鴨綠江)

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<sup>107</sup> Such copies of Chinese prototypes are in Korean publications called *pangjegyŏng* 倣製鏡, literally ‘mirror made to imitate.’

(fig. 2.13).<sup>108</sup> The time of the Chinese colonies is generally referred to as the Lelang period after the largest and longest lasting of the Chinese commanderies, which eventually fell into the hands of Koguryŏ in AD 313. Between the first and the third centuries AD, the southern part of the peninsula was divided into three groups 三韓 (K. *Samhan*), namely Mahan 馬韓, Pyŏnhan 弁韓 and Chinhan 辰韓 (fig. 2.14). The impact of the Chinese commanderies on the conquered Korean areas as well as on those states which were adjacent to them was considerable. Mahan, Chinhan and Pyŏnhan thrived on trading with Lelang which was in need of raw materials, such as salt, iron and timber.<sup>109</sup>

#### **2.4.1. The tributary system and the role of mirrors**

There is no doubt that Han Chinese bronze mirrors featured strongly in contacts between China and Korea. Between the late first century BC and the third century AD the only mirrors that were circulated on the peninsula were Chinese ones and their poorly made Korean imitations. Evidently, the Koreans did not feel a need nor a desire to produce different types of mirrors, which suggests the importance attached to Chinese mirrors. I believe the reason lies in the notions of political power and wealth which they came to

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<sup>108</sup> With the exception of Lelang, the locations of the Chinese administrative units are not known precisely, but their area of control stretched from the Yalu river in the north to the Han 漢 river basin in the south, but not as far as the southern half of the peninsula. Yi Pyŏng-do's recording of the location of Lelang and the other three commanderies is generally regarded as reliable. See Yi Pyŏng-do 1976: 98. Yi Pyŏng-do and other scholars' work on the Chinese commanderies are discussed by Pai Hyung-il 2000: 133-138.

<sup>109</sup> For a discussion of this trading network and the types of items that were traded, see Han Woo-keun 1970: 20.

symbolise. Furthermore, these notions also affected how mirrors were used in the Three Kingdoms period.

Submission of neighbouring peoples was an inseparable part of the Chinese political order. This normally took the form of tribute, though during the early Han period there was no clear notion as to what the specific components of the tributary system should be.<sup>110</sup> China's policy in controlling foreign peoples was implemented by distributing official seals and titles, such as district lord and district chief. It heightened the social status of those who received seals and titles and strengthened the authority of those working in the service of the Chinese commanderies.<sup>111</sup> In this manner, through outposts such as Lelang, the Han court bought peace from the Koreans with Chinese goods, such as bronze seals and other ritual status objects. It is likely that mirrors were similarly used since the tradition of presenting mirrors to neighbouring states was well established in China at this time. An inscription on a Han bronze mirror found in western Siberia, for example, suggests that it

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<sup>110</sup> The tribute policy was political, economical as well as practical. It was, for example, believed that it would eliminate barbarian raiding. At first, the tribute system which was instituted with the Korean chiefdoms resembled the (Ch.) *heqin* 和親 agreement which the Han Chinese had established in 198 BC with the Xiongnu 匈奴, involving annual Chinese gifts being sent to the Xiongnu court. Such annual imperial gifts were, however, normally not matched by Xiongnu tribute and the *heqin* policy had thus turned the Chinese tribute system in reverse. Namely, by sending cash and silk fabrics to the Xiongnu, the Han empire was in effect playing the role of a tributary state. Yet, the high expenses occurred as a result of such reverse tributary relations were hardly desirable and the Chinese gifts to the Korean chiefdoms were therefore matched by Korean tribute. For an account of the establishment of the *heqin* system during the Han period, see Yü 1967: 36. Xiongnu's relations with the Han empire are examined by Yü 1967: 40-43 and Egami 1945: 28. The establishment of the Chinese tribute system is discussed by Fairbank 1953: 23-38. In China the tribute arrangement continued to be practised until the mid-nineteenth century. For an account of trade and tribute during the Ming dynasty, see Rossabi 1975: 70-83.

<sup>111</sup> Hatada 1969: 13.

was a Chinese imperial gift to a Xiongnu 匈奴 leader.<sup>112</sup> Though these gifts were expected to be reciprocated by Korean tribute, for the Chinese, the material gains of this system were of secondary importance to the establishment of peaceful and politically advantageous relations.<sup>113</sup>

The desire for peaceful relations and prestigious Chinese goods, including bronze mirrors and gold accessories as well as iron weapons and tools not locally available, can be seen as the main impetus for the various exchanges between China's neighbouring regions. For the Korean chieftains submission to the Han court certainly meant great material gains and prestige. It also guaranteed access and affiliation with the powerful Chinese empire, not least because it was normally only those granted Chinese government titles who were authorised to trade with China; they were thus pitted against those who did not.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> The *Weishu* 魏書 records that in AD 120, Puyŏ received a seal and other goods such as a sash, gold and brightly colored cloth from China. This record is discussed by Nelson 1993: 170. For a discussion and a map of the distribution of bronze mirrors during the Han period, see Egami 1945: 287-288, 291. Also Gina Barnes argues that mirrors and seals are “perhaps the most enduring objects which provide evidence of the integration of surrounding regions into the Han (and later the Wei) tributary system.” See Barnes 1999: 198. The tradition of using mirrors as gifts in China continued among high and low-ranking members of society until at least the Tang period. Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756), for example, presented mirrors to his favourite consorts and meritorious officials. This is briefly discussed by Chou 2000: 8.

<sup>113</sup> During the first century BC tributary items from the confederated kingdom of Wiman Chosŏn 衛滿朝鮮, situated in the basins of the Liao 遼 and Taedong 大同 rivers, and other Korean states usually included special native products. Tributary items from Ye 濊, for example, were horses, while Chinese gifts included Han officers' clothes and hats as well as seals. For a list of these items, see Chŏn Hae-jong 1979: 71. See also Ch'oe Mong-nyong 1992: 187. For further discussion on the tributary relations between China and Korea, see Pai Hyung-il 2000: 125.

### 2.4.2. Burial contexts

The predominance of Chinese goods in late Iron Age and Proto-Three Kingdoms tombs points to their desirability among the Koreans. While mirrors in the form of trade items may have been available to most groups of society, such prestige items would in reality only have been accessible to those who had the presumed economic capacity, hereditary right and social status to deserve them.<sup>115</sup> The archaeological evidence reinforces this, as mirrors have predominantly been excavated from rich burials containing a larger than average number of goods, including bronze weapons and other status symbols.

Late Iron Age sites, such as Ŏndong 漁隱洞 near Yŏngch'ŏn 永川 and P'yŏngnidong 坪里洞 near Taegu 大邱, both in North Kyŏngsang province 慶尙北道 and both dating to the late first century BC, contained a large number of bronze artefacts, including weapons, bells, talismanic figures and Chinese-style buckles. No indigenous-style Korean mirrors were found, but instead imitations of Han mirrors were placed alongside Han originals. The Ŏndong site contained fifteen Han-style mirrors (fig. 2.15). Three of them are Chinese originals (nos 1-3), whereas the remaining twelve are Korean imitations. The site is thought to be the earliest with Chinese-style mirrors of clear local manufacture.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>114</sup> Son *et al.* 1970: 30.

<sup>115</sup> For a discussion of the formulation of a prestige-goods economy, see Frankenstein and Rowlands 1979: 75-81.

<sup>116</sup> Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 58-59. For further discussion of this site, see Pai Hyung-il 2000: 227-9

The motif on the largest Chinese mirror (fig. 2.15, no. 1) is common on Western Han 西漢 (206 BC-AD 9) mirrors, featuring four raised knobs among auspicious creatures.<sup>117</sup> The two smaller Chinese pieces (fig. 2.15, nos 2-3) represent another well-known Western Han design. Linked arches surround the hemispherical knob and in the middle band is an inscription:

見日之光、天下大明。      *By the light of the sun,  
The world is made bright.*

Due to the inscription, this type is often categorised as a sunlight (Ch. *riguang* 日光) mirror, which was widely distributed at the time and was prevalent in Korea too.<sup>118</sup> For example, a contemporary Iron Age site in Chisandong 池山洞 close to Taegu 大, North Kyŏngsang province, revealed six *riguang* mirrors and no other Chinese or Korean examples.<sup>119</sup>

The largest of the imitation mirrors (fig. 2.15, no. 4) found at Ŏndong has the scalloped inner rim characteristic of many Western Han mirrors. The design itself appears to be a hybrid of several decorative elements typical of such objects: the large, raised central knob, the surrounding smaller knobs and the raised concentric bands.

The eleven smaller mirrors evidently also imitate Han mirror designs. The wiggly lines appear to merge the figural shapes seen on many mirrors from the Han period, including the one from Ŏndong (fig. 2.15, no 1), with the inscriptions cast on *riguang* mirrors (fig. 2.15, nos 2-3). Likewise, the

<sup>117</sup> Due to its fragmented state it is impossible to conclude which figures are depicted, but the following are common on mirrors of this type: dragons, tigers, birds and feathered immortals.

<sup>118</sup> *Riguang* mirrors have been found in China as well as in its neighbouring regions. They are all similar in appearance, thus stressing the widespread popularity of this particular design. See Chou 2000: 35.

hachured band in the outer rim is another typical Han trait also seen on the three Chinese mirrors found at this site.

The numerous references to the sun on Korean mirrors are interesting as they are in keeping with similar allusions to the sun and rays of light seen in the patterns on coarse and fine-lined mirrors. Therefore, it can be argued that the earlier symbolism was not severed by the influx of Chinese mirrors. This may partly explain why native Korean mirrors ceased being made as soon as the new foreign ones appeared, since the latter in some ways carried on the old meanings. In addition, the associations with power and wealth, which the new mirrors embodied, can only have fuelled their popularity. Judging from the archaeological evidence, Korean craftsmen never strived to copy Chinese mirrors faithfully. Instead, Han designs were portrayed in rudimentary fashion on small, poorly cast mirrors.<sup>120</sup> From this it must be assumed that the Chinese mirrors and the concepts they signified were widely known since the symbolism inherent in the poorly cast imitation mirrors was still recognised.

### **2.5. Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla mirrors**

The increasingly domineering presence of the Chinese on the Korean peninsula had strong repercussions on mirror use and manufacture. Mirrors in the native Korean tradition ceased being made by the late Iron Age as Chinese prototypes became increasingly sought after and were copied. Yet,

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<sup>119</sup> Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 62.

<sup>120</sup> Chinese mirrors were also copied widely in Japan from as early as the Yayoi period. For detailed examinations of early Japanese imitation mirrors, see Takakura 1972 and 1985. For a pioneering study on such objects, including Yayoi pieces, based on lead isotope analysis, see Mabuchi and Hirao 1983, Nishida 1983 and Yanagida 1990.

mirrors continued to carry some of the earlier symbolism and to be associated with high social standing and, as in earlier times, their most important role was as burial goods for the elite. Iconographically, mirrors shared close similarities with Chinese Han and Six Dynasties 六朝 (265-589) ones and new motifs did not appear until the Unified Silla period.

In the late Three Kingdoms period the role of mirrors expanded as they were placed inside pagodas alongside Buddhist relics, a custom that was maintained in the Unified Silla, Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods.<sup>121</sup> The changes in mirror usage, which took place in the Unified Silla period, set the stage for the increased popularity and consequent manufacture of mirrors in the Koryŏ period. They were not made solely in imitation of Chinese prototypes and no longer merely for burial purposes. For the first time mirror use and mirror patterns were secularised, as reflected in the discovery of mirrors at the domestic site of Anapchi pond 雁鴨池 in the Silla capital of Kyŏngju 慶州. Mirror designs took on more Korean characteristics and became more ornamental.

### **2.5.1. Setting the scene**

The *Samguk sagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) notes the traditional founding dates of Silla, Koguryŏ and Paekche respectively as 57, 37 and 18

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<sup>121</sup> Mirrors have been found at the following temple and pagoda sites: Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺 in South Kyŏngsang province (Three Kingdoms period); Pulguksa 佛國寺 in South Kyŏngsang province (Unified Silla period); Ch'angnimisa 昌林寺 in North Kyŏngsang province (Unified Silla period); Kwangju western five-storey stone pagoda 光州西五層石塔 in South Chŏlla province (Koryŏ period); Wŏlchŏngsa 月精寺 in Kangwŏn province 江原道 (Koryŏ period); Naegyeri five-storey stone pagoda 內溪里五層石塔 in South Chŏlla province (Koryŏ period); Sudŏksa 修德寺

BC. These dates are at odds with the evidence for social stratification provided by the presence of mounded tombs – manifested only around AD 300. As a result, the first three centuries AD are termed the ‘Proto-Three Kingdoms’ period (see Chapter 1, section 1.5.). Archaeological evidence indicates that during this time polities formed and fell apart several times before a permanent state-based organisation was achieved in the fourth century.

The waning Chinese authority following the collapse of the Han dynasty in the early third century had a significant impact on the formation of the kingdoms of Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla (fig. 2.16). In the north, Koguryŏ first mounted raids in southern Manchuria and then brought the former Lelang area under its control. In the extreme south of the peninsula, the Kaya federation, made up of several polities, emerged from the territory of Pyŏnhan.<sup>122</sup> Though not one of the Three Kingdoms, Kaya played a significant political role from the time when the Three Kingdoms established

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in South Ch’ungch’ŏng province (Chosŏn period). For a comprehensive list of Korean pagoda sites and the relics found, see Kang U-bang 1991: 169-174.

<sup>122</sup> Following the *Samguk sagi*, some scholars attribute full-fledged state status to each of the Three Kingdoms from their respective traditional founding dates, but recently some efforts have been made to define developmental stages within these societies. In particular the notion of ‘tribe’ (K. *pujok* 部族) has been used in contrast to or in conjunction with ‘state’ (K. *kukka* 國家). Many historians call the centralised polities which existed on the peninsula from the Bronze Age onwards ‘tribal states’ (K. *pujok kukka* 部族國家), including Hatada 1969 and Son *et al.* 1970. Lee Ki-baik has termed such polities ‘walled-town states’ (K. *sŏngŭp kukka* 城邑國家) under the assumption that a walled town was occupied by the ruling elites with commoners living on the outside. See Lee Ki-baik 1984: 27-28, 41. It has been hypothesized that walled settlement sites were built from as early as the late Iron Age or the Proto-Three Kingdoms period. They continued to be built during the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods when they are believed to have had deep connections with state organisation. The construction of Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla walls has been categorised as follows: ‘mountain walls’, ‘earthen walls’ and ‘long walls’. For a discussion on centralised polities and walled sites in early Korea, see Barnes 2001: 4-

their respective territories until the sixth century. However, caught between Silla and Paekche, it was never able to fully develop and eventually succumbed to Silla in 562.

The kingdoms of Paekche and Silla are believed to have developed from walled towns, the former around the region of modern Kwangju 廣州 and the latter from a state named Saro 斯盧, situated near modern Kyŏngju, North Kyŏngsang province. It is worth noting that while the inhabitants of Paekche seem to have been immigrant people from northern regions, those of Saro were predominantly from the Kyŏngju plains and, as such, were far less exposed to the influences of the Chinese commanderies located further north. Silla's late establishment of direct contacts with China is likely to be the main reason behind the small number of bronze mirrors found in the Silla royal tombs.

As Paekche and Silla grew in power, neighbouring walled towns were eventually incorporated into their territories, and when Kaya surrendered to Silla in 562, the whole of the peninsula was divided between Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla. The three kingdoms were constantly at war with one another. Silla was the most successful in expanding its territory, forcing Paekche out of the Han 漢 river basin in the sixth century and eventually conquering the kingdom in 660. Having thus secured supremacy in the southern part of the peninsula, Silla then turned against Koguryŏ, which fell in 668.

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5, 152-177. In this chapter, the term 'polities' has been used in recognition of them serving as economic and administrative centres and sub-centres.

One of the biggest changes that Silla's unified rule brought about was the consolidation of political power within the Kim 金 royal house at the expense of other aristocratic families. As the social class system became increasingly divided, social unrest spread and the first of several large-scale rebellions broke out under King Hyegong 惠恭 (r. 765-780).<sup>123</sup> Eventually, the kingdom was taken over by Wang Kŏn 王建 (r. 918-943), who became the first king of Koryŏ. It is significant that Koryŏ's relations with Silla were good and that Koryŏ's social, political and religious framework was heavily indebted to Silla, as this may explain why certain traditions were carried on, including the placing of mirrors in graves and pagodas.

### **2.5.2. Chinese influences in the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods**

Considering the strong continuous influence of Chinese-style mirrors on Korean mirror manufacture, it is necessary to briefly consider the nature of the Three Kingdoms' relations with China. On the one hand it was marred by conflict, but on the other hand it was also one of successful interrelationship and cultural borrowing. Buddhism was a major catalyst in the forging of friendly relations between mainland China and Koguryŏ, Paekche and Silla, but even before that Confucianism and Taoism had been introduced from China.

Of the Three Kingdoms, Koguryŏ had the closest links with China. Yet, Koguryŏ's territorial expansion placed it in continuous conflict with China,

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<sup>123</sup> Kim Kap-tong 1990: 9.

whilst at the same time it imitated certain Chinese customs.<sup>124</sup> Characteristic of the demographic set up of Koguryŏ is the relatively large number of political refugees who had settled in the former Chinese territory of Lelang. As a result of their presence, mounded tombs with stone-built chambers began to be used in this area from the fourth century, and Koguryŏ aristocrats soon adopted them. To date, no Koguryŏ tombs have been found intact and only three mirrors, all made of iron, have been found in the former territory of this kingdom.

For Paekche, communication with China was facilitated by its location on the western coast of the peninsula. To defend itself against the advancing Koguryŏ forces, Paekche established alliances with Chinese dynasties, especially the Liang 梁 (502-557). Buddhism was introduced from the Eastern Jin 東晉 state (317-420) and was officially accepted in 384. Royal burials were often in the form of Chinese style vaulted brick tombs. As in the case of Koguryŏ, most Paekche tombs have been subject to looting. The exception is the tomb of King Muryŏng 武寧 (r. 501-523) and his wife, which contained three bronze mirrors.

Located on the Naktong 洛東 river and with access to the south-eastern coast, Kaya was heavily engaged in maritime trade and maintained contacts far up the western coast of the peninsula with the Chinese commanderies of Lelang and Daifang, the Ye 濊 people on the east coast and the Wa 倭 in Japan. This may explain why the only native Chinese mirrors

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<sup>124</sup> Historical records were compiled in Chinese fashion and in 327 a university was established for the purpose of teaching Chinese language and the Confucian classics,

which have been unearthed from Three Kingdoms sites are those excavated from Kaya graves. In contrast, the Silla kingdom did not establish direct contacts with China until the mid-sixth century and in the mid-seventh century allied itself with Tang China in the invasions of Paekche and Koguryŏ. The coalition was, however, short-lived as shortly thereafter Silla turned against Tang and succeeded in expelling the Tang army from the expanded Silla territory. With the coming of the Unified Silla period, Korea's relations with China entered a more peaceful phase and political ties were strengthened to the extent that Silla was named 'Little China' by the Tang Chinese.<sup>125</sup>

### **2.5.3. Discussion of mirrors**

Mirrors from the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla periods are surprisingly rare, though their absence may be due to the lack of intact graves from this time: their sum total amounts to less than forty. In the following I will look more closely at their use and manufacture, which, I believe, had a formative impact on how mirrors functioned in Koryŏ society. I will discuss mirrors from Koguryŏ, Paekche, Kaya and Silla sites, concluding with an analysis of Unified Silla mirrors. As the purpose of the chapter is not to exhaustively describe all the mirrors dating to this period, only key examples will be highlighted.

In the Three Kingdoms period Chinese influence on Korean affairs had a significant impact on mirror production. Some mirrors closely imitate Chinese ones – the *liubo* design was particularly popular. Others are Korean

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so that government officials could be trained according to the Chinese model. See Nelson 1993: 210.

modifications of Chinese mirror designs from the Han to the Six Dynasties period. As in the Iron Age, the Chinese motifs were sometimes reduced to the extent of being virtually unrecognisable, presumably because the ‘Chineseness’ of the pattern was more significant than its actual iconography. One such example was found in a grave at the Paekche site of Hwasŏngni 花城里 near Ch’ŏnan 天安, South Ch’ungch’ŏng province, dating to the second half of the fourth century (fig. 2.17). Spanning only 4.3cm in diameter, the mirror was cast with crude zigzags, presumably alluding to the linear designs seen on many Han mirrors. Furthermore, in following earlier traditions, archaeological evidence suggests that during the Three Kingdoms period, mirrors carried on being associated with power and high social status.

### **2.5.3.1. Koguryŏ mirrors**

No bronze mirrors have been found at Koguryŏ sites, but three iron ones have been discovered in tombs at Ji’an 集安, Jilin 吉林 province, a former Koguryŏ territory. Unfortunately, Zhang Xueyan illustrates only one of the pieces in his report. The mirror, which is broken, is thicker in the centre and thinner at the rim. It has a large misshapen unpierced knob (fig. 2.18).<sup>126</sup> According to Zhang, this kind of iron mirror was fairly common from the time of the late Eastern Han 東漢 (25 BC-AD 220) to the Jin Dynasty 晉 (265-420), but he states that “whether this type of iron mirror was imported

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<sup>125</sup> Kim Wŏn-yong 1986: 269.

from the Central Plain or whether it is a copy made locally by Koguryŏ people has yet to be made clear.” He argues that since there have been no finds of Koguryŏ bronze mirrors, Koguryŏ people may have preferred iron mirrors over bronze ones.<sup>127</sup> However, without further archaeological evidence, it is not possible to support this suggestion.

In Korea, iron mirrors are rare, and their use is likely to have been influenced by China where they were made between the Han and the Tang dynasties. They were particularly widespread during the Six Dynasties period, when few bronze mirrors were manufactured, probably due to copper shortage.<sup>128</sup> Apart from the Koguryŏ pieces, only one other Korean iron mirror is known. It came from the north mound of the fifth century Silla royal tomb of Hwangnam Great Tomb (K. *Hwangnam Taech'ong* 皇南大塚) in Kyŏngju (then called Kŭmsŏng 金城), North Kyŏngsang province (fig. 2.19).<sup>129</sup> Measuring 14.7cm in diameter, the plain mirror back has a large

<sup>126</sup> The mirror is from Maxian 麻綾 tomb no. 1487 – a stone tomb sealed in a clay cave, excavated in June 1976. See Zhang 1986: 96. For an examination of Koguryŏ tombs and the types of artefacts found, see Ch'oe Mu-jang 1995.

<sup>127</sup> Zhang 1986: 95.

<sup>128</sup> Quan 1994 has analysed iron mirrors in burials of the Eastern Han to the late Six Dynasties periods. Iron mirrors were also used in Japan, though they are less common than bronze ones. An iron mirror was found in the base of a pagoda at the seventh century temple of Sŭfukuji 崇福寺, where the small mirror was placed together with the pagoda relics. There is also an iron mirror in the Shŏsŏin 正倉院 repository in Tŏdaiji temple 東大寺, Japan. For a discussion of Japanese iron mirrors, see Yi Nan-yŏng 2000: 35.

<sup>129</sup> The dating of this tomb and other royal Silla tombs in Kyŏngju mentioned in this chapter follows the most recent chronology proposed by Yi Han-sang 2001. Yi Han-sang's chronology is largely based on the stylistic development of gold crowns and other key grave goods, and he argues that the tombs date between the early fifth and the late sixth century.

knob in its centre<sup>130</sup> and remnants of textile suggesting it was once wrapped in fabric, a custom also encountered in other Three Kingdoms mirrors that continued in the Koryŏ period.<sup>131</sup> The fact that an iron mirror was placed in a royal tomb suggests that mirrors of iron were not regarded as objects of inferior quality, and it is possible that their popularity with the Chinese had an impact on the value people of Koguryŏ attached to them. In Silla, however, they were evidently less popular than bronze ones and their manufacture in Korea as a whole was short-lived, as none have been found at Unified Silla and Koryŏ sites.

### **2.5.3.2. Paekche mirrors**

Mirrors excavated at Paekche sites are all similar to Chinese ones in their design.<sup>132</sup> This is undoubtedly a direct result of the close relations the Paekche kingdom enjoyed with China. The Chinese impact on Korean mirror use and production is aptly reflected in the tomb of King Muryŏng (r. 501-523) and his wife, where the best quality Paekche mirrors have been found.<sup>133</sup> Built in 525 on the outskirts of Kongju 公州, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province, which was the capital at this time,<sup>134</sup> the tomb showed several signs of

<sup>130</sup> Placed with the reflective side upwards, the mirror was lying in the southern end of the wooden coffin. Munhwajae kwalliguk and Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1994: 107-108.

<sup>131</sup> It is not uncommon to find textile imprints on the patina of Koryŏ mirrors. For example, a large mirror with a motif of two dragons chasing flaming jewels in the V&A Museum has a clear textile imprint on its reflective surface.

<sup>132</sup> For discussions of Paekche tombs and society, see Kang In-gu 1977 and Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999.

<sup>133</sup> For a comprehensive excavation report, see Munhwajae kwalliguk 1973. The mirrors are discussed on pp. 35-37.

<sup>134</sup> Kongju (then called Ungjin 熊津) was the capital of the Paekche kingdom between 475 and 538. It had been moved to this location after the earlier capital of Kwangju

Chinese influence, such as Chinese style mirrors and ceramic bricks, and *wuzhu* (K. *osuchŏn* 五銖錢) coins minted in Liang China.<sup>135</sup> The three mirrors had all been placed with the reflective side downwards. Two were situated close to the king's body: the smallest at his feet and the largest underneath or possibly just above his head (fig. 2.20). The queen's mirror appears to have been placed underneath her head by an elaborate gold ornament for a headdress.

All three mirrors are likely to be Korean interpretations of Chinese pieces. This is particularly true of the mirror at the king's feet (figs 2.21-2.22). With its large hemispherical knob framed within a square, and T, L and V shapes set between the square frame and the outer border, the basic design follows that of *liubo* mirrors of the Han period.<sup>136</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.2, their designs and inscriptions have been associated with the Chinese view of the cosmos and the afterlife, due to the physical resemblance between their patterns and a game board called *liubo*. A number of mirror

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廣州 (Hansŏng 漢城), located south of Seoul, was overtaken by Koguryŏ in 475. In 538 King Sŏng 聖 (r. 523-554) moved the capital to Puyŏ 扶餘 (Sabi 泗泚), believed to be a more favourable geographical location.

<sup>135</sup> The earliest metal money found in Korea is Chinese knife money (K. *tojŏn* 刀錢) of the Warring States period 戰國 (475-221 BC), which entered the north-western part of the peninsula during the third century BC. When the Han dynasty established its commanderies in Korea, it introduced Han *wuzhu* coins as the official currency. Chinese coins continued to be used as such until the Koryŏ period, when Korea's first coins were issued in 996. The term *wuzhu* refers to the weight of the coins: five grain (roughly 3.35gr.). A comprehensive study of coins used on the Korean peninsula between the Bronze Age and the Chosŏn dynasty has recently been published by Kyemyŏng University Museum. See Kyemyŏng taehakkyo pangmulgwan 2000.

<sup>136</sup> Mirrors with the *liubo* design dominated Chinese mirror production from around 50 BC until around AD 150. See Loewe 1979: 60-85, 158-173.

inscriptions also point to this link.<sup>137</sup> Towards the beginning of the Eastern Han period, written records suggest that the general purpose of the *liubo* board was to comprehend the appointed seasons of heaven and to divide good and ill fortune (fig. 2.25).<sup>138</sup> Michael Loewe argues that *liubo* mirrors similarly served to “provide a means of communication between the dead and those known realms of the cosmos to which philosophers had been content to restrict their attention.”<sup>139</sup> In Han tombs, the mirrors thus served to assure that the mirror’s owner, alive or dead, was situated in a correct relationship with the universe.<sup>140</sup>

In addition to the *liubo* design, Muryŏng’s mirror features five figures in high relief. These are not found on Chinese *liubo* mirrors and must therefore be a Korean addition. Four of the figures are animals, possibly a standing dragon, two tigers and a deer in flight. The fifth figure is human with a topknot and a loincloth; it holds a large spear directed towards one of the animals. It is interesting that Paekche craftsmen found it necessary to add to the *liubo* pattern in this manner, perhaps in an attempt to make the mirror more powerful and more effective within the burial setting. We may also note

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<sup>137</sup> A mirror from a Western Han burial, for example, carries the following inscription: “In this era of Han, fine copper is being mined at Danyang. Mixed with silver and tin, the alloy turns clear and luminous. Engrave the *liubo* pattern with a square in the middle. Commanding the four directions are the Dragon at left and Tiger at right. The Red Bird and the Dark Warrior are in tune with the forces of yin and yang.” After Chou 2000: 3.

<sup>138</sup> Different versions of the diviner’s board exist but they are basically formed of a rotating disk that turned atop a square panel. The panel was orientated on the four cardinal points and the disk was lined up with the sun or possibly the Dipper. See Cammann 1948 and Loewe 1979: 76-80.

<sup>139</sup> Loewe 1979: 61.

<sup>140</sup> More recently a different view has been expressed by Cheng Linquan and Han Guohe who argue that the mirrors were intended to ward off malign forces. Even if this is the case, there is no doubt that as burial objects, they had a significant function associated with Han views of the cosmos. Cheng and Han 2002.

the need to 'Koreanise' the Chinese pattern, a trend that becomes more prominent in the Unified Silla and Koryŏ periods.

The mirror has two inscriptions; one in the central square and one in the outer band, close to the rim. The former bears the characters for the Twelve Branches.<sup>141</sup> The latter is a twenty-six character inscription:

尙方作竟眞大好、上有仙人不知老。  
渴飲玉泉飢食棗，壽如金石兮。

*A fine mirror it is, my making of it.  
I can show the ageless immortals up above.  
In thirst, they drink from the jade spring.  
When hungry, they partake of jujubes.  
Long life should be like metal and stone.*<sup>142</sup>

The inscription closely follows those on Han mirrors with the *liubo* design, though many of the characters are obscured by the figures on top, suggesting that its message was of little importance to Paekche people.

The other two mirrors found in the tomb are also similar to Han ones, but do not bear the strong, clearly outlined designs which are typical of their Chinese counterparts (figs 2.23-2.24). While this in part could be caused by

<sup>141</sup> In Chinese cosmology, the Twelve Branches correspond to the twelve divisions of the celestial equator known as the earthly branches (*dizhi* 地支), each of which also corresponds to a direction. On Sui 隋 (581-618), Tang and Song mirrors as well as on Koryŏ ones, the twelve branches are normally represented in the form of the twelve animals of the Chinese zodiac, arranged in a clockwise sequence: rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, ram, monkey, cock, dog and boar. According to Perceval Yetts, this method of division is based on the observation that Jupiter takes approximately twelve years to pass through the circuit of heavens, each year advancing about a twelfth of the round, and each year rising and setting one month later. For a detailed explanation of the Twelve Branches and the use of cosmological designs on Chinese mirrors, see Yetts 1939: 116-165. For examples of Sui and Tang mirrors with decorations of the Twelve Branches, see Little 2000.

<sup>142</sup> Author's translation.

corrosion, it is more likely due to them being re-casts of Chinese mirrors.<sup>143</sup>

The mirror found close to the king's head (fig. 2.23) has a short inscription close to the knob: 宜子孫 (May [the mirror be] cherished by your sons and grandsons). This inscription is very common on Han mirrors.

Despite their physical resemblance to Chinese mirrors, there is no indication that the placing of the objects in the grave was in imitation of contemporary Chinese burial customs. As mentioned earlier, bronze mirrors were scarce during the Six Dynasties period, when poor quality iron mirrors were more common. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter, mirrors were used as burial goods prior to the Chinese making their presence on the peninsula. With the strengthening of the Chinese impact on the peninsula, mirrors came to be regarded as prestige goods, symbolising wealth and authority. Thus, in contrast to Han China, mirrors were not primarily associated with divination and the cosmos, as reflected in the poor imitations of Chinese cosmological motifs that were made by Korean craftsmen. In the case of Muryōng's tomb too, the conspicuous obstruction of the *liubo* pattern and the inscription suggests that these elements were not of chief importance; instead the mirror in itself was.

A few mirrors have been found at other Paekche sites, mainly from burials, but it has not been possible to trace their original location inside the graves. Dating from the fourth to the seventh centuries, they all imitate Chinese mirrors. Ranging in diameter from 4.3 to 11.2cm, none are as large in size nor as finely decorated as the three pieces from King Muryōng's tomb.

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<sup>143</sup> Mirrors dating to the Han period are easily identified by the high quality of their casting which tends to stand out sharper and clearer than that of later Chinese

The only one which is comparable to Muryŏng's mirrors in quality is a small but well-cast mirror with a simplified *liubo* design excavated from a burial at Hahwangni 下黃里 near Puyŏ 扶餘 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province dating from the sixth to the seventh centuries (fig. 2.26). It was found together with a silver crown ornament (fig. 2.27), which according to the *Samguk sagi*, was only used by people of the sixth rank upwards, thus suggesting that the grave belonged to a person of high rank.<sup>144</sup> A beautifully crafted glass ball with a silver handle also found in the grave further testifies to the high social standing of the deceased (fig. 2.28). It can only be assumed that the mirror, too, was intended to be used by a member of the elite, which would explain its superior casting.

However, most Paekche mirrors bear crude simplifications of the *liubo* pattern as seen on a small mirror from Misani 羨沙里 in Hanam 河南, Kyŏnggi province 京畿道, dating to the early fourth century (fig. 2.29). In this case, the *liubo* pattern is merely represented by the double square, the four knobs and the striations on the wide, flat rim.<sup>145</sup> Other Chinese mirror patterns were copied too, as represented in two mirrors found in jar burials at Chewŏlli 車勿里 near Tamyang 潭陽, South Chŏlla province, from the late fifth century (fig. 2.30). The largest carries a central motif of six curled figures

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mirrors.

<sup>144</sup> For a discussion of this site and the artefacts found, see Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 164-173.

<sup>145</sup> For details of this site, Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 8-9.

in high relief, similar to those on mirrors of the Han to the Western Jin 西晉 (AD 265-316) periods (fig. 2.31).<sup>146</sup>

The above examples emphasize the significance of Chinese mirrors in Paekche society. They were popular because they denoted close contact with a superior power and as a result ownership of such mirrors was reserved for the elite, a practice repeated in Kaya and Silla societies, too.

### **2.5.3.3. Kaya mirrors**

Kaya actively traded with both China and Japan and this may explain why the only original Chinese mirrors unearthed from Three Kingdoms sites are those from Kaya territories, in contrast to Paekche and Silla mirrors which are all imitations. Several were excavated in the 1990s from a group of more than thirty burials at Taesŏngdong 大成洞 near Kimhae 金海 in South Kyŏngsang province, home of Ponkaya 本加耶 – one of the two strongest groups of the Kaya federation. Dating from the late third to the early fifth century, they vary from burial chambers of stone or wood to wooden coffins and jar coffins. Most had been disturbed to some extent before excavation. The graves must have belonged to members of society's elite, as suggested by burial artefacts in the form of locally made armour, helmets and weapons as well as imported goods, including a large mirror found in grave no. 23 (fig. 2.32).<sup>147</sup> Measuring 16.5cm in diameter, it is virtually identical to a mirror with a *liubo* design

<sup>146</sup> On many mirrors of the Han to Western Jin periods, one or more figures, executed in high relief, are curling around the knob. Popular figures were dragons and tigers, two of the four guardian animals.

<sup>147</sup> For details of the Taesŏngdong site, see Kungnip Kimhae pangmulgwan 2000: 76-82. Also see Nelson 1993: 240-241.

excavated from a royal tomb at Luoyang 洛阳 in Henan 河南 province (fig. 2.33).<sup>148</sup> Judging from the close similarities between the two mirrors in size, motif as well as in style, it must be assumed that it is of Chinese origin.

As in the case of Paekche, it was not only mirrors with a *liubo* design that were popular. Other Han mirrors were also imported and copied, including those with a so-called ‘sunburst pattern’, as represented in a mirror fragment found in tomb no. 14 from the above mentioned site of Taesŏndong (fig. 2.34). The design of linked arcs imitates that of Han mirrors, including one in the collection of Donald H. Graham Jr in Honolulu (fig. 2.35).<sup>149</sup> The latter has a hemispherical knob surrounded by a series of concentric circles. Around the knob are four leaves interspersed with the inscription 長宜子孫 (May [the mirror be] cherished by your sons and grandsons for a long time).

#### **2.5.3.4. Silla mirrors**

To date, six bronze mirrors have been excavated from Silla sites; among those only two are from the royal tombs in the Silla capital of Kyŏngju.<sup>150</sup> Such tombs otherwise contained a large number of burial goods, imported as well

<sup>148</sup> The Luoyang mirror is described and illustrated in Kong and Liu 1992: 285.

<sup>149</sup> Eighteen mirrors in this collection have been published in Wong 1988.

<sup>150</sup> It has not been possible to obtain good quality illustrations of other mirrors found at Silla sites, but they largely appear to be poorly made imitations of Chinese prototypes. A small mirror measuring 9.4cm in diameter is said to have been found near Yangsan 梁山 in North Kyŏngsang province. Around the large knob are seven nipples set within curved shapes resembling tadpoles. These tadpole-like forms seem to be a corruption of a design seen on mirrors with nipples and birds of the Western Han dynasty. A badly corroded mirror spanning 13.8cm in diameter was found at Chinju 晉州 in South Kyŏngsang province together with weapons, jewellery, earthenware and coffin nails. A slightly larger mirror from Kyŏngju, also with a corroded surface obscuring its decoration, was excavated together with an earring, a piece of neck jewellery and an iron vessel. Finally, a small mirror with an imitation of

as locally made, suggesting that mirrors were not as important in Silla society as in Paekche and Kaya.<sup>151</sup>

The large twin tumuli of Hwangnam Great Tomb in Kyŏngju were excavated between 1973 and 1975. Both burial mounds revealed a large number of burial goods, ranging from jewellery and other ornaments of gold, silver and jade to delicate glass wares, ceramics, weapons and horse harness. Whereas the northern mound yielded the previously discussed iron mirror, the southern mound contained a mirror of bronze wrapped in hemp cloth. It was placed on top of the smaller of the two outer coffins alongside other burial artefacts, mainly jewellery.<sup>152</sup> Measuring 15.5cm in diameter, the back of the mirror bears a simplified version of the *liubo* pattern (fig. 2.36). The Vs are absent, as is sometimes the case of *liubo* mirrors of the late Eastern Han period. An inscription is cast in the outer band, but its meaning is not clear as several of the characters are missing: 口宣官口王口大中昌口口. The simple and highly stylised decoration on the mirror coupled with its shallow casting,

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a Six Dynasties motif was found at Hwangnamni 皇南里, Kyŏngju. See Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 91-93.

<sup>151</sup> There are numerous studies on Silla tombs. For an overview of Silla tomb archaeology, see Kang In-gu 2000: 311-504. For a more detailed account, see Ch'oe Pyŏng-hyŏn 1992. The chronology and dating of Silla tombs has recently been reviewed by Yi Chong-sŏn 1996. The excavation history of Silla tombs has been discussed by Pak Yŏng-bok 2001.

<sup>152</sup> The mound yielded four wooden coffins: two outer (K. *mokkwak* 木槨) and two inner ones (K. *mokkwan* 木棺). Measuring around 6.5m in length and 4.1m in width, the largest of the outer coffins effectively functioned as a burial chamber. It contained a smaller coffin, measuring 4.7m x 2.3m, inside which two inner coffins had been placed, one inside the other. The body was buried in the innermost coffin (K. *naegwan* 內棺), whereas the larger of the inner coffins (K. *oegwan* 外棺) functioned as a chest for burial goods. The excavation of Hwangnam Great Tomb is published in Munhwajae kwalliguk and Munhwajae yŏnguso 1994. The mirror and its location in the tomb are discussed on pp 49 and 100.

suggests it is a Korean imitation of a late Han prototype, rather than an imported piece.

Another Chinese style mirror was excavated from the Gold Bell Tomb (K. *Kŭmnyŏngch'ong* 金鈴塚) in Kyŏngju (fig. 2.37). The tomb is smaller in size than most other Silla royal tombs and it contained not only fewer artefacts but also less precious articles. This may be due to the young age of the interred, believed to be a fifteen-year-old boy of princely descent.<sup>153</sup> The types of burial goods found were typical of Silla royal tombs and included a gold crown, caps of gilt-bronze, gold and silver earrings, jades, pottery and several pieces of weapon and horse harness.<sup>154</sup> Similar to the iron mirror from Hwangnam Great Tomb, the Gold Bell Tomb mirror was lying with the reflective side upwards. Measuring only 7cm in diameter, it is the smallest among known Silla mirrors from tombs. Its large hemispherical knob is surrounded by two concentric rows of small nipples encircled by a thin raised line. The rest of the mirror is plain. Though there are no closely related Chinese versions of this mirror, the nipple design alludes to Han mirrors, most of which have nipples surrounding the central knob, as seen on *liubo* mirrors and mirrors with auspicious animals, including one in the Carter collection dating to the Eastern Han period (fig. 2.38).

According to Umehara Sueji, the mirror was found within three fragmented caps of birch bark (fig. 2.39), but apart from this its exact position within the grave is not clear.<sup>155</sup> Birch bark caps are common in Silla tombs,

<sup>153</sup> Pak Yŏng-bok 2001: 296.

<sup>154</sup> For a detailed list of the burial goods found inside the Gold Bell Tomb, see Umehara 1973: 65-69.

<sup>155</sup> Umehara 1973: 102.

including royal ones.<sup>156</sup> This material had particular significance for Silla people as exemplified by a painting on birch bark of a flying horse, excavated from the Tomb of the Heavenly Horse (K. *Ch'ŏnmach'ong* 天馬塚) dating to the second half of the fifth century. Many sources emphasise the importance of trees within shamanism and the birch tree was invested with special powers due to its colour and ritual association with heaven.<sup>157</sup> The placing of the mirror within the birch bark caps suggests it is more likely to have been associated with shaman rather than with Chinese notions of the afterlife: the mirror may have been thought to facilitate the deceased's flight to heaven.

In contrast to the royal tombs of Koguryŏ and Paekche, those of Silla were discovered intact due to their virtually impregnable constructions.<sup>158</sup> The fact that only three mirrors were discovered in the royal tombs (two of bronze and one of iron) could partly be due to people of Silla having had less exposure to the Chinese and therefore did not covet these objects in the same manner as did the people of Paekche and Kaya. In other words, with Silla being the last of the Three Kingdoms to establish direct relations with China, mirrors did not have the same social connotations as they did for those

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<sup>156</sup> For a list of the total number of birch bark caps found in Silla royal tombs, see Ch'oe Pyŏng-hyŏn 1992: 242-243.

<sup>157</sup> Mircea Eliade records several examples of birch trees occupying a significant role within Central and North Asian shaman rituals. For example, in Altaic rituals of the nineteenth century, a young birch is placed inside a new yurt with its higher foliage protruding through the upper opening of the yurt. A small palisade of birch sticks is erected around the yurt and a birch stick with a knot of horsehair is set at the entrance. Eliade also notes cases of a shaman shaking a birch branch over the back of a selected horse to force its soul to leave and prepare for its flight to Bai Ūlgān, who presides over the fertility of flocks and the abundance of harvests. See Eliade 1964: 190-191, 198-200.

<sup>158</sup> Silla royal tombs were in the form of a wooden burial chamber, usually at ground level, covered by a large layer of stones and sealed with a layer of clay and soil. This type of construction is termed (K.) *chŏksŏngmokkwakpun* 積石木槨墳.

kingdoms which had been incorporated much earlier within the Chinese political network.

Moreover, it cannot be ignored that bronze appears not to have been a high-value material among the Silla elite. Instead objects made of gold, silver, jade and glass seem to have taken higher priority, certainly in the royal tombs. When bronze artefacts are found they tend to be gilded and un-gilded bronze is rare. In the Gold Bell Tomb, for example, only two bronze objects were found apart from the mirror, namely a vessel and a ring. The same is the case of the Hwangnam Great Tomb, where the total number of bronze objects is considerably smaller than those of other metals.<sup>159</sup>

#### **2.5.3.5. Extended ritual functions of Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla mirrors**

The role mirrors played in burials took on a different dimension in the sixth century when they became incorporated in rituals connected to Buddhist relic worship. Bronze mirrors have been excavated from relic deposits at Hwangnyongsa 皇龍寺, established in 553, Pulguksa 佛國寺, built in 751, and Ch'angnimsa 昌林寺 from 855, all in North Kyŏngsang province. They add an important component to the current study in that they signify how the ritual uses of mirrors broadened from the sixth century onwards.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>159</sup> For detailed diagram of the main types of burial objects found in royal Silla tombs, see Yi Chong-sŏn 1996: 44-45.

<sup>160</sup> It has to be noted that three mirror fragments were excavated at Miruksa 彌勒寺, located near Iksan 益山 in North Chŏlla province dating to the early seventh century. They have not been included in the current section as they were not found in relic deposits but excavated from different locations throughout the site making it impossible to speculate on their original function, either as secular or ritual objects.

The finding of relics in a stone pagoda at Ch'angnimsa has not been recorded in detail and no illustrations of the artefacts exist.<sup>161</sup> The following discussion will therefore centre on the Hwangnyongsa and Pulguksa remains. Moreover, due to the little research which has been carried out on Korean relic traditions, at this stage it is only possible to put forward tentative suggestions as to why the deposits contained mirrors.<sup>162</sup>

Located at Kyŏngju, Hwangnyongsa was founded in the fourteenth year of King Chinhŭng 眞興 (r. 540-576) and was one of the most important temples on the Korean peninsula until it burned down in 1238.<sup>163</sup> It was

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Built by King Mu 武 (r. 600-641) of Paekche, the construction of the temple is unique in that it was composed of three units, each with their own gate, pagoda and image hall. The only structure standing today is the stone pagoda of the western precinct. A corner fragment of a large, probably square, mirror was found in the northern part of the monks' quarters situated northwest of the temple. A smaller corner fragment was excavated from the sewer system connected to the eastern image hall. The third fragment was also located near the eastern image hall. It has a raised, lobed rim and an intricate floral decoration in relief. The motif is considerably more elaborate than that of the Anapchi mirror fragment discussed elsewhere in this chapter. It bears close resemblance to Tang mirrors, where floral patterns had successfully become a part of the mirrorsmith's repertoire and reached their zenith in the eighth century. As it has not been possible to locate any identical Chinese mirrors, it can only be surmised that the mirror was cast by Korean craftsmen influenced by Chinese mirror designs. For further details of the mirrors and the site, see Munhwajae yŏn'guso yujŏk chosa yŏn'gusil 1989.

<sup>161</sup> Ch'angnimsa is located near Paeri 拜里. The relic chamber came to light when a thief damaged the stone pagoda. Situated in the first storey of the pagoda, it contained the following artefacts: an inscribed copper plate, a sutra manuscript, a cylindrical bronze sutra container, a bronze container, coins, beads of precious materials and a fragment of a bronze mirror. According to the inscription on the copper plate, the pagoda was erected under order of King Munsŏng 文聖 (r. 839-857). Suematsu 1954: 466-473.

<sup>162</sup> For illustrations of important relics found at Korean pagoda sites, see Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991. In this volume Kang U-bang provides the most comprehensive examination of Korean Buddhist relics to date. See Kang U-bang 1991. For a stylistic analysis of mirrors found at Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla pagoda sites, see Yi Ho-gwan 1984. Some of the mirrors are also briefly discussed by Hwang Chŏng-suk 2000: 78-80. Caroline Schulten analyses mirrors in Chinese pagodas. See Schulten 2000: 172-181. For a recent examination of Chinese Buddhist relic deposits, see Shen 2000.

<sup>163</sup> The layout of Hwangnyongsa is summarised by Kim Sung-woo 1985: 217-223.

famed for its large wooden nine-storey pagoda built in 645 at the request of the Vinaya Master Chajang 慈藏律師, who believed it would encourage the surrender of neighbouring enemies and unify the peninsula.<sup>164</sup> The pagoda was erected on a raised earthen mound on which most of the pillar bases still stand. At the centre of the pagoda site is the stone base of the central wooden column on top of which lies another stone, believed to have been placed in the late Koryŏ period after the destruction of the pagoda in order to protect the relics underneath. At the core of the stone pillar base is a small square chamber that contained several relics.<sup>165</sup>

When the stone base was removed various types of artefacts were discovered, including three bronze mirrors (fig. 2.40), knives of gilt-bronze, gilt-silver and iron, iron scissors, beads and jewellery. The largest of the mirrors is decorated with a simplified version of the *liubo* pattern. The Ts and the Ls are absent, but the combination of the central square and the Vs, which demarcate the four fields occupied by the Four Spirits, has been retained. On the rim is a thirty-one character inscription, which reads:

靈山孕寶, 神使 口形。  
日曉月光, 清夜珠玉,  
口希世紅粧應 暱,  
千嬌集影, 百福來扶。<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> The site was excavated between 1976 and 1983. The excavation report was published by Munhwajae kwalliguk and Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1984.

<sup>165</sup> The Hwangnyongsa relic chamber was plundered in 1964, but two years later the objects were retrieved and are now housed in the National Museum of Korea. They include outer and inner relic containers of bronze, two small *stupas* of copper and silver, boxes of gold, silver and copper, a small copper tube and a silver vessel. The objects are discussed in detail by Hwang Su-yŏng 1973. For a brief synopsis of the excavation of the relic chamber and of the objects found, see Chin Hong-sŏp 1966.

<sup>166</sup> In the excavation report the inscription has been transcribed differently: 靈山孕寶 神使 觀 爐 圓 曉 月 光 清 夜 珠 玉 壹 希 世 紅 粧 應 圓 千 嬌 集 影 百 福 來 扶. In some cases, however, the characters are very unclear and I propose that they should be

*With the precious ore from the magic mountain  
The divine craftsman [fashions] the shape.  
[Like the] sun at dawn, or the moonlight  
A pearl on the jade terrace in the clear night  
A rosy complexion, rare in the world, is reflected  
A thousand beauties gather, a hundred blessings flow.<sup>167</sup>*

The inscription is significant as it is the earliest allusion to mirrors serving other purposes than as ritual objects that has been found in Korea and it marks a gradual move towards secularisation in mirror use. In contrast to earlier inscriptions, which, in keeping with Han mirrors, express wishes for longevity, wealth and progeny, the Hwangnyongsa piece puts forward a far more worldly and sensual image of women gathering in the moonlight and also refers to mirrors being used for the application of make-up. Such texts began to appear on Sui 隋 (581-618) mirrors and continued to be produced in the Tang, highlighting not only a mirror's non-spiritual associations but also demonstrating how the secular uses of mirrors functioned alongside their ritual ones.<sup>168</sup>

The mirror also resembles Sui mirrors in size and design. However, on Sui examples the surface is normally further embellished with monster masks and trailing clouds, which are only vaguely represented in the Hwangnyongsa piece. Moreover, its shallow casting contrasts with the deeper and clearer shapes typical of Sui mirrors, thus suggesting that it is likely to be a recast of a Sui prototype. The back of the second mirror (fig. 2.40b) is covered with

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read as suggested above. See Munhwajae kwalliguk and Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1984: 315.

<sup>167</sup> I am grateful to Professor Roderick Whitfield and Dr Wang Tao for their help in transcribing and translating the inscription.

<sup>168</sup> A mirror with a similar inscription from a tomb dating from the late Sui to early Tang period is published by Kong and Liu 1992: 515.

four concentric bands with a saw tooth design, reminiscent of that seen on the rims of Han mirrors. The smallest mirror has a large knob and no decoration (fig. 2.40a).

A mirror and a mirror fragment were recovered from the eighth century Sökkat'ap pagoda 釋迦塔 at Pulguksa, located on Mount T'oam 吐舍山 outside Kyŏngju. According to the *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms),<sup>169</sup> the construction of the temple was instigated by the minister Kim Taesŏng 金大成 (d. 775) to commemorate his parents. All wooden buildings were destroyed during a fire in the sixteenth century, but the two stone pagodas located in front of the main image hall survived. The eastern pagoda is known as Tabot'ap 多寶塔 (Pagoda of Many Treasures) and the western as Sökkat'ap (Pagoda of Sakyamuni Buddha).

When excavated in 1966, the Sökkat'ap pagoda revealed a square relic chamber between the second and third levels. Inside was a gilt-bronze box containing numerous objects of silver, crystal and glass (fig. 2.41).<sup>170</sup> Surrounding the relic container were additional objects, including the two mirrors.<sup>171</sup> The fragment was evidently in this state before being placed inside the pagoda as indicated by the band of fabric which was tied in a knot on the

<sup>169</sup> The *Samguk yusa* was written by the Buddhist monk Iryŏn 一然 (1206-1289), whose religious conviction is reflected in the many references to Buddhist legends. As the other main historical text on the period, *Samguk sagi*, was compiled by the Confucian scholar-official Kim Pusik (1075-1151) among others, and thus represents a Confucian bias, the *Samguk yusa* illustrates an alternative understanding of the Three Kingdoms period.

<sup>170</sup> The gilt-bronze openwork box contained: three silver jars, a gilt-bronze case with a sutra, a green glass bottle and several beads of crystal, glass and agate. For details of the excavation of Sökkat'ap, see Chŏng Yŏng-ho *et al.* 1997.

<sup>171</sup> Other artefacts were a bronze *apsara* figure, twelve miniature wooden pagodas, four hairpins, incense and several beads of crystal, glass and agate.

mirror back. It appears to have leaned against the gilt-bronze box (fig. 2.42) – a position paralleled to the placement of mirrors in Koryŏ deposits. The exact location of the other mirror is not indicated in the report (fig. 2.43). In comparison to the sophisticated nature of most of the accompanying artefacts, both mirrors are crudely made and devoid of decoration, suggesting they were placed in the deposit for their assigned rather than aesthetic attributes.

The rituals for consecrating pagodas and for enshrining relics (Sk. *sarīra*) probably entered Korea along with the transmission of Buddhism.<sup>172</sup> In India, as well as in China, Korea and Japan, nested sets of reliquaries, each made of a different material, were normally used to contain the relics. In India and China, the innermost container was usually of gold or crystal and the outermost of stone, but in Korea the former was frequently of glass. Miniature pagodas, Buddhist images, sutras and other sacred objects were often put in the relic chamber together with the relic containers, as in the case of Hwangnyongsa and Pulguksa.

The placing of bronze mirrors inside relic chambers is not unique to Korea, and is likely to have originated in China where at least ten relic deposits have yielded such pieces. The earliest example is the deposit under

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<sup>172</sup> In a Buddhist context, a relic initially referred to the bodily remains of the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, who lived from the fifth to the fourth century BC. Thus, *sarīra* are essentially Sakyamuni Buddha's corporal remains which were found after the Buddha was cremated. After his death, his disciples placed his ashes and bones in domed structures called *stupas*, where they became focus of devout adoration. Consequently the relics were originally bones, but later crystals, jewels, coloured stones and glass were also used. According to the *Samguk yusa*, Buddha relics first entered Korea in 549 when Emperor Wu Di 梁武帝 (r. 502-549) of the Liang dynasty sent relics to King Chinhŭng 眞興 (r. 540-576) of Silla. For an

the Huata pagoda 華塔 in Dingzhou 定州, Hebei province 河北, which yielded a stone casket dated 481, containing, among other artefacts, five bronze mirror fragments.<sup>173</sup> Although the practice of burying relics flourished in the latter part of the Six Dynasties and the Tang, the only other pre-Song deposit with mirrors is that from the pagoda at Famensi 法門寺, Fufeng 扶風, Shaanxi province 陝西. Enshrined in 874, the relics were stored in nested containers of crystal, jade, gold and silver. They were accompanied by over two hundred precious items, including two bronze mirrors; one set within a silvered and the other within a gilt bronze frame, both in the shape of a lotus flower.<sup>174</sup> They were placed inside the relic chamber in the centre of the ceiling – a position which is repeated in a number of Song deposits too.<sup>175</sup> In other relic chambers of the Liao and Song periods, one or more mirrors surrounded the relic container, imitating the way in which they were placed around the coffin in burials.<sup>176</sup> Roderick Whitfield, among others, has highlighted the similarities between Chinese relic chambers and tombs in terms of their construction and the objects placed inside.<sup>177</sup>

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overview of relic worship in India, China, Korea and Japan, see Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2001.

<sup>173</sup> Hebei 1966: 252-259.

<sup>174</sup> For a detailed report on the excavation of the Famensi site, see Famensi 1989.

<sup>175</sup> In the case of the Western Pagoda at the Double-Pagoda Temple 双塔寺 at Linyi 临猗, Shanxi province 山西, dating to 1069, the relic chamber was located underground. In this deposit, a mirror was suspended from the centre of the ceiling, while three mirrors were placed inside the stone casket containing the relic. The square relic chamber is 168cm wide and 173cm high. The mirror placed in the ceiling measures 21cm in diameter, whereas the other three are smaller, between 18.2 and 12.5cm in diameter. See Qiao 1997.

<sup>176</sup> For a list of mirrors in Song and Liao relic deposits and their position, see Schulten 2000: Appendix.

<sup>177</sup> Whitfield 1989. For a recent discussion of the parallels between relic deposits and tomb burials, see Shen 2003. Caroline Schulten argues that mirrors connoted similar concepts in pagodas and tombs of the Liao and Song periods. In both cases they were

When the Buddhist relic cult entered Korea via China it became incorporated within native beliefs and traditions. Most significantly the large chambered underground structures that were made in China for enshrining the relics were not copied. Instead, they were deposited in small square holes, located either underground or below the central wooden mast, as in the case of Hwangnyongsa, or in the central part of a stone or brick pagoda, as at Pulguksa. However, as in China, parallels can be made with secular burials, particularly in the types of artefacts found in the relic chamber. In the case of Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla deposits, objects positioned alongside the relics are frequently beads, necklaces, earrings, scissors and tweezers which were commonly used as burial goods. Rather than explaining their role in relation to secular burial traditions, Kang U-bang has argued that such objects, including mirrors, were offered at rituals performed either for the pagoda site itself (K. *chijin* 地鎮) or for the foundation of the pagoda (K. *chindan* 鎮壇).<sup>178</sup> These rituals were instigated by royal and aristocratic families who at such occasions would donate apotropaic objects for the site (K. *chijin'gu* 地鎮具) and for the foundation (K. *chindan'gu* 鎮壇具). The rites resemble an earlier custom of buying land from earth gods or spirits, known to have been practiced in the construction of King Muryŏng's tomb. One of the stone plaques found inside the burial chamber carried an inscription stating that the grave site had been purchased from the earth deity (K. *t'owang* 土王) for 10,000 coins and a string of *wuzhu* coins were placed

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valued for their talismanic and cosmological attributes and for this reason placed in relic deposits and in tombs. Schulten 2000: 181-198.

<sup>178</sup> Kang U-bang 1991: 151-160.

on top of the plaque.<sup>179</sup> Though coins were not found in either of the above-mentioned relic deposits, it appears that the custom carried on in later times with some modifications. Without written sources and further research it is not possible to assess which objects should be classified as *chijin'gu* and which are *chindan'gu*, though Kang suggests that rituals connected to the former may have been more important. In arguing that objects donated at these rituals are similar to secular tomb artefacts, he suggests that in the case of Hwangnyongsa, *chijin'gu* and *chindan'gu* include a belt, scissors, earrings, beads as well as the three bronze mirrors. The indication that mirrors, even broken ones, were favoured in such rituals confirms their auspicious role in burials.

Yet, it cannot be overlooked that the Hwangnyongsa and Sŏkkat'ap mirrors are positioned differently in relation to the Buddhist relics. Whereas the former were not found in the relic chamber but underneath it, the latter were placed inside the chamber in close proximity to the relics – a position which is also seen in Koryŏ pagodas. This could suggest that by the eighth century, when the Sŏkkat'ap deposit was created, mirrors had become more firmly rooted in Buddhist rituals due to the many references to reflection, polishing and mirrors in votive texts. The pedagogical potential of the mirror metaphor is often used in Buddhist writings where the principles of purity and unbiased seeing are stressed. Some texts liken the shiny surface of the mirror with that of the mind, emphasising the importance of polishing it in order not to let dust and dirt collect as this will distort the reflected image. Similarly, a mind must be kept free of polluting thoughts. Other writings stress that all

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<sup>179</sup> Kungnip Kongju pangmulgwan 1998: 16.

events or objects are reflected in a mirror, but they pass through it without clinging to it. In the same way, the mind, with or without any particular thought is still 'mind'.<sup>180</sup> These sentiments are well expressed in a poem by the Chan 禪 master Shen Hsiu 神秀 (605-706):

The body is the Bodhi-tree,  
The mind is like a clear mirror.  
At all times we must strive to polish it,  
And must not let dust collect.<sup>181</sup>

The multiple meanings and uses of mirrors in Buddhist contexts were undoubtedly familiar to the Korean Buddhist community, leading to the enshrinement of bronze mirrors in relic deposits. Moreover, the Buddhist emphasis on purity and emptiness is particularly well-represented in mirrors which are devoid of decoration. Three of the above-mentioned five mirrors are plain, and they also appear in Koryŏ and Chosŏn relic deposits. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.6, plain mirrors are equally common in Koryŏ graves, and in such cases too their Buddhist connotations must have been the main reason behind their use.

#### **2.5.3.6. Secularisation and ornamentation of Unified Silla mirrors**

The discovery of mirrors in the deposit of the eighth century Sŏkkat'ap pagoda suggests that they continued to be used in a ritual context in the Unified Silla period, though none have been excavated from tombs as yet. At this time mirrors also began being used in daily life, as indicated by historical writings, finds of mirrors at settlement sites and the increased secularisation

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<sup>180</sup> The use of mirror metaphors in Buddhist writings is discussed in Wayman 1973, Garner 1985, Lusthaus 1985, Demiéville 1987, Kalupahana 1992: 230-232 and Sen 1999: 46-47.

of mirror designs. The Chinese influences in mirror patterns of the Three Kingdoms period continued into Unified Silla but the repertoire no longer revolved exclusively around cosmological motifs; instead, it included ornamental ones, too. The reason is likely to lie in the growing use of mirrors for domestic purposes.

The earliest historical reference to the use of mirrors in a domestic, as opposed to a ritual setting, appears in the *Samguk yusa*. In a story titled “King Hŭngdŏk and the parrots” (興德王鸚鵡 *Hŭngdŏk wang aengmu*), King Hŭngdŏk 興德 (r. 826-836) was given a pair of parrots by a Tang envoy. Soon the female bird died, and a mirror was hung in front of the male in order for it to believe its mate was still alive. However, when it pecked at the image it realized it was a mere reflection and overcome by grief, it died.<sup>182</sup> The story is significant in that it indicates mirrors were by the time of the Unified Silla period not only used for ritual, but also for practical, everyday purposes.

This is further corroborated by the discovery of at least two mirrors from the Anapchi pond complex in Kyŏngju (fig. 2.44). The Anapchi mirrors are the earliest examples excavated from a settlement site and suggest that by this time mirrors had changed from being purely ritual to also being used in daily life. The artificial pond, which in its heyday covered an area of about 15,658 square meters, was constructed by King Munmu 文武 (r. 661-680) in 674. Flanked by pavilions, the mud deposits, particularly along the banks, contained a large amount of tiles and other debris, which seem to have fallen

<sup>181</sup> *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* 1967: 130.

<sup>182</sup> *Samguk yusa*, Chapter 2 “Ki’i” II 紀異下 in Fascicle II: 110.

into the pond over the course of the Unified Silla period.<sup>183</sup> Among the artefacts were two bronze mirrors, one of them in a fragmentary state.<sup>184</sup> The better preserved one spans only 9cm (fig. 2.45). The narrow loop in its centre is encircled by an abstract scrolling pattern of uneven lines in high relief. The mirror fragment bears a floral design executed in a similar manner. The mirrors bear no resemblance to Chinese ones and signify a growing self-awareness and confidence on behalf of the craftspeople in the introduction of native patterns. Moreover, in contrast to Three Kingdoms mirrors, the Anapchi pieces carry no cosmological references and the decorations seem to be purely ornamental.

This phenomenon is further manifested in a new decorative vocabulary emerging at this time, as represented in three elaborately ornamented mirrors in museum and private collections. They are cast in bronze but the backs are covered with lacquer to allow for inlay of gold and silver foil, mother-of-pearl, amber and precious stones.<sup>185</sup> One of the mirrors exhibits typical Tang

<sup>183</sup> A total of 15,023 objects of votive and secular nature were uncovered by archaeologists including Buddhist images, tools, pottery and metal vessels, and countless roof and floor tiles, all of which are related to life at the royal palace. The excavation of the site was published by Munhwajae kwalliguk 1978a. For a brief discussion of the Anapchi pond complex and some of the artefacts found, see Kim Won-yŏng 1986: 203-212. For further discussion of the site and the objects found see also Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1980.

<sup>184</sup> Munhwajae kwalliguk 1978a: 368. Eighty-three circular objects of lead were also excavated from the pond. They have not been classified as mirrors, and considering lead is not as reflective as bronze, it is indeed unlikely that they would have been used as such. Their original purpose is, however, unknown. The disks are briefly discussed by Hwang Chŏng-suk 2000: 64-65.

<sup>185</sup> The technique of inlaying mother-of-pearl, amber, tortoise shell, precious stones, and silver and gold cut-outs in lacquer is likely to have been introduced from Tang China where it was applied not only to mirror backs but across a variety of luxury products. In Chinese the technique is known as *pingtou* 平脫 (K. *p'yŏngt'al*). The production of such inlaid works was ceased by order of the Emperor Suzong (r. 756-762) at least in the official workshops, after the country was devastated during the An Lushan rebellion in the mid-eighth century. This caused for a decline in the

characteristics in its delicate floral and animal decorations in gold and silver foil (fig. 2.46). In contrast, the other two deviate from Tang prototypes and exemplify the increasing confidence of Korean craftsmen in their reworking of Chinese techniques and designs. The motif of alternating gold and silver rosettes has no Chinese precedents (fig. 2.47). Likewise, the largest of the three mirrors sets itself apart with its elaborately inlaid floral design set in lacquer against a speckled background of small turquoise stones (figs 2.48a-b). Above and below the knob are large flowers amidst petals and smaller florets, and the remainder of the surface is decorated with birds and leaping lions. The mirror is said to be from South Kyŏngsang province, but no further details of its provenance are known.<sup>186</sup>

There is no doubt that mirrors took on an increasingly secular position in society during the Unified Silla period as suggested by their functions, ornamental designs and stylistic qualities. Used in daily life where they could

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production of *pingtou* mirrors and other objects made by the same technique. See Watt and Ford 1991: 20-21; Chou 2000: 69-70. For a discussion of the chronology of *pingtou* and other Tang mirror designs, see Xu 1994. At this time other ways of embellishing mirrors with precious materials were also employed. In some cases a thin sheet of silver or gold decorated with a repoussé design was fixed to the mirror back. Such types of silver and gold-backed mirrors were not made in Korea at this time.

<sup>186</sup> Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 56, 221. This piece is similar in manufacture and style to seven mirrors housed in the north section of the Shōsōin repository that are decorated with mother-of-pearl on a black lacquer ground speckled with turquoise, malachite and other precious materials. For illustrations of the designs on the seven mirrors and of other bronze mirrors in the collection, see Nakano 1978:1-41. The date and country of origin of the Shōsōin mirrors are not known for sure, but in highlighting the close diplomatic relations between Unified Silla and Nara Japan as well as the Shōsōin mirrors' close stylistic resemblance to the Kyŏngsang piece, Ch'oe Chae-sŏk has argued that all the Shōsōin mother-of-pearl mirrors are of Korean manufacture. Ch'oe also cites several entries in the *Nihongi* 日本紀, which refer to bronze mirrors being imported from Korea in the eighth century. See Ch'oe Chae-sŏk 1996: 338-359. For further insight into the links between artefacts in the Shōsōin repository and Unified Silla, see Kawada 1981.

be admired, mirrors assumed a new aesthetic dimension too, which did not conflict with their ritual attributes.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the functional contexts of mirrors from the Bronze Age to the Unified Silla period, a time of continuity as well as change in mirror use and manufacture. The archaeological and textual evidence was discussed and the following conclusions were reached.

The coarse and fine-lined mirrors from the fourth to the second century BC were clearly ritual objects, valued for their associations with light as suggested in the sun-related symbolism of their motifs. The casting of native Korean-style mirrors decreased gradually with the influx and subsequent spread of Han Chinese mirrors. It also coincided with the absorption of Chinese traditions and artefacts into Korean culture as exemplified in burial goods in the form of Han mirrors and Korean copies of them. It is significant that mirrors did not cease to be made, nor did they stop being used as funerary objects, despite the changes that took place in society over this period. Rather, they continued to be regarded as important burial objects though their symbolic significance took on a different meaning. The disappearance of the star pattern suggests that mirrors were no longer closely associated with shaman rituals, though their earlier links to light were to some extent carried on in imitations of Chinese sunlight (Ch. *riguang* 日光) mirrors. More importantly, they came to represent wealth and power due to their Chinese associations. I believe this aspect was so important that it

discouraged Korean craftsmen from producing mirrors with other designs than Chinese ones.

The strong impact of Chinese mirrors on the native Korean mirror production largely continued during the Three Kingdoms period, as demonstrated by the numerous copies of Chinese mirror motifs made during this time, and it was not until the Unified Silla period that mirrors began taking on significantly different iconographical characteristics, as Korean craftsmen produced mirrors that were entirely Korean in concept. More significantly, mirror backs were no longer decorated exclusively with cosmological references but became ornamental and were in some cases adorned with precious materials. The ornamentation of mirror backs which is a significant characteristic of Koryŏ mirrorsmithing too, should not lead to the assumption that the ritual attributes of mirrors lessened. As the roles of mirrors expanded they came to be seen as additional and complimentary rather than conflicting ways of using the objects in different social contexts.

It is worth noting that their association with burials of the elite did not wane, and the discovery of mirrors at pagoda sites further highlights their significant function as ritual objects. Kang U-bang has suggested that such mirrors may have been used as offerings in native Korean rituals performed for the pagoda site. Although this could be the case of the seventh century Hwangnyongsa mirrors, it does not seem to be true of the eighth century Sŏkkat'ap mirrors, which in judging from their position inside the relic chamber appear to be more firmly associated with Buddhist beliefs.

With their incorporation in relic deposits, mirrors started functioning outside the traditional burial context in the late Three Kingdoms period and

the changes to mirror use continued in the Unified Silla period, when secular characteristics became manifested for the first time. The excavation of mirrors from the Anapchi pond strongly suggests that they were used by the royal household in daily life, as they have been found alongside other domestic objects. The Anapchi mirrors not only emphasise the increasing multiple functions of mirrors as both spiritual and mundane objects, but also demonstrate how the secularisation of mirrors did not affect their ritual attributes.

## Chapter 3

### Situating Bronze Mirrors in Koryŏ Burials and Pagodas

#### 3.1. Introduction

In Chapter 2 the uses of mirrors prior to the Koryŏ period were examined. I argued that the tradition of including mirrors in the burials of elite members of society was established in the Bronze Age and continued in the centuries leading up to the Koryŏ dynasty, partly due to the impact of China. The new practice of placing mirrors in relic deposits, which began in the sixth century, may equally have been influenced by Chinese traditions. By the Unified Silla period the function of mirrors had expanded into the secular world, coinciding with mirror patterns beginning to deviate from Chinese prototypes, thus suggesting the strengthening of indigenous Korean elements in production and use.

This chapter explores the function of mirrors in Koryŏ society by examining examples from known contexts. During this period, their use as toiletry items spread, as suggested by written sources and material evidence, such as two elaborately decorated stands made to support the mirror while making up (fig. 3.1). The original provenance of the stands is not known, but from their material and high quality of manufacture it can be assumed they were made for an aristocratic household. A few historical references also testify to the use of mirrors as everyday objects. In a poem by Yi Kyu-bo, already discussed

in Chapter 1, the author looks at his reflection in a mirror and bemoans the sorry state of his body.<sup>187</sup>

It is, however, significant that the poem also draws on the symbolic associations of mirrors, similar to those expressed in Yi's "A story about a mirror" in which he makes it clear that a mirror holds more than a reflection of surface appearance. Mirrors were believed to show a person's inner spirit, the symbolism of which may have derived from Buddhist writings in which references to mirrors are numerous. In Chapter 2, section 2.5.3.5, it was mentioned that Buddhist mirror metaphors may have dictated the positioning of reflectors in relic deposits – a point which will be addressed later in this chapter when discussing mirrors in Koryŏ pagodas. They were also thought to reveal the future, as expressed in the Koryŏ legend of the fall of Kungye, also mentioned in the introduction to Chapter 1. Thus, despite gradual secularisation, mirror symbolism and a belief in their powers still thrived, and this in turn is likely to have affected their use as burial goods.

While there is little doubt that mirrors became everyday objects in Koryŏ, they have not been recovered from domestic contexts. This could in part be due to the small number of settlements excavated to date, and as a result it is not possible to reconstruct their secular setting. Likewise, while more than a thousand mirrors attributed to the Koryŏ kingdom are housed in museum collections around the world, their origins are for the most part unknown and it is impossible to tell how they were used. Consequently, the empirical data available for the purposes of this thesis were predominantly archaeologically recovered from graves and relic

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<sup>187</sup> "Koyulsi", fascicle 2: 4a, in *Tongguk Yi sangguk chip*.

chambers. So far this material offers the only first-hand insight into how mirrors were used over the course of the Koryŏ period.

The study of burial material dating to the Koryŏ period is limited by the relatively small number of excavated and published graves, coupled with the fact that many burials were not intact at the time of excavation, either because they were discovered during construction work and were partially destroyed, or because they had been previously subjected to looting. The main part of this chapter examines 304 undisturbed graves of the Koryŏ period, twenty eight of which contained a mirror each. Through a statistical analysis of the material, patterns behind occurrences of mirrors will be analysed in order to gain a closer understanding of the ways in which they were used as grave goods. In doing so, changes over time and regional idiosyncrasies in burial customs as well as the social status of the interred will be taken into account.

Firstly an historical outline of the Koryŏ period will be given to establish the political and social context of the archaeological information. Secondly, the criteria for selecting the graves will be discussed and the methodologies used in arranging and comparing them will be explained. Afterwards, the sites included in the study will be introduced chronologically. Finally, the general characteristics of the sampled sites will be highlighted in order to establish a comparative basis on which graves with mirrors can be assessed. The last section of this chapter will discuss mirrors excavated from Koryŏ pagoda sites – significant in that they, like burial mirrors, suggest a continuation of earlier traditions which involved mirrors in ritual contexts.

For reference, all the sampled graves are illustrated in the Appendix, thus allowing the reader to appreciate their orientation and architecture. The types and quantities of the burial goods as well as their positions in relation to each other and their clustering inside the pit, sometimes in relation to skeletal remains, can also be seen. The grave illustrations in the Appendix have been grouped chronologically according to site following the sequence in table 3.1. Within each site they have been arranged numerically in accordance with the number they were assigned in the original excavation reports. Hereafter, this excavation number is quoted within parentheses whenever a tomb is discussed. Only illustrations of graves containing mirrors will be shown separately in the illustrations section in volume 2. In the Appendix, illustrations of these graves are surrounded by a double frame.

### **3.2. Historical and social framework**

The Koryŏ dynasty was founded in AD 918 by Wang Kŏn 王建 (r. 918-943), who came from a gentrified family in the Songak 松岳 (present Kaesŏng) area.

Posthumously known as King T'aejo 太祖, Wang Kŏn renamed the state Koryŏ and moved the capital from Kyŏngju to his hometown.<sup>188</sup> By the end of the Unified Silla kingdom aristocratic families in the capital were preoccupied with

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<sup>188</sup> Wang Kŏn chose the area of Songakkun 松岳郡 as his capital and called it Kaeju 開州. It was later renamed Kaesŏngbu 開城府 by Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 981-997). During the Koryŏ period it would usually be called Kaegyŏng 開京 or Hwangdo 皇都 (imperial capital). The confusing array of names stems from the fact that it incorporated several districts and counties, the main ones being Songak in the north and Kaesŏng in the south. Kaesŏngbu refers to the administrative unit governing the capital. The formation of Kaesŏng during Koryŏ is summarised by Pak Yong-un 1998. For a more detailed study, see Pak Yong-un 1996a.

power struggles, while the countryside was under the control of local strongmen (K. *hojok* 豪族) who were in command of private military forces. In this decentralised state of affairs, it became paramount for Wang Kŏn to create a strong unifying seat of power. In order to bring together the fragmented aristocracy and the powerful regional elite, he established a leading hereditary elite of aristocratic clans from the entire peninsula.<sup>189</sup> Into the new power structure he also incorporated Silla aristocrats (including those of the former royal house) and local strongmen.

Buddhism, which had matured in the Silla period, had a major impact on Koryŏ society. Support for it was a national policy, as Koryŏ's founder, Wang Kŏn, had made clear in his Ten Injunctions: "In our country's grand enterprise, we need to ensure ourselves of the protective power of all the Buddhas."<sup>190</sup> The government's endorsement was manifested in large festivals which highlighted the institutionalisation of Buddhism. Two important rituals, the Assembly of Eight Prohibitions and the Lantern Festival, primarily celebrated the longevity of the king and worshipped the royal ancestors.<sup>191</sup> The government also instigated the printing of the *Tripitaka Koreana* (K. *Koryŏ Taejanggyŏng* 高麗大藏經).<sup>192</sup> The Buddhist faith was not only backed by the upper classes but permeated most

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<sup>189</sup> Duncan 1988: table on p. 49.

<sup>190</sup> *Koryŏsa* 2: 14b-17a. The ideological and institutional role of Buddhism in the Koryŏ dynasty is examined in Vermeersch 2001b.

<sup>191</sup> For a discussion of these rituals and their importance in Koryŏ society, see Kim Jong-myung 1994: 269.

<sup>192</sup> The first printing of the *Tripitaka Koreana* was begun in 1009 and took around seventy years to complete. It is commonly held that the Koryŏ government instigated this huge task as it faced the threat of a Khitan invasion, since this pious act was seen as a means of calling upon the protective powers of the Buddha. However, nearly all the blocks were lost in the Mongol invasion of 1231. A second set was undertaken in

aspects of society to the extent that its values can be seen to have supported the organisation of the Koryŏ family and society in general.<sup>193</sup>

The first two hundred years of the dynasty were primarily focused on strengthening the centralised power of the ruling elite through various means. John Duncan has identified three main stages in this process. The first stage aimed at solidifying the royal family's control over the central government. The second stage involved enhancing the prestige and authority of the central government. The third stage entailed the extension of direct central authority over the countryside.<sup>194</sup> Despite measures taken to incorporate different clans into the centralised power structure, the top ranks of officialdom were closed to all but civil officials, which subsequently led to imbalance between the two categories of officials (civil and military).

Major changes occurred in the twelfth century, when political instability broke out, culminating with a revolt in 1170 led by military officials exempt from reaching top positions in the central government. The coup brought a close to the early Koryŏ period and gave rise to a military rule which dominated affairs over the next century. The turmoil instigated by the revolt continued throughout the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when peasant uprisings spread in the countryside and the country was devastated by seven Mongol attacks, the first taking place in 1231. The Koryŏ court finally submitted in 1259, beginning an era of Mongol control on Koryŏ affairs. This resulted in a significant weakening of

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1236 and completed in 1251. The blocks are currently stored in Haecinsa temple 海印寺. Kim Sang-gi 1985: 768-770.

<sup>193</sup> See Hŏ Hŭng-sik 1986: 44-46.

<sup>194</sup> Duncan 1988: 42.

kingship from which it never recovered. In addition, the late Koryŏ kingdom suffered from erosion of state control and from powerful aristocratic elements fighting against the throne and each other over resources and material power. The situation was clearly irreparable and the dynasty fell in 1392 to Yi Sŏng-gye 李成桂 (1335-1408), who founded the Chosŏn kingdom.<sup>195</sup>

From the historical records it is evident that the Koryŏ kingdom was a rigidly stratified society, consisting of the royal family, aristocratic clans, local strongman descent groups as well as commoners and slaves. At first, birth and heredity alone were the principal conditions for belonging to the aristocracy. Later, with the increasing bureaucratisation of the state, ability and knowledge demonstrated in the state examinations also came to play a role. However, although the criteria of aristocratic status changed and expanded over time, the top group itself remained highly exclusive.<sup>196</sup> Partly because of the inflexibility of this social set-up, Koryŏ witnessed several struggles as hereditary groups sought to bypass the system in order to place themselves in the top ranks of politics.

Though high positions in the central government were occupied by civil (K. *munban* 文班) and to a lesser extent by military officials (K. *muban* 武班), local strongmen and local functionaries (K. *hyangni* 鄉吏) had a significant impact on Koryŏ politics. When Wang Kŏn came to power, the bulk of the countryside remained under the command of strongmen who controlled private military

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<sup>195</sup> See Pak Yong-un 1996b for an in-depth study of Koryŏ history and society.

<sup>196</sup> Deuchler 1992: 32-34. For an analysis of social stratification in the Koryŏ period, see, for example, Hŏ Hŭng-sik 1981: 355-370, 448-450. For a detailed survey of the central bureaucratic aristocracy in early and late Koryŏ, see Duncan 2000: 52-98.

forces and retained the trappings of independent local governance. Such local hereditary landed elites threatened the central administration, and a continuous effort was therefore made at gaining their support by incorporating them into the central government. One way Wang Kŏn sought to do this was through intermarriage.<sup>197</sup> Despite this, local strongmen only gradually submitted their territories to the new rulers, usually by sending hostages to the capital as an act of trust. Later, under the reign of Kwangjong 光宗 (r. 949-975) the examination system was altered, so that members of local strongman descent groups could gain access to posts in the dynastic government. It was an attempt by the throne to buy their loyalty by guaranteeing them the opportunity to participate in centralised political life whilst weakening their local power. However, efforts to curb the power of local strongman descent groups were never entirely successful and by the end of the dynasty *hojok* power had been restored to the same level as at the beginning of the dynasty.<sup>198</sup>

From the outset, local functionaries presented the second serious danger to the stability of the kingdom. Being descendants of local strongmen of the Silla-Koryŏ transition, they formed a powerful and well-established group. Koryŏ rulers sought their support by granting them privileges and guaranteeing them access to central office. In fact, many of the aristocrats who dominated the central bureaucracy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were of *hyangni*

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<sup>197</sup> Wang Kŏn took twenty-nine wives, the majority of whom were daughters of powerful local aristocrats. For a list of his wives and their origins, see Chŏng Yong-suk 1992: 48. Wang Kŏn's intermarriage policy is discussed in Yi Chong-uk 1981: 13; Deuchler 1992: 57; Pak Yong-un 1996b: 47-48, 82 and Duncan 2000: 19.

<sup>198</sup> Kim Tu-jin 1979: 78-80. For further details of local strongmen in the Koryŏ period and their political influence, see Pak Yong-un 1996b: 29-34.

origins. However, by the late thirteenth century *hyangni* power had weakened considerably, partly due to the devastation caused by foreign invasions and to the fact they no longer constituted a coherent social group.<sup>199</sup>

To summarise, the Koryŏ kingdom was aristocratic and dominated by a clan-induced struggle for power as bloodlines remained a primary determinant of social and political status. During the early Koryŏ period the royal family and central aristocracy retained their status as the ruling elite, while civil and military officials competed for places in the central government. In the countryside, local hereditary landed elite groups posed a considerable threat to the central power structure. Whereas the first half of the rule remained relatively peaceful, civil unrest was set-off by the military coup of 1170 which shook the foundations of the Koryŏ civil order. During the military period, kingship was degraded and some kings were even killed by military strongmen. At this time, local strongman groups began to regain the power they had exercised in the early years of the dynasty. Due to several foreign invasions and the subsequent submission to the Mongols in 1259, the escalating dynastic decline could not be controlled and the kingdom was eventually brought to an end in 1392.

### **3.3.1. Manifestations of social status in Koryŏ funerary practices – methodological considerations**

The issue of how social rank is manifested in burial remains is pertinent to the examination of Koryŏ graves, as the placing of mirrors in the tombs may be

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<sup>199</sup> Duncan 2000: 270-271. See also Yi Sŏng-mu 1970 for an examination of late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn *hyangni*.

linked to particular social realities. However, as pointed out in Chapter 1, the question of how status is reflected in Koryǒ funerary material has not been explored by scholars and only a little information can be gained from the historical sources.

Variations within mortuary practices are clearly determined by a confluence of complex factors, ranging from religion to circumstantial and physical contexts. However, it is widely understood that one of the primary determinants of burial customs is social organisation.<sup>200</sup> It is therefore necessary to establish which variables within burials most successfully reflect social structures. While the disruption caused to society before, during and after the funeral is not reflected in the archaeological data, energy expenditures in mortuary rituals in terms of the size and elaborateness of burials can be more easily detected.<sup>201</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> In his extensive cross-cultural study on mortuary practices, Christopher Carr examines thirty-one societies from different continents, historical periods and of varying social complexities, and establishes ninety-one social and religious factors that influence variations in funeral and bereavement customs in these societies. He argues that differences between burials of people from the same community are frequently attributable to differences in social status. See Carr 1995: 124-125. Carr's study also includes a discussion of earlier theories related to mortuary archaeology, including those proposed by Lewis R. Binford 1971, Joseph A. Tainter 1975: 2 and 1978 and Nan Rothschild 1979. For an anthropological discussion of the relations between social structures and burial rituals, see Bendann 1930, Orton and Hodson 1981 and Morris 1992: 3-5. For a wider, anthropologically based study on death and burial, see Hertz 1960.

<sup>201</sup> Archaeologists have used different criteria to identify and distinguish social organisation in mortuary remains. For a discussion of these factors, see, for example, Ucko 1969: 266; Brown 1981; Bloch 1981; Härke 1997 and Høilund Nielsen 1997. Numerous interesting case studies have been published on this topic. See, for example, Ransborg 1974 where the weight of bronze grave goods has been successfully demonstrated to be an useful index of how wealth and status is distributed in Early Bronze Age (approximately 1800-1000 BC) graves in Denmark. In contrast, in their study on social organisation in Iron Age burials in south-west Germany, Susan Frankenstein and M. J. Rowlands 1978 focus not only on the quantity and function of grave goods, but also on differences in the geographical location of the graves. See

Scholars such as Ross Samson have argued that since the funeral is staged by the mourners, the archaeological remains do not represent the social standing of the deceased, but of the survivors. In other words, the grave objects do not so much portray the interred but those who buried him.<sup>202</sup> Others, like Lewis R. Binford, Robert Hertz and Nan Rothschild, have maintained that funeral material is a close reflection of the social and religious status of the interred himself.<sup>203</sup> Not only is it likely that the mourners are of the same descent, rank and status as the deceased, but customs within the social circle to which the dead belonged will also affect ways in which the funeral was carried out. In this way, though the mortuary material, including grave constructions and funerary artefacts, may not exactly mirror the deceased himself, they are likely to closely reflect his wealth and social position.

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Frankenstein and Rowlands 1979. Also Mike Pearson, in his 1993 analysis of Danish Iron Age sites in southern Jutland, demonstrates the importance of taking into account a variety of material remains when attempting to reconstruct social organisation.

<sup>202</sup> Ross Samson argues that if those burying the dead explicitly attempted to reflect the deceased's past position in society, they would have done so symbolically and categorically. Stating the case of sixth to seventh century AD cemeteries found in northern France, Belgium, western and southern Germany and Switzerland, Samson maintains that the combinations of burial goods are so fluid that it is difficult to imagine any objects specifically endowed with rigid social connotations. See Samson 1986: 123. Yet, he overlooks the fact that rigid combinatory structures within mortuary material are rarely the norm. The way in which social organisation is reflected in mortuary material has to be addressed from as holistic an approach as possible.

<sup>203</sup> Nan Rothschild, for example, argues that "[It] is assumed that distinctions visible in mortuary practices reflect status distinctions visible during life. If patterns exist in mortuary practices, it is assumed that they relate to structural divisions of society." See Rothschild 1979: 660.

### **3.3.2. Manifestations of social status in Koryŏ funerary practices – the historical record**

Koryŏ society was organised hierarchically according to mainly hereditary criteria, and textual sources confirm that the structural divisions within the social rank systems manifested themselves in mortuary rituals. According to the *Koryŏsa*, certain members of the influential capital elite were granted ‘state funerals’ (K. *kukchang* 國葬, *yejang* 禮葬, *kwanjang* 官葬), which included posthumous names and titles as well as funerary provisions, though it is not specified what these were.<sup>204</sup> In addition, the size of tombs for civil and military officials was fixed by law in the late tenth century.<sup>205</sup> Written records do not detail how members of provincial elite groups were interred and make only brief mention of how poor people dealt with their dead. It appears that they disposed of the corpse in much the same way as their ancestors had, namely by wrapping the body in a straw mat and tying it to the branches of a tree; after the flesh had decomposed, the bones were gathered and buried. This method is called

<sup>204</sup> The *Koryŏsa* yields little information on how funerals were carried out. The “Treatise on Rites” (K. *yeji* 禮志, *Koryŏsa* 59-69) includes a chapter on funerary rites (*Koryŏsa* 64: 1-31a), but it deals mainly with consolation rites and mourning rather than burial rites (K. *changnye* 葬禮). For example, the section on burial rites for high officials (K. *chesinsang* 諸臣喪, *Koryŏsa* 64: 20a-22b) provides a compilation of more than twenty examples of funerals of high officials, detailing the gifts the king bestowed on the deceased’s family and the conferral of a posthumous title. See Deuchler 1992: 77 and Bruneton 2001: 1.

<sup>205</sup> In the first year of King Kyŏngjong’s 景宗 reign (r. 975-981), the following rules were prescribed: The tomb precincts of officials of first rank should cover a square of 173m, and those of second rank 154m. In both cases, the height of the tomb should be nearly 15m. The tomb of an official of third rank should be 135m square and 3m in height. Tombs of officials of fourth rank should be 115m square and those of fifth rank 96m. Finally the tomb precincts of officials of sixth rank and below had to be considerably smaller at only 57m square and the mound should not exceed 2.5m in height. *Koryŏsa* 85:6b.

*p'ungjang* 風葬, literally 'wind burial'.<sup>206</sup> Sometimes the bones were simply scattered in the streets of the capital and in open fields.<sup>207</sup>

When *p'ungjang* was not practiced, the body was either buried or cremated (K. *hwajang* 火葬). In Korea cremation had been practised from as early as the Three Kingdoms period, and continued to be in use even during the Chosŏn period, despite the ruling powers' support of Confucianism.<sup>208</sup> The Confucians objected vehemently to this custom, which they regarded as barbaric, unfilial and Buddhist.<sup>209</sup> From a Confucian point of view, it was vital to preserve the body for as long as possible in order to preserve the deceased's

<sup>206</sup> Miyahara Toichi argues that the custom may have come from Mongolia or Manchuria, but provides no concrete justification. See Miyahara 1968: 383. Letting corpses decompose before burial is not an uncommon custom and was, for example, also practised in China and South East Asia. It involves three stages, namely preparation, decomposition and extraction. Peter Metcalf and Richard Huntington have compared the process to the preparation of food, in arguing that there is a striking similarity between the widespread use of fermented foods in Asia and the custom of decomposition in this region. See Metcalf and Huntington 1991: 73-74.

<sup>207</sup> This was commented on by the Chinese envoy Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091-1153) who stayed in the Koryŏ capital for a month in 1123. See *Gaoli tujing*: 111-112. Several references in the *Koryŏsa* mentions the abandoning of corpses. See, for example, *Koryŏsa* 84:19, where it is recorded that the government will cover the funeral expenses of the needy in order to avoid them scattering the bones in the streets. For further discussion of the discarding of bones, see Miyahara 1968: 381-383, Deuchler 1992: 79 and Furuta 1994: 6-8. For a discussion of *p'ungjang* as practiced during the Three Kingdoms period, see Murayama 1990: 317-322.

<sup>208</sup> Miyahara 1968: 375. The *Samguk yusa* records four examples of cremation of Unified Silla kings and queens, namely King Hyosŏng 孝成 (r. 737-742), Queen Chinsŏng 眞聖 (r. 887-897), King Hyogong 孝恭 (r. 897-912) and King Kyŏngmyŏng 景明 (r. 917-924). See Murayama 1990: 324-325.

<sup>209</sup> The practice of cremation is usually assumed to have been the preferred way of disposal of the body for Buddhists, both monks and lay persons, but it is in fact not considered a crucial ritual act within Buddhism. There are no Buddhist sutras or commentaries arguing that a person's fate after death depends on how the corpse was handled, and originally the Buddha instructed his followers not to make an effort with funeral arrangements. Yet, cremation had been the standard method of disposing of the dead in India prior to the spread of Buddhism from this continent and it may be for this reason that cremation came to be intrinsically linked to the Buddhist faith and became common amongst the Buddhist clergy. For further details, see Ebrey 1990: 413-414 and Lamb 1994: 31.

mind-matter (K. *ki* 氣), while the importance of the burial lay in preserving the link between the dead and the living. In the Koryŏ period, however, it was believed that cremation expedited the continuation of life in Heaven and the entrance into the Western Region, and commoners and aristocrats alike were cremated, often within the vicinity of a Buddhist temple.<sup>210</sup> However, despite the strong support and presence of Buddhism throughout the Koryŏ period, cremation does not seem to have been widely practiced.<sup>211</sup> Chŏng Kil-cha suggests that it became even less prevalent after the late twelfth century.<sup>212</sup> One reason may be that it was not always advocated by the royal family. According to the *Koryŏsa*, for the funeral of one of King Munjong's 文宗 (r. 1046-1083) sons, King Sŏnjong 宣宗 (r. 1083-1094) determined that cremation is only for Buddhist monks, and that he should therefore be given a proper burial with 'eternal offerings', though it does not specify what these may have been.<sup>213</sup>

### **3.3.3. Manifestations of social status in Koryŏ funerary practices – the archaeological record**

Four different types of burial constructions were in use during the Koryŏ period, termed as follows in Korean archaeological reports: stone chamber tombs (K. *sŏksil* 石室), stone-lined tombs (K. *sŏkkwangmyo* 石槨墓), earthen pit tombs (K. *t'okwangmyo* 土壙墓) and lime-coffin tombs (K. *hoegwangmyo* 灰槨墓). A

<sup>210</sup> Deuchler 1992: 197.

<sup>211</sup> Of two hundred and fifty epitaphs dating to the Koryŏ period, Sem Vermeersch has identified only twenty-six which mention that the person was cremated. See Vermeersch 2001a.

sub-type in the form of stone coffins (K. *sŏkkwan* 石棺) may also be added here, but as they were placed inside either stone chamber tombs or earthen pit tombs, they are not an independent form of burial construction.

Built with large stone slabs and covered with an earth mound, stone chamber tombs are the largest and most visually imposing of these four grave types. The mound was encircled by a stone banister and a wide stepped stone-paved path flanked by stone attendants was placed in front of the tomb. The interiors of Koryŏ tombs were sometimes painted, predominantly with images of officials representing the 'twelve branches'.<sup>214</sup> Judging from the archaeological and textual evidence, stone chamber tombs were used by the royal family and high-ranking civil and military officials.<sup>215</sup> Since stone chambers are easily penetrable, none have been found intact, and as a result they are not represented among the 304 graves examined here.

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<sup>212</sup> Chŏng Kil-cha provides a detailed examination of cremation in Koryŏ and also gives examples of pre-Koryŏ cases. See Chŏng Kil-cha 1983.

<sup>213</sup> Vermeersch 2001a: 2.

<sup>214</sup> Only a small number of Koryŏ stone chambers with mural paintings are located in the southern half of the Korean peninsula. A particularly well-preserved stone chamber tomb with murals of the twelve branches was found at Sŏgongni 瑞谷理 near P'aju 坡州 in Kyŏnggi province, dating to the fourteenth century. The tomb belonged to the aristocrat Kwŏn Chun 權準 (1280-1352), an examination passer of 1307. He was the son of the famous Confucian scholar Kwŏn Pu 權傅 (1262-1307) of the Andong Kwŏn 安東權 clan which had a long tradition of civil service in the central bureaucracy. When excavated, the tomb had already been looted and therefore contained only few burial objects, including coins, ceramics, beads and coffin nails. The latter suggests the use of a wooden coffin in which the body was placed. The Andong Kwŏn descent group is discussed in Deuchler 1992: 18, 19, 96 and Duncan 2000: 122-124. For details of the excavation of the tomb, see Munhwajae kwalliguk and Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1993.

<sup>215</sup> Archaeological records verify that the stone chamber tombs located near the Koryŏ capital of Kaesŏng were built for members of royal and aristocratic families. The majority of them have been excavated and published by the Chŏsen Sŏtokufu 1916: 261-764. For a more recent archaeological survey of these royal tombs, see Kim Chong-hyŏk 1986a and 1986b.

Pit-style graves are the most commonly used burial construction in the Koryō period and include the following three types: Stone-lined tombs, which are rectangular earthen pits lined with roughly cut stones, in the majority of which iron nails have been found indicating the previous existence of a decayed wooden coffin; earthen pit tombs, sometimes containing iron nails too, though their absence does not necessarily equate with the non-existence of a wooden coffin, since iron is subject to decay over time; finally, lime-coffin tombs, which are rectangular earthen pits that were lined with lime-based cement, inside which a wooden coffin was normally placed.

Written records do not indicate who would have been placed in these pit-style graves, all of which are represented in the sample data. Due to the relative similarities in their construction method and size, they do not immediately reflect overt social differences among the interred. Instead, as will be discussed below, it seems that differentiations in social rank were manifested through the placing of specific objects, including bronze mirrors, inside the grave. Judging from the geographical location, it appears that well-equipped graves within the sampled data may have belonged to members of regional elite families.

The archaeological record suggests that where cremation was carried out, in the case of aristocrats the remains were sometimes placed inside a stone coffin together with funerary goods. The coffin would then have been interred, though it is not clear how, as none have been found in situ. They may have been placed inside stone chamber tombs as such constructions tended to have been used by elite members of society. The exterior of the coffin walls would normally be decorated with engraved images of the Four Guardian Animals (K.

*sasin* 四神);<sup>216</sup> in a lesser number of cases *apsaras*, peony, lotus and images of officials representing the ‘twelve branches’ (K. *12 jishin* 12 支像) were depicted.<sup>217</sup> Sometimes, the interior was adorned with peony and lotus motifs as in the case of the slate coffin in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (figs 3.2a-b).<sup>218</sup> The discovery of celadon jars with cremated remains suggests that such containers were also commonly used, presumably by lower ranking members of society. Yet, according to the *Koryŏsa*, if there were no descendants the remains were simply scattered.<sup>219</sup> Judging from the size of the pit-style burials, averaging more than one and a half metres in length, it must be assumed that they contained neither the decomposed nor the cremated remains of the interred but the intact corpse.

#### **3.4. Selection criteria and division of material**

The graves examined below have been selected under two criteria, namely, that they should have been intact when found and that they should be published in detail. It was deemed necessary to focus the research solely on undisturbed graves

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<sup>216</sup> A small number of such coffins have survived, and in some cases, objects were found inside, ranging from ceramics to artefacts of gold, silver and bronze. Some also contained bronze nails, leading Chŏng Kil-cha to suggest that a smaller wooden box for the burial artefacts may have been placed inside the coffin. See Chŏng Kil-cha 1985.

<sup>217</sup> In China, the twelve zodiac animals had formed a popular part of funerary rituals, especially during the Sui and Tang periods. The pairing of the zodiac animals with the ‘twelve branches’ was a commonly held practice in China by the first century AD, but archaeological evidence dates from the fourth century BC. The sexegenary cycle is the most ancient Chinese day-count system, in which the twelve characters called ‘early branches’ combine alternately with the ‘ten heavenly stems’ to make sixty combinations designating a sixty-day cycle. See Ho 1991: 61.

<sup>218</sup> Beth McKillop suggests that only lotuses feature on the interior walls, but with their curling petals and heavy blooms at least two of the flowers are arguably peony. For a brief description of the coffin, see McKillop 1992: 93.

<sup>219</sup> For further discussion of this, see Murayama 1990: 341.

in order to get as accurate a picture as possible of the variables within the material, even though there are arguably problems connected with applying statistics to a relatively small sample of data, in this case 304 graves. However, at the time of writing, the graves are believed to represent as comprehensive a picture as possible of published excavations of undisturbed graves from this period.

Although the past ten years have seen an increase in excavations of Koryŏ burials, the total number of excavated and recorded graves remains small. Graves that have been found intact are few in number, partly due to the popularity of Koryŏ celadon wares in the early twentieth century, in pursuit of which many graves were looted. Moreover, several sites have been discovered during construction work, which caused damage before archaeological work could be undertaken. As a result, most of the nineteen sites examined here include looted, damaged as well as intact graves, with only the latter being included in the sampled data, for the reasons explained above. The Chwahangni site, for example, consists of sixteen graves, but only one was found intact, as the others had been disturbed prior to systematic excavation taking place; consequently, only the intact grave was included in the sampled data (Appendix, p. 443).

The rarity of epitaphs (K. *myoji* 墓誌) and other types of written material inside most graves of the Koryŏ period, including the ones studied here, means that they are predominantly dated on the basis of ceramics, these being the most common type of funerary objects.<sup>220</sup> The occasional appearance of coins makes it possible to ascertain the date of a burial within a relatively narrow time frame,

but in most cases graves tend to be placed within a range of one to two centuries. The graves in the current data sample have been arranged within the chronologies proposed in the site excavation reports, and date from the eleventh to the end of the fourteenth century (table 3.1).

As can be seen from table 3.1, the graves have been divided into two broad time-related groups in order to facilitate comparisons of the material and to assess whether the use of mirrors as burial goods changed over time. The first group of graves (Group 1: Early Koryŏ) spans the eleventh down to the mid-twelfth century, during which time the power of the government remained fairly centralised under the monarch. It was a peaceful and prosperous time, marked by a flourishing of the arts. The second group of graves (Group 2: Late Koryŏ) dates from the latter half of the twelfth until the end of the fourteenth century, thus coinciding with the period of turmoil and Mongol domination. The year 1170 was a turning point from the so-called golden age of social stability to widespread disorder, as it was then that the military officials, who had revolted against the civil officials, eventually succeeded in shifting political power into their own hands.

One hundred and fifty-nine of the graves examined (52.3%) belong to the group of early Koryŏ graves, while the remaining 145 burials (47.7%) are included in the late Koryŏ material. It must be stressed that although the two groups do not cover the same number of years, this division was deemed to be the most appropriate, taking into account the above-mentioned historical factors, as

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<sup>220</sup> Around 300 epitaphs have survived from this period and the majority are housed in the National Museum of Korea. They have been compiled and edited by Hŏ Hŭng-sik 1984.

well as the data itself. It is not uncommon for the dating of Koryŏ graves to span several centuries, especially in the case of late Koryŏ ones, and it was therefore not possible to create groups that extend across shorter periods.

**Table 3.1: Archaeological sites and number of burials included in the sample.**

Site No.	Site Name and Location	Date and Historical Period	Number of Burials in the Sample	Reference
1.	Tŭgyunni, Nonsan'gun, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province 得尹里, 論山郡, 忠清南道	Early eleventh century Early Koryŏ	3	Kang In-gu 1975 Appendix, pp 440-441
2.	Chibongni, Yŏngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 池鳳里, 永同郡, 忠清北道	Eleventh century Early Koryŏ	1	Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987 Appendix, p. 442
3.	Chwahangni, Yongin'gun, Kyŏnggi province 佐恒里, 龍仁郡, 京畿道	Mid-eleventh century Early Koryŏ	1	Sin Ch'ŏn-sik and Ŏm Ik-sŏng 1994 Appendix, p. 443
4.	Yudongni, Mujugun, North Chŏlla province 柳洞里, 茂朱郡, 全羅北道	Late eleventh to early twelfth century Early Koryŏ	1	Kang In-gu 1980 Appendix, p. 444
5.	Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 金川洞 II-1, 清州, 忠清北道	Late eleventh to early twelfth century Early Koryŏ	128	Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2 Appendix, pp 445-508
6.	Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 金川洞 II-2, 清州, 忠清北道	Late eleventh to twelfth century Early Koryŏ	16	Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2 Appendix, pp 509-516
7.	Ch'un'gunni, Kwangjugun, Kyŏnggi province 春宮里, 廣州郡, 京畿道	Mid-twelfth century Early Koryŏ	3	Kim Pyŏng-mo <i>et al.</i> 1988 Appendix, p. 517

8.	Tanwŏldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 丹月洞, 忠州, 忠清北道	Eleventh to early twelfth century Early Koryŏ	3	Kil Kyŏng-t'aek and Hwang Chŏng-a 1992. Kil Kyŏng-t'aek and Yi Sŏn-ch'ŏl 1996. Appendix, pp 518-523
		Twelfth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	9	
9.	Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 樓岩里, 中原郡, 忠清 北道	Late eleventh to early twelfth century Early Koryŏ	3	Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1991 and 1992 Appendix, pp 524-525
		Mid to late twelfth century Late Koryŏ	1	
10.	Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 玄谷里, 丹陽郡, 忠清 北道	Mid to late twelfth century Late Koryŏ	33	Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997 Appendix, pp 526-528
11.	Songnari, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province 松羅里, 華城郡, 京畿道	Late twelfth to thirteenth century Late Koryŏ	2	Yun Se-yŏng and Kim U-rim 1995 Appendix, p. 529
12.	Kup'ori, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province 鳩浦里, 華城郡, 京畿道	Late twelfth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	2	Yun Nae-hyŏn <i>et al.</i> 1995 Appendix, p. 530
13.	Panwŏlmyŏn, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province 半月面, 華城郡, 京畿道	Thirteenth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	1	Munhwajae kwalliguk 1978b Appendix, p. 531
14.	Maeryongni, Yŏjugun, Kyŏnggi province 梅龍里, 驪州郡, 京畿道	Thirteenth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	2	Hallim taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1988 Appendix, p. 532
15.	Sŏngsŏngni, Chinch'ŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 聖石里, 鎭川郡, 忠清北道	Thirteenth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	18	Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991 Appendix, pp 533-541
16.	Tŏksalli, Kimhaegun, South Kyŏngsang province 德山里, 金海郡, 慶尙南道	Thirteenth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	5	Yi Sang-gil <i>et al.</i> 1995 Appendix, pp 542-543
17.	Ilсандong, Koyangshi, Kyŏnggi province 一山洞, 高陽市, 京畿道	Thirteenth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	62	Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993 Appendix, pp 544-571

18.	Yongjŏngdong II, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 龍亭洞 II, 淸州, 忠清 北道	Thirteenth to fourteenth century Late Koryŏ	8	Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 1 Appendix, pp 572-575
19.	Kŭmch'ŏndong I, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province 金川洞 I, 淸州, 忠清北道	Thirteenth to fourteenth Century Late Koryŏ	2	Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 1 Appendix, p. 576

### **3.4.1. Geographical distribution of burial sites**

The 304 graves examined are all located in South Korea and are from nineteen different sites (fig. 3.3). Sixteen are situated close to the cities of Ch'ungju 忠州 and Ch'ŏngju 淸州 in North Ch'ungch'ŏng 忠清北道 province or clustered around Seoul in Kyŏnggi province. The remaining three are from South Ch'ungch'ŏng province, North Chŏlla province and South Kyŏngsang province (Tŭgyunni, Yudongni and Tŏksalli respectively, Appendix, pp 440-441, 444, 542-543).

There are practical and historical reasons why the sampled sites are located around the cities of Ch'ungju, Ch'ŏngju and Seoul. The current political situation in Korea has resulted in little information being available on excavations carried out in the northern half of the peninsula.<sup>221</sup> In the early twentieth century Japanese archaeologists instigated detailed surveys of the Koryŏ royal tombs located around Kaesŏng. Unfortunately, they had all been

<sup>221</sup> A site with 150 graves at Konamni 高남리 near Kaesŏng was excavated by North Korean archaeologists in the 1990s. The findings are not published in detail, but the graves appear to be earthen-pit tombs, similar in size to the ones in the sampled data. They contained ceramics, coins, bronze spoons and other unspecified objects. See Kim In-ch'ŏl 1996.

looted and contained only meagre remains.<sup>222</sup> The study of Koryŏ burials is a new field that has only gained momentum within the last ten years or so, since archaeologists working in South Korea have mainly concentrated on Three Kingdoms funerary remains. This partly explains the poor representation of Koryŏ graves in North and South Kyŏngsang province where attention has traditionally focused on Silla and Kaya sites. Likewise, archaeological work in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province and in North and South Chŏlla provinces has predominantly centred on Paekche relics.<sup>223</sup>

From a historical perspective, Seoul, Ch'ungju and Ch'ŏngju were important regional centres in the Koryŏ period. Seoul was one of the three Koryŏ capitals, the others being the main capital of Kaesŏng and the western capital of P'yŏngyang 平壤.<sup>224</sup> Ch'ŏngju and Ch'ungju were designated secondary capitals in 685 under Unified Silla and therefore established themselves at an early date as local centres of power. In the Koryŏ period, Ch'ŏngju ranked high in the local administrative hierarchy, as it was the seat of one of the provincial governors. Moreover, several of the powerful descent groups that produced officials for the early as well as late Koryŏ central government came from this town.<sup>225</sup> It was also an important centre of local

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<sup>222</sup> Chōsen Sōtokufu 1916.

<sup>223</sup> The Paekche capitals of Kongju and Puyŏ are located in South Ch'ungch'ŏn province.

<sup>224</sup> Kyŏngju had originally been selected as one of the three capitals, but it was replaced by Seoul in the eleventh century.

<sup>225</sup> The Ch'ŏngju Kwak 淸州郭 descent group produced four officials and the Ch'ŏngju Yi 淸州李 descent group produced three during the early Koryŏ period. In the late Koryŏ period, the Ch'ŏngju Han 淸州韓, Ch'ŏngju Kyŏng 淸州慶 and Ch'ŏngju Chŏng 淸州鄭 descent groups also had members holding office. See Duncan 2000: 56-57, 108-110.

strongmen groups.<sup>226</sup> Located in the centre of the country, close to the Han river and to Ch'ungju lake, Ch'ungju was a strategically important regional town that was home to several local strongman families. Indeed Wang Kŏn's third wife came from one such descent group, namely the Ch'ungju Yu 忠州劉 family.<sup>227</sup>

Due to the absence of burials from the northern part of the peninsula, none of the graves examined are expected to contain the remains of members of the royal family and the ruling class. Kim Yong-sŏn's research on Koryŏ ruling-class tomb sites shows that they were normally buried around Kaesŏng.<sup>228</sup> Epitaph inscriptions indicate that even in the cases where a person had died in the provinces, it was customary to bring the corpse to the capital for the burial to take place there.<sup>229</sup> With the weakening of the central government towards the end of Koryŏ, some officials were buried in their native hometowns. But this was not the norm, and most were still interred in the vicinity of Kaesŏng. Many of the burial sites examined in this chapter were clearly close to major administrative and population centres located in the southern half of the peninsula. Thus, it can be expected that a proportion of the graves belonged to local strongman families and officials of lower rank who resided there and the sampled graves can therefore be expected to present a broad picture of how

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<sup>226</sup> For a study on local strongmen in the Ch'ŏngju region, see Pak Kyŏng-ja 2001: 47-87.

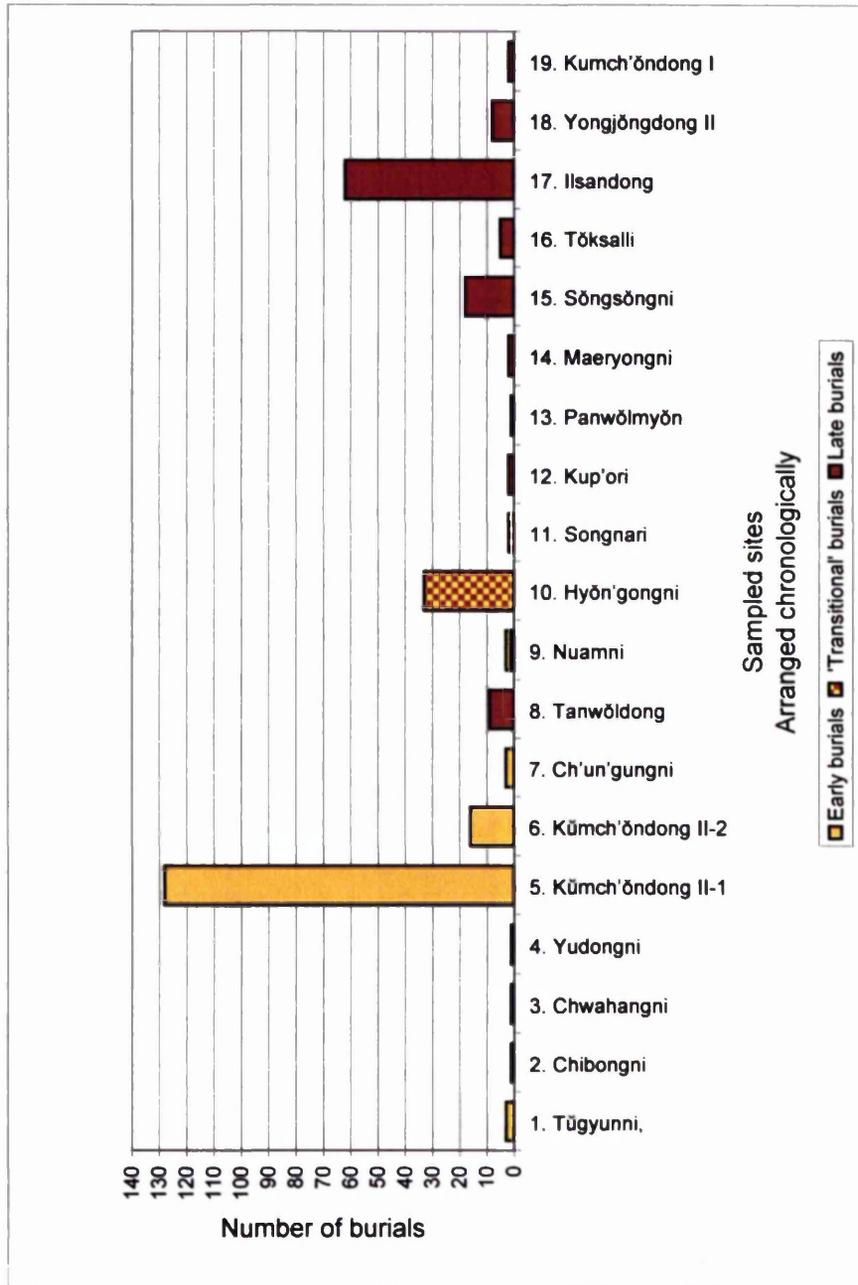
<sup>227</sup> See Chŏng Yong-suk 1992: 48 and Yi Chong-uk 1981: 13. For further discussion of Ch'ungju's importance as a regional centre, see Pak Yong-un 1996b: 498-499.

<sup>228</sup> Kim Yong-sŏn studied the locations of 263 burials, compiled from epitaph inscriptions and the *Koryŏsa*. All belonged to members of the ruling aristocracy, except for fifteen that were for monks. Burial sites which feature prominently are Kaesŏng and Songnim 松林, in present-day North Hwanghae province 黃海北道. See Kim Yong-sŏn 1989.

<sup>229</sup> Yi Nan-yŏng 1979: 112, 117.

those outside the central capital were interred, ranging from commoners to members of the local elite.

**Table 3.2: Number of burials at the sampled sites**



### **3.5. Overview of the sampled burials**

As can be seen in table 3.2, the nineteen sites examined range in size from 128 graves at Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1 to single, isolated burials, such as the one excavated near Yudongni. More often than not, a site consists of several looted graves and a smaller number of untouched ones. In such cases, for reasons stated above, only the intact graves have been included in the sample data.

Early Koryŏ graves total 159 and are from the following sites: Tŭgyunni, Chibongni, Chwahangni, Yudongni, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1 and II-2, Ch'un'gunni, Tanwŏldong and Nuamni. The earliest are three relatively large stone-lined tombs from Tŭgyunni that have been dated to the early eleventh century in accordance with ceramics found inside one of them (no. 1, Appendix, p. 440). The second grave at the site (no. 2, Appendix, p. 440) yielded no ceramics, but a substantial number of bronze objects (a spoon, a hairpin and two vessels). The third grave (no. 3, Appendix, p. 441) was devoid of burial goods. Other early graves include two eleventh century stone-lined tombs, one from Chibongni (no. 1-2, figs 3.4a-b) and one from Chwahangni (no. 9, fig. 3.5). They are among early Koryŏ graves with the largest number of objects (approximately ten each) and both contained bronze mirrors. The two latest burials among early Koryŏ graves are from the Nuamni site in Chungwŏn'gun. They are both relatively well-equipped earthen pit tombs with coffin nails indicating the use of a wooden coffin in which the corpse would have been placed. Grave no. 36-4 dates to the first half of the twelfth century while grave no. 23-1, which contained a mirror, has been dated to the mid to late twelfth century (Appendix,

p. 525); grave no. 36-4 was located close to two stone-lined tombs from the late eleventh to the mid-twelfth century (nos 36-1 and 36-3, Appendix, p. 524). An earthen pit tomb found at Yudongni featured the largest number of burial goods among all the early Koryŏ burials (fig. 3.6). Dating to the late eleventh to early twelfth century, the grave contained various types of pottery in its western part, and silver and bronze hairpins, a bronze mirror, bronze coins, a bronze spoon and beads in the eastern end of the pit. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1 is the largest of the early Koryŏ sites, totalling 128 graves, many of which yielded a considerable number of burial goods (Appendix, pp 445-508).

As can be seen in table 3.1, graves at the Nuamni site include both early and late Koryŏ burials. Also graves from the Tanwŏldong site span several centuries and are therefore included in the early Koryŏ as well as the late Koryŏ material. The three early Koryŏ graves are stone-lined and date from the late eleventh to the early twelfth century (nos 5, 7 and 9, Appendix, pp 518-519). Late Koryŏ graves comprise a stone-lined tomb from the end of the twelfth to the thirteenth century (no. 10, Appendix, p. 519) as well as five earthen pit tombs (nos 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17, Appendix, pp 520-522) and three lime-coffin tombs from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century (nos 11, 18, 19, Appendix, pp 520, 523). Among these, the stone-lined tombs contained the widest variety of artefacts, whereas the earthen pit and lime-coffin tombs only yielded ceramics, a few coins and in some cases iron objects and a single jade bead.

Late Koryŏ graves total 145, and in addition to the above-mentioned ones from Tanwŏldong, include the following sites: Hyŏn'gongni, Songnari, Kup'ori, Panwŏlmyŏn, Maeryongni, Sŏngsŏngni, Tŏksalli, Ilsandong, Yongjŏngdong II

and Kumch'ŏngdong I. Among those, the earliest graves are from the large mid to late twelfth century site of Hyŏn'gongni, which yielded a total of thirty stone-lined tombs and three earthen pit tombs (only few of the graves from this site have been illustrated in detail, see Appendix, pp 526-528). Burial goods included a wide range of artefacts, notably metal objects such as silver hairpins and iron scissors, as well as bronze mirrors, bronze daggers and bronze hairpins. Other twelfth century graves are one lime-coffin tomb and one earthen pit tomb from the site at Songnari dating from the late twelfth to the thirteenth century (Appendix, p. 529).

It should be noted that inasmuch as the graves from Hyŏn'gongni and Songnari, as well as the above-mentioned burial at Nuamni, chronologically belong to the cluster of late Koryŏ graves, they generally share more characteristics with early Koryŏ burials. As such, they can be seen to represent a transitional stage between burial customs of the early and late Koryŏ periods. Therefore, when carrying out the statistical analysis, it is at times necessary to separate these thirty-six 'transitional' graves from the main group of late Koryŏ burials, in order to get a more accurate picture of the characteristics of the latter.

The larger and richer of the two Songnari burials was furnished with a bronze mirror, a pair of iron scissors, a lacquered comb, a bronze finger ring and an unidentifiable iron fragment. This lime-coffin tomb is unusual in that it contained the skeletal remains of a woman aged between twenty-one and thirty-five. Human bones and other organic material rarely survive in the acidic soil of Korea, making it difficult to establish the sex of the interred. In this case, however, the burial pit was lined with a layer of lime-based cement, which acted

as a sealant around the coffin and prevented direct contact with the surrounding soil. As a result all material inside the pit, including the body, decayed very slowly. Skeletal remains were also found in one of the two twelfth to fourteenth century lime-coffin tombs from Kup'ori (no. 2-16, Appendix, p. 530). Identified as a fifteen to eighteen-year-old female, the interred was buried modestly together with an earthenware jar and a white ware dish. However, in the absence of a sufficient amount of comparative osteological data from other tombs, it is impossible to infer whether these two women's graves contain burial goods that may be classified as typical 'female objects'.<sup>230</sup>

The remaining seven late Koryŏ sites have all been dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. Noteworthy among those is an extremely large earthen pit tomb from Panwŏlmyŏn (no. 1, Appendix, p. 531). Measuring 1.27 x 2.81m, the pit is believed to have originally been built as a double grave.<sup>231</sup> The way in which the body and the coffin were covered by forty-one bronze coins is very unusual and has not been seen in other graves of this period. The grave contained no ceramics, but a bronze spoon and two chopsticks were placed outside the wooden coffin. The site with the largest concentration of well-equipped late Koryŏ graves is Ilsandong in Koyang city located in Kyŏnggi province, where over half of the sixty-two graves yielded more than four burial objects each, mostly in the form of ceramics, iron sickles, bronze spoons, bronze chopsticks and bronze vessels (Appendix, pp 544-571).

<sup>230</sup> Some of the graves at Hyŏn'gongni, Sŏngsŏngni and Panwŏlmyŏn also yielded skeletal remains, but they have not been subjected to scientific analysis, and the gender and age of the interred are therefore not known.

<sup>231</sup> Munhwajae kwalliguk 1978b: II-6.

For statistical reasons it is necessary to point out that apart from one case no regional differences among the burials in the form of particular burial objects, grave construction or size of graves were detected. For example, the graves at the Töksalli site in South Kyŏngsang province are similar to those from the contemporary late Koryŏ site at Kup'ori in Hwasŏnggun in Kyŏnggi province. The graves from these sites are either earthen pit tombs or lime-coffin tombs and are relatively poor in burial objects, often containing just a few ceramics. Unusually, at the late Koryŏ site of Ilsandong near Koyang in Kyŏnggi province, most graves contained a small iron sickle, an object which does not appear in other late Koryŏ graves, and is only rarely seen in early ones. However, apart from the iron sickles, the burial goods in the graves at Ilsandong do not differ significantly in type, material or overall numbers from those in other late Koryŏ graves. This suggests that the presence of iron sickles is more likely to have been determined by regional customs rather than the social status of the interred. Thus, it can be surmised that graves from different regions can be compared successfully in terms of their construction and furnishing.

### **3.6. Patterns in grave construction, size and furnishing**

The aim of the present chapter is to analyse how the mirrors fit into the archaeological setting and to decipher patterns behind their appearances in the sampled graves. The social upheavals that occurred during the course of the Koryŏ dynasty are likely to have influenced burial customs, and the presence of mirrors within graves is examined in the light of this assumption. As such, the

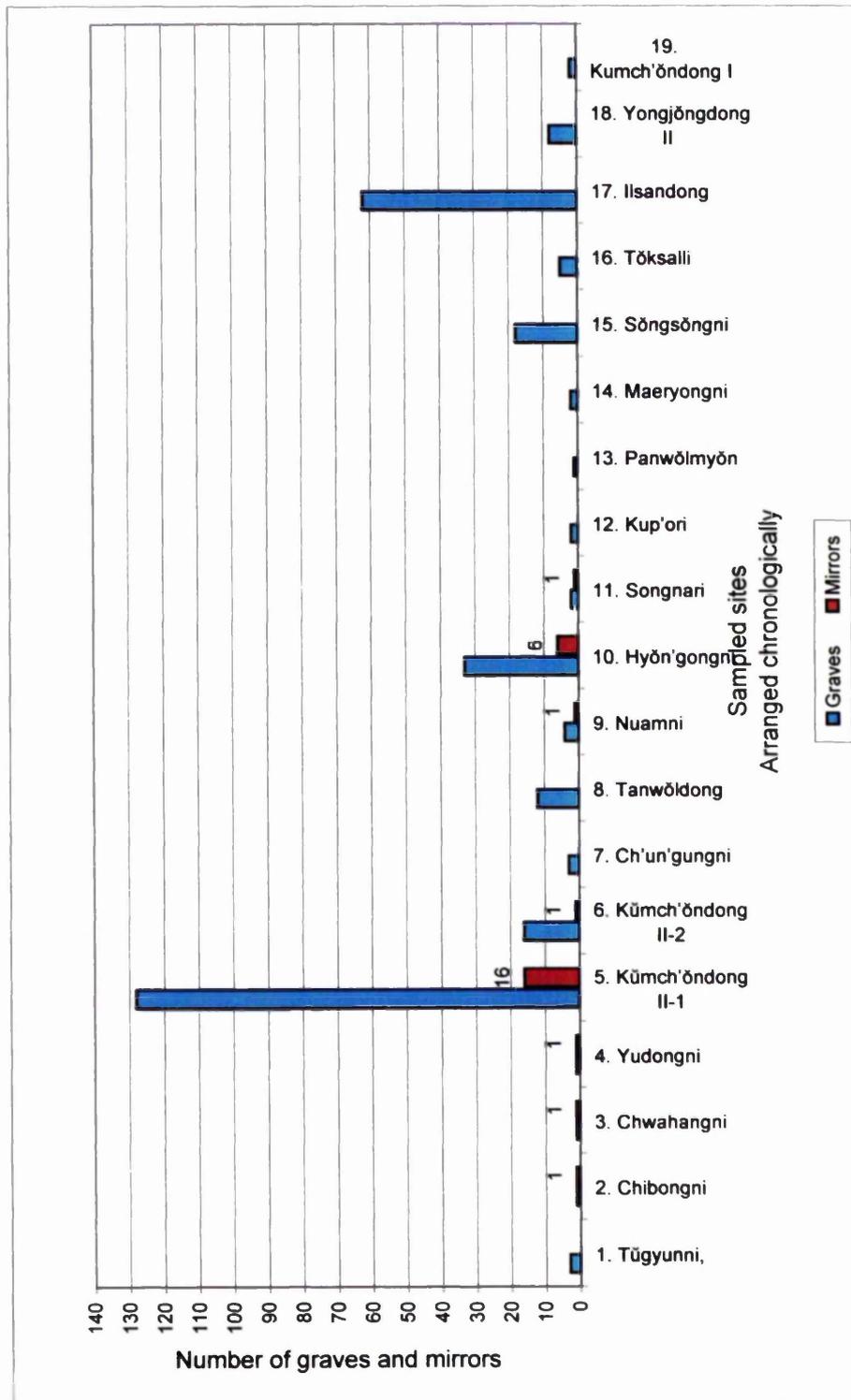
following analysis is based on a chronological study of the sampled graves, and early Koryŏ graves will be compared with late Koryŏ ones.

The graves containing bronze mirrors will first be briefly introduced, but will not be discussed in detail until section 3.7, since in order to create a foundation on which they can be examined, general characteristics of all the sampled graves have to be established first, as regards their burial constructions and grave size as well as the types and numbers of objects they contained. This general picture will then be used during the analysis of graves with mirrors. The reason is that if, for example, Koryŏ graves normally yielded a large number of artefacts of various kinds, including bronze objects, the inclusion of a bronze mirror within the burial assemblage would be of little significance. Nevertheless, if only well-equipped graves, *i.e.* those with a large number of burial goods, contained bronze objects, this could suggest that bronze was a rare commodity and as such the discovery of a bronze mirror within any Koryŏ grave would take on a different meaning.

### **3.6.1. Introduction to sampled graves with mirrors**

Twenty-eight of the 304 graves sampled (9.21%) contained a bronze mirror. Among those twenty-eight graves, twenty are from early Koryŏ burials, and the remaining eight from late Koryŏ ones. Table 3.3 illustrates the number of graves at each of the nineteen sites and the distribution of mirrors per site. Mirrors were found at the following eight sites: Chibongni, Chwahangni, Yudongni, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Nuamni, Hyŏn'gongni and Songnari.

**Table 3.3: Number of burials and mirrors at the sampled sites.**



The earliest graves sampled containing bronze mirrors are an eleventh century stone-lined tomb at Chibongni (no. 1-2) and a mid-eleventh century stone-lined tomb at Chwahangni (no. 9) (figs 3.4a-b and 3.5). The richly equipped earthen pit at Yudongni also yielded a bronze mirror (fig. 3.6). Of the 128 graves from Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, sixteen contained a bronze mirror (nos 19, 38, 46, 55, 57, 58, 62, 89, 90, 96, 99, 111, 130, 157, 181 and 207) (figs 3.7a-p), while another one was found in an earthen pit tomb at the adjacent site of Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2 (no. 16) (fig. 3.8).

It should be noted that the eight mirrors from late Koryŏ graves are all from the above-mentioned late twelfth to thirteenth century 'transitional' sites, namely Nuamni, Hyŏn'gongni and Songnari, thus suggesting a decreased use of mirrors as burial items towards the end of the Koryŏ period. The earthen pit tomb from Nuamni (no. 23-1) yielded a mirror located in the middle of the grave (fig. 3.9). Six out of a total of thirty-three graves at the Hyŏn'gongni site contained a mirror each (figs 3.10a-e).<sup>232</sup> The only lime-coffin tomb in the sample with a mirror is grave no. 1 at Songnari. As mentioned above, this grave is particularly interesting, as it was possible to identify the gender and age of the interred: a woman aged twenty-one to thirty-five (fig. 3.11).

### **3.6.2. Analysis of grave construction and size**

The present sample of 304 burials includes stone-lined tombs (13.5%), earthen pit tombs (80.6%) and lime-coffin tombs (12.4%). Table 3.4 demonstrates how

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<sup>232</sup> Plans or photographs of all the graves or detailed illustrations of all the mirrors found at this site are not available since a detailed excavation report has not been

the popularity of different types of graves changed over the course of the Koryŏ period. The majority of both early and late Koryŏ graves are earthen pit tombs (93.7% and 66.2% respectively), followed by stone-lined tombs. Though the latter appear more frequently among the late Koryŏ graves (21.4% compared to 6.3% in the case of early Koryŏ graves), it should be pointed out that among the sampled graves, late Koryŏ stone lined tombs are only found at the late twelfth century site at Hyŏn'gongni – one of the 'transitional' sites – suggesting that stone-lined tombs diminished in popularity towards the latter half of the Koryŏ period. As for the ten early Koryŏ stone-lined tombs, they are all from the earliest sites in the sample, namely Chibongni, Tŭgyungni, Chwahangni and Tanwŏldong, dating from the early eleventh to the early twelfth centuries. There are no early Koryŏ lime-coffin tombs in the sample, undoubtedly because their construction is linked to the following of the *Family Rituals* (Ch. *Jia li* 家禮), the Chinese manual for the performance of cappings, weddings, funerals, ancestral rites and other standard family rituals, written by the Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhou Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200). Since the late Koryŏ period, the Confucians regarded it as the most authoritative ritual book and in the early days of the Chosŏn dynasty, it was demanded that it become the exclusive manual for funerary and ancestral rites.<sup>233</sup> The *Jia li* prescribes that the burial pit be lined with a layer of lime-based cement, made of a mixture of lime, fine sand and

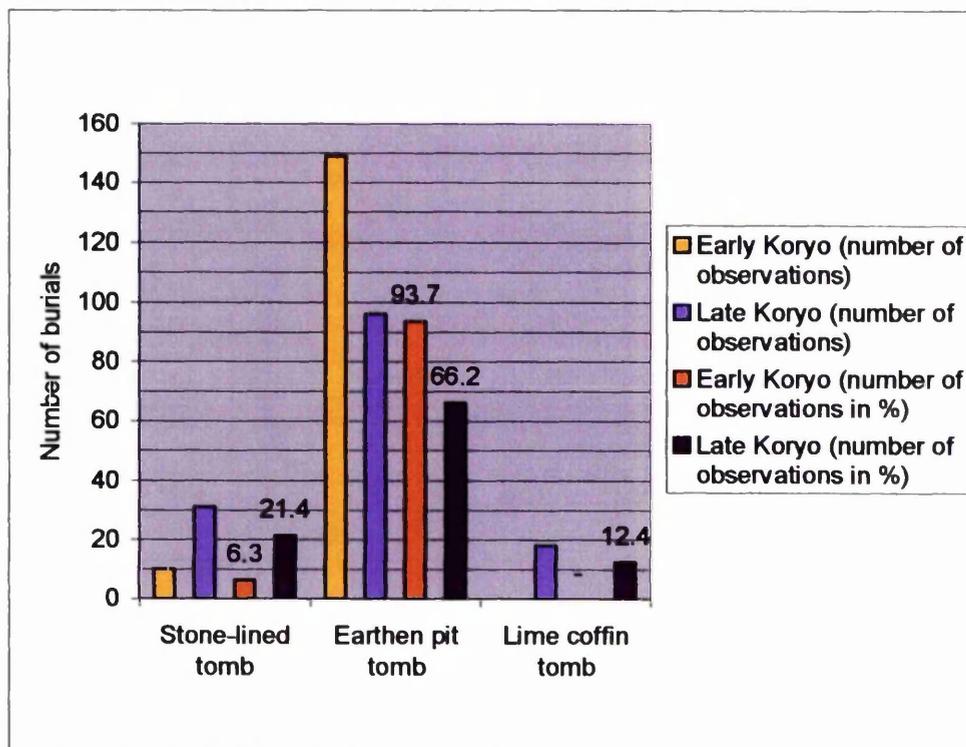
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published. It has not been possible to obtain a photograph of the mirror from grave no. 35, and the mirrors from graves nos 12 and 21 are only shown inside the burial pit.

<sup>233</sup> Martina Deuchler discusses the significance of the *Jia li* in the Chosŏn period and gives examples of how it was interpreted by the Confucians and how it was used in funerary rituals. Deuchler 1992: 172-175, 197-202.

yellow earth, in order to carefully pack the body until it decayed.<sup>234</sup> The archaeological data verifies that this type of burial construction became widespread during the Chosŏn period, though it was evidently less popular in Koryŏ.

**Table 3.4: Early and late Koryŏ burial constructions.**



Just as the use of certain grave types differed over the course of the Koryŏ period, the data shows a trend towards larger graves towards the end of the dynasty.<sup>235</sup> The average size of early Koryŏ graves is 1.22m<sup>2</sup> whereas late Koryŏ graves average 1.66m<sup>2</sup>. The largest among early Koryŏ graves is a mid-twelfth

<sup>234</sup> This mixture forms a very hard cement. Patricia Ebrey notes that graves prepared with this compound are very difficult to break open, even with the passage of time. Ebrey 1991: 107-108.

century earthen pit tomb (no. 1) from Ch'un'gungni, measuring 6m<sup>2</sup>; it contained two ceramics, an earthen ware and a white ware (Appendix, p. 517). The second largest grave is an earthen pit tomb at Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1 (no. 95), measuring 5.3m<sup>2</sup>; a bronze coin, bearing the date of AD 1098, was the only object found inside the pit (Appendix, p. 472). Apart from these unusually large graves, other sizeable early graves measure around 2.5-3 m<sup>2</sup>. In terms of late Koryŏ graves, the largest is a stone-lined tomb (no. 7) from Hyŏn'gongni at 4.44 m<sup>2</sup>,<sup>236</sup> two celadons and one earthen ware were found in the southern end of the grave, which dates from the mid to late twelfth century. There appears to be no correlation between the size and type of a grave, or the types and numbers of burial goods found inside.

### **3.6.3. Burial objects**

In the same way as changes in the types and sizes of grave constructions can be seen to have taken place over the course of the dynasty, differences are also noticeable between early and late Koryŏ graves in terms of the types and numbers of burial goods placed inside them. The types of artefacts in early and late graves will be examined to begin with, following which their quantities and the patterns behind their combinations will be analysed.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> In most cases, the length and width of the 304 graves are provided in the excavation reports. Exceptions are two early Koryŏ graves and nine late Koryŏ ones, where measurements were not available.

<sup>236</sup> It has not been possible to obtain an illustration of this grave.

<sup>237</sup> The analysis is largely based on frequency tabulations of the field data, since the nature of the material does not lend itself to dendograms and other forms of cluster analysis. The reason being that the combinations between the variables in the burial assemblages are too disparate for such treatment of the material to be useful.

It should be noted that an in-depth examination of the function and meaning of the burial goods will not be attempted here, as this would lie beyond the scope of the thesis. However, in grouping artefacts with similar functions, assumptions are necessarily made regarding the meaning of these objects. In Ian Hodder's words: "The system of categorization we choose will partly depend on [an object's] functions, but it will also involve a certain degree of subjectivity. [...] [The] hypothesis concerning function is always based on an assumption about the meaning of an object."<sup>238</sup> The typologies used here are broadly defined in order to avoid restrictive interpretations of the artefacts; no attempt was made, for example, at creating a separate category of 'ceremonial objects' since more research needs to be undertaken before such objects can be properly identified. Also, inasmuch as typologies are useful for comparative purposes, we cannot discount the possibility that some objects may have served multiple functions within the burial setting.

As detailed in table 3.5, a total of thirty-one different types of artefacts were recovered from the 304 graves. Ranging from ceramic wares and bronze hairpins to iron daggers and glass beads, the burial goods have been classified into four main groups, based on their assumed function as utilitarian objects, jewellery and weapons; a separate category for mirrors was created so that a clearer view could be gained of which types of objects they normally appear with.

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<sup>238</sup> Hodder 1986: 24.

**Table 3.5: Types of artefacts found in early and late Koryō graves.**

Bronze mirrors

1. Bronze mirror

Utilitarian objects

2. Celadon ceramic
3. Earthen ware ceramic
4. White ware ceramic
5. Koryō punch'ōng ceramic
6. Black ware ceramic
7. Bronze vessel
8. Bronze spoon
9. Bronze chopsticks
10. Iron scissors
11. Iron sickle/ farming tool

Jewellery

12. Silver hairpin
13. Bronze hairpin
14. Bronze finger ring
15. Necklace of unspecified material
16. Bead of unspecified material
17. Glass bead
18. Jade bead
19. Amber bead
20. Lacquered comb
21. Wooden comb
22. Iron belt
23. Bronze bell

Weapons

24. Bronze knife
25. Iron dagger
26. Iron arrowhead

Miscellaneous objects

27. Deer bone
28. Bronze fragment
29. Iron fragment
30. Bronze coin
31. Bronze seal

As can be seen in the table, the category of ‘miscellaneous objects’ includes items whose function cannot be determined, namely deer bones and unidentifiable bronze and iron objects that are too deteriorated to allow for complete identification. The bronze seal found in the late eleventh to early twelfth century grave at Yudongni has also been included in this group as it has not been possible to define its function within the burial setting, partly because no other graves contained a similar type of artefact. Bronze coins are also included in this category since their role within the burial setting is unclear and they do not fit into any of the three main groups of utilitarian objects, jewellery or weapons.

Utilitarian objects include ceramics, iron scissors, bronze vessels, bronze spoons and bronze chopsticks. Iron sickles are also included, since they are commonly considered to have been harvesting tools rather than weapons.<sup>239</sup> Artefacts classified as jewellery include glass, jade and amber beads, hairpins made of bronze and silver, combs of lacquer and wood, bronze finger rings, iron belts, bronze bells and necklaces made of unspecified material. Iron daggers and iron arrowheads have been classified as weapons. However, bronze knives present a typological problem, as they are likely to have served multiple functions both as weapons and as utilitarian tools used for food preparation and consumption. Basing their conclusions on ethnographic data, some scholars have

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<sup>239</sup> Kang Bong-won argues that although there is a strong possibility that sickles may have been used by infantrymen to attack mounted cavalry during the Three Kingdoms period their use as weapons was only occasional. Korean archaeologists therefore generally consider sickles to have been harvesting tools. For a discussion of the categorisation of iron sickles by Korean archaeologists, see Kang Bong-won 2000: 167.

argued that knives have largely been used as weapons,<sup>240</sup> in agreement with this, they have here been classified as weapons, thus recognising their potential role as non-utilitarian objects.

Of the thirty-one different types of artefacts identified, twenty-five were unearthed from early Koryŏ graves and twenty-six from late Koryŏ graves. As detailed in table 3.6, artefact types found in early Koryŏ graves but not in late ones are: bronze seals, bronze bells, wooden combs and silver hairpins (table 3.6a). They were excavated from three different late eleventh to twelfth century sites, namely Yudongni, Tügyunni and Kümch'öndong II-1. In contrast, the following objects were only excavated from late Koryŏ graves: lacquered combs, bronze finger rings, necklaces of unspecified material, amber beads and iron belts (table 3.6b). The objects are from five different sites dating from the late twelfth to the fourteenth century.

**Table 3.6a: Artefacts found only in early Koryŏ graves.**

Object type	Material	Grave	Date
Seal	Bronze	Yudongni	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -early 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Bell	Bronze	Kümch'öndong II-1 (no. 181) Appendix, p. 498	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century
Comb	Wood	Kümch'öndong II-1 (no. 46) Appendix, p. 456	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century
Hairpin	Silver	Yudongni Appendix, p. 444	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -early 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Hairpin	Silver	Kümch'öndong II-1 (no. 104) Appendix, p. 476	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century
Hairpin	Silver	Kümch'öndong II-1 (no. 74) Appendix, p. 465	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century
Hairpin	Silver	Kümch'öndong II-1 (no. 57) Appendix, p. 460	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century
Hairpin	Silver	Tügyunni (no. 1) Appendix, p. 440	Late 11 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> century

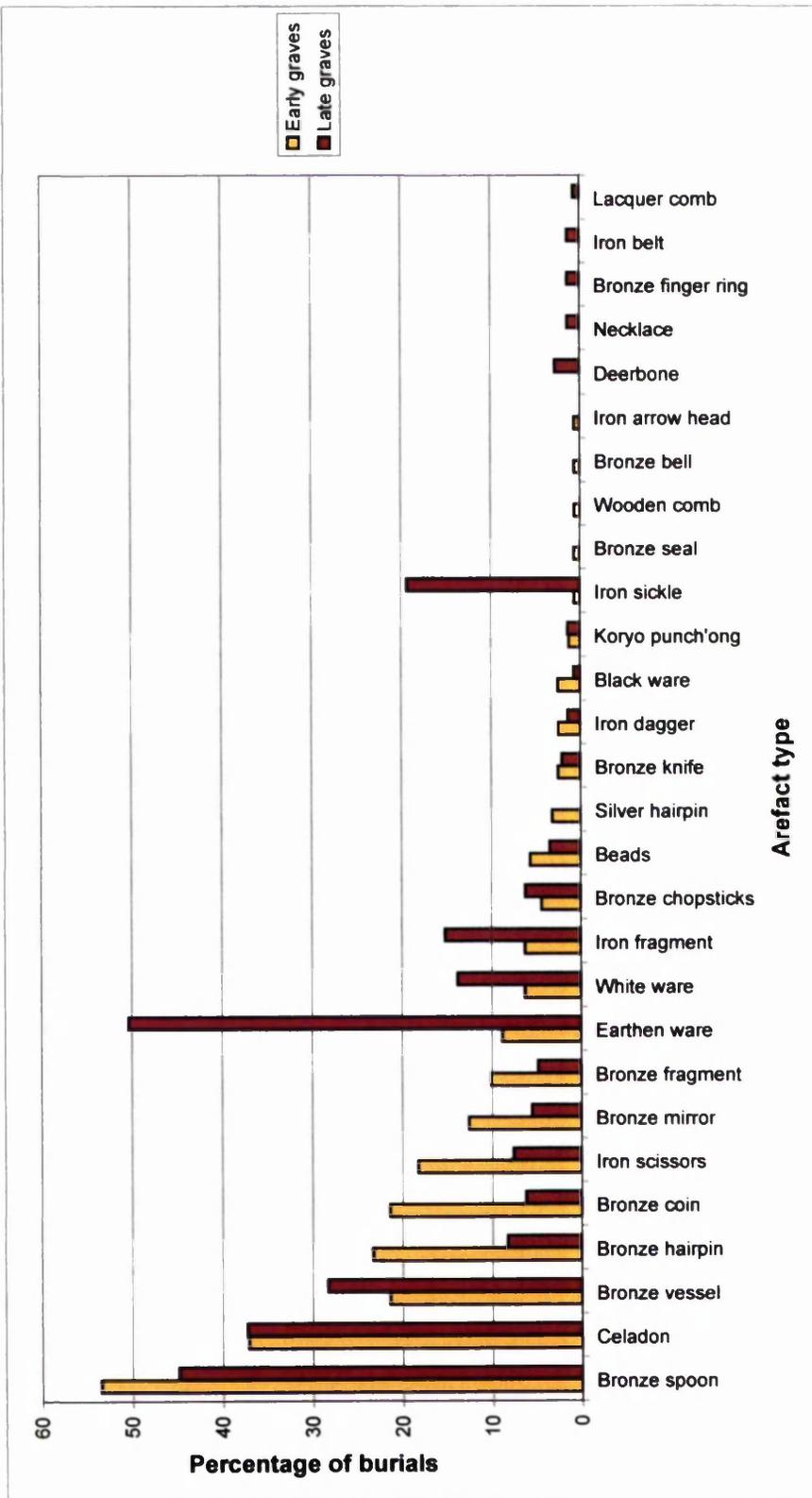
<sup>240</sup> Laffont has used ethnographic data to argue that knives have universally been used as efficient weapons. See Laffont 1966: 298. For an overview of the Korean discourse on this matter, see Kang Bong-won 2000: 155.

**Table 3.6b: Artefacts found only in late Koryŏ graves.**

Object type	Material	Grave	Date
Comb	Lacquer	Songnari (no. 1) Appendix, p. 529	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century
Finger ring	Bronze	Hyŏn'gongni (no. 3) Not illustrated	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Finger ring	Bronze	Songnari (no. 1) Appendix, p. 529	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> -13 <sup>th</sup> century
Necklace	Unspecified	Hyŏn'gongni (no. 3) Not illustrated	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Necklace	Unspecified	Hyŏn'gongni (no. 12) Appendix, p. 527	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Deer bone	Bone	Hyŏn'gongni (no. 6) Not illustrated	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Deer bone	Bone	Hyŏn'gongni (no. 10) Not illustrated	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Deer bone	Bone	Hyŏn'gongni (no. 12) Appendix, p. 527	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Deer bone	Bone	Hyŏn'gongni (no. 14) Not illustrated	Late 12 <sup>th</sup> century
Bead	Amber	Maeryongni (no. C-2) Appendix, p. 532	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century
Belt	Iron	Kŭmch'ŏndong I (no. 12) Appendix, p. 576	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century
Belt	Iron	Yongjŏngdong II (no. 137) Appendix, p. 574	13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> century

Both early and late Koryŏ graves contain an average of two to three types of grave goods in any one grave, though as mentioned above the types of objects differ. Table 3.7 details the frequency with which a specific type of artefact appears in early and late burials. For the sake of clarity, beads of different materials (glass, jade and amber) have been grouped together.

**Table 3.7: Percentage of burials with a specific artefact.**



It is clear that utilitarian objects, especially bronze spoons, celadon wares and bronze vessels, are the most common type of artefact in both early and late Koryŏ graves. Spoons are found in more than half of early burials and in 45% of late ones. Celadon wares appear in equal percentages of early and late graves, namely 37%. However, it is noteworthy that when it comes to late Koryŏ graves, celadons occur mainly in twelfth century burials. This is undoubtedly due to the decline in celadon production during the mid-thirteenth century, when Mongol invasions left many kilns in ruins and other wares, such as earthen wares and to a lesser extent white wares became popular; a trend supported by the sampled data where earthen wares are found in half of them and white wares in 14% of late Koryŏ graves. Shapes range from bowls and dishes to cups and jars, none of which are specifically indicative of ceremonial use. Any organic material they may have contained has decomposed over time. It is not uncommon to find some bowls placed upside down in the grave while others have been stacked the right way up as, for example, in grave no. 9 at the mid-eleventh century site at Chwahangni in which ceramics have been arranged in this manner in the northern and southern end of the pit (fig. 3.5). This suggests that food and liquids were not placed in the vessels at the time of burial. Early and late graves also differ significantly as to the frequency of jewellery appearing, with twice as many early graves containing pieces of jewellery, mostly in the form of bronze hairpins and beads.

In terms of materials, the biggest distinction between the two groups of graves is seen in the occurrences of bronze and iron objects that are more common in early graves, suggesting an overall decrease in metal burial goods

towards the end of the Koryŏ period. In addition to bronze spoons, frequently appearing metal artefacts in early tombs include bronze hairpins and iron scissors. Less common are weapons, silver hairpins, bronze seals and bronze bells. A considerably larger number of early graves contained bronze coins, namely 21% as opposed to only 6% of late graves, and bronze mirrors appear in twice as many early graves as in late ones. I will return to this point in the latter part of this chapter.

A total of 632 artefacts were excavated from the 159 early graves. Only 495 objects were unearthed from the 145 late Koryŏ graves. Thus, early Koryŏ graves contain on average a slightly larger number of objects than late Koryŏ burials, namely four as opposed to three to four per grave. Table 3.8 shows the relative proportions of grave goods in early and late Koryŏ graves. Utilitarian objects predominate in both early and late graves, especially in the latter where they make up 71% of the total number of objects. Among those, ceramics are the most common; bronze spoons are the second largest group of utilitarian objects, followed by bronze vessels. Non-utilitarian artefacts such as mirrors, jewellery, weapons and miscellaneous objects feature more prominently in early Koryŏ graves than in late Koryŏ ones. In particular, the occurrence of jewellery shifts significantly between early and late graves. Jewellery represents 16% of the total number of objects found in early graves. Numbers fall by a third in late graves, where jewellery adds up to a mere 5%. Finally, as mentioned above, late graves tend to contain smaller numbers of artefacts than early ones: not one late Koryŏ grave contains more than nine objects whereas some early Koryŏ ones yield more than twenty.

In both early and late Koryŏ graves, large burial assemblages are more likely to include weapons and jewellery than graves with only one or two artefacts. In early Koryŏ graves with large numbers of burial objects, it is common to find a combination of the following objects: bronze mirrors, ceramics, iron scissors, bronze spoons, bronze vessels, coins, bronze hairpins, beads and bronze or iron fragments. In the case of well-equipped late Koryŏ graves, objects tend to include bronze mirrors, ceramics, iron scissors, bronze spoons, sets of bronze chopsticks, bronze vessels and bronze hairpins. Late Koryŏ graves with only one or two objects tend to contain only ceramics, iron sickles, and occasionally a bronze spoon or a bronze hairpin. As such, not only do they yield a smaller number of bronze wares but also a lesser variety of different types of objects than in the case of early Koryŏ graves. Several pieces of ceramics are often excavated from a grave whereas no more than one of the following objects is found: mirrors, spoons, scissors, hairpins and weapons. This suggests that these artefacts occupied a specific role within the burial setting, probably due to their function and material value.

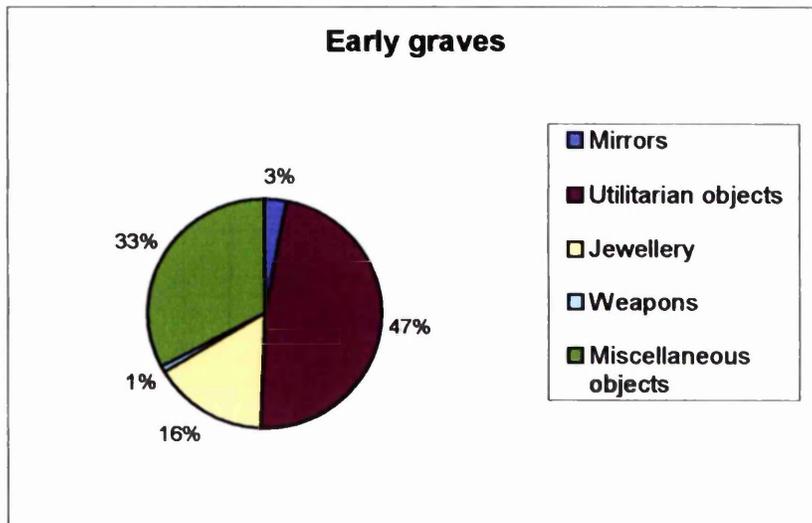
Very little precious metal was recovered from the graves in the sample. They contained no gold artefacts and only six silver objects in the form of hairpins were found, all from early Koryŏ graves. After ceramics, bronze is the most frequently occurring material in both early and late Koryŏ graves, commonly appearing in the form of spoons and vessels. Bronze artefacts are more prevalent in early Koryŏ graves than in late ones, amounting to 60% of all early artefacts in contrast to only 36% of late Koryŏ ones. It is not uncommon to find different types of bronze artefacts in poorly equipped early graves.

However, only spoons or vessels are found in late Koryŏ graves with one or two artefacts, indicating a more restricted use of bronze items at this time. Bronze clearly became an increasingly rare commodity towards the end of the dynasty, possibly due to the invasions and the subsequent conquest of Korea by the Mongols in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These factors are believed to have had a devastating impact on the production of celadon ceramics and it can be assumed that they also affected the output of metal wares. Moreover, the Yuan court demanded that payments of tribute in the form of gold, silver, cloth, grain, ginseng and falcons among other items, were made by the Koreans, leaving the country seriously depleted of raw materials.

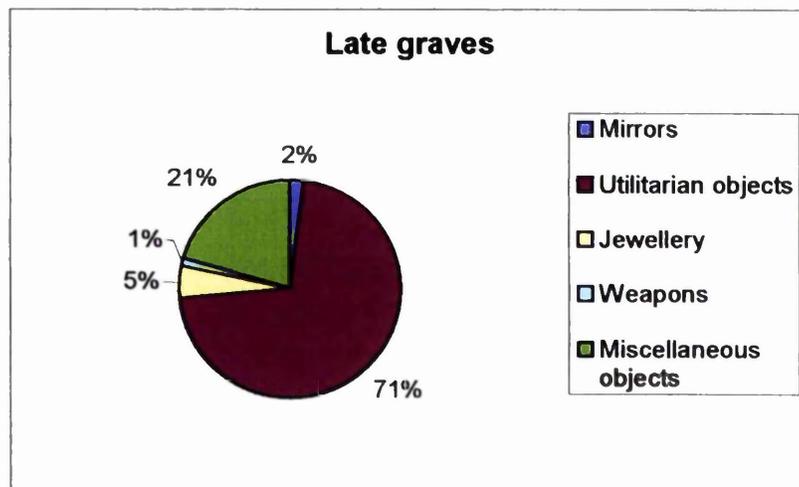
So far the general characteristics of the sampled data were outlined, firstly in terms of grave construction and size, secondly in relation to burial objects. In doing so, early Koryŏ graves were compared to late Koryŏ ones and the following conclusions were reached: The sampled graves have been seen to comprise three different types of constructions, namely stone lined tombs, earthen pit tombs and lime-coffin tombs. More than half of both early and late graves have been found to be earthen pit tombs. And there seems to be no correlation between grave type and the type and number of grave goods found within. Early Koryŏ graves differ from late Koryŏ ones in terms of the type and the number of burial goods found. Early graves tend to contain more burial goods and a wider variety of artefact types. Although a larger number of ceramic wares have been unearthed from late graves, objects of bronze and iron, such as jewellery, weapons and mirrors, appear in smaller quantities. Some bronze wares appear to be associated with rich burials. Bronze knives, for example, only

appear in early and late graves with relatively large numbers of burial goods, suggesting that their use was reserved for those granted elaborate burials. In the following section I will assess whether the same can be said for bronze mirrors.

**Table 3.8a: Relative occurrence of grave goods in early Koryō graves.**  
**Number of grave goods = 632.**



**Table 3.8b: Relative occurrence of grave goods in late Koryō graves.**  
**Number of grave goods = 495.**



### **3.7. Analysis of graves with mirrors**

In the previous section, broad trends in early and late burials within the sample of 304 graves were established. In order to understand how mirrors were used within the funerary setting, this section will focus on graves with mirrors by highlighting their general characteristics and comparing them to other Koryŏ graves.

Mirrors do not make up a large percentage of the total number of grave goods found (only 2.5%), which could suggest either that they did not occupy a significant role within the funerary setting, or that they were precious objects only to be used by a selected few. As will be demonstrated below, the latter hypothesis seems to be more plausible.

The majority of the mirrors in the sampled data have been found in early Koryŏ graves, twenty as opposed to only eight from late Koryŏ burials. Details of the graves in which mirrors have been found and of the artefacts they were placed alongside with can be seen in tables 3.9 and 3.10. The graves have first been arranged chronologically, then according to the number of grave goods.

From the tables, it is clear that graves with mirrors normally yield more burial goods than usual. As discussed above, the average number of artefacts found in early and late Koryŏ graves is between three and four pieces. Graves with mirrors, on the other hand, contain on average eight to nine artefacts. They also tend to contain a wider variety of burial goods, namely four to five different types in early graves and five to six in late ones. In contrast, the average number of artefact types found in both early and late graves is only between two and three.

Table 3.9: Early graves with mirrors.

Types of grave constructions and burial objects	Grave sites, arranged chronologically, thereafter according to number of artefacts	Artefacts per grave																														
		celadon	earthen ware	white ware	punch'ong	black ware	bronze vessel	bronze spoon	set of bronze chopsticks	iron scissors	sickle iron/ farming tool,	silver hairpin	bronze hairpin	bronze finger ring	necklace of unspecified mat	bead of unspecified mat	glass bead	jade bead	amber bead	lacquered comb	wooden comb	iron belt	bronze bell	bronze knife	iron dagger	iron arrow head	deer bone	bronze fragment	iron fragment	bronze coin	bronze seal	Artifacts per grave
	Chibongni Yongdonggun, no. 1-2	1	6																													10
	Chwhahangni Yongin gun, no. 9	1	3	2	3																											11
	Yudongni Muju		1	1	1																											11
	Kumch'ondong II-1-46																															42
	Kumch'ondong II-1-207																															20
	Kumch'ondong II-1-111																															1
	Kumch'ondong II-1-62																															10
	Kumch'ondong II-1-55																															5
	Kumch'ondong II-1-181																															10
	Kumch'ondong II-1-57																															9
	Kumch'ondong II-1-58																															4
	Kumch'ondong II-1-90																															6
	Kumch'ondong II-1-89																															10
	Kumch'ondong II-2-16																															5
	Kumch'ondong II-1-99																															4
	Kumch'ondong II-1-130																															4
	Kumch'ondong II-1-38																															3
	Kumch'ondong II-1-157																															2
	Kumch'ondong II-1-96																															2
	Kumch'ondong II-1-19																															1
	<b>TOTAL GRAVE CONSTRUCTIONS</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>69</b>	
	<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF ARTEFACTS</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>171</b>	



**Table 3.11: Artefact combinations**

Total number of graves = 304	Early Koryŏ graves (total of 159)	Late Koryŏ graves (total of 145)	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Number of graves with:</b>			
Mirrors	20	8	<b>28</b>
Mirror and ceramics	10	6	<b>16</b>
Mirror and spoon and/or chopstick	9	2	<b>11</b>
Mirror and iron scissors	9	5	<b>14</b>
Mirror and jewellery	11	6	<b>17</b>
Mirror and weapons	1	2	<b>3</b>
Mirror only	2	0	<b>2</b>
<b>Number of graves with:</b>			
Ceramics	77	99	<b>176</b>
Spoon and/or chopstick	85	65	<b>150</b>
Scissors	29	11	<b>40</b>
Jewellery	48	21	<b>69</b>
Weapons	8	5	<b>13</b>
No objects	3	22	<b>25</b>

It is difficult to clearly establish alongside which types of artefacts mirrors most often appear, as there are few discernible patterns behind the combinations of grave goods. However, as can be deduced from table 3.11, graves with mirrors also tend to contain utilitarian objects, especially ceramics, bronze spoons and iron scissors. This in itself is not surprising considering the strong presence of such items in the 304 graves examined. I have demonstrated above that jewellery and especially weapons tend to come from rich burials, suggesting that such pieces were predominantly associated with high social status. Sixty-four per cent of graves with mirrors contain jewellery and/or weapons, reinforcing the assumption that mirrors are predominantly found in graves belonging to individuals of high rather than low social status. Jewellery in particular is frequently seen in graves with mirrors: more than half of early

graves with mirrors and six out of the eight late ones include a piece of jewellery.

Further clues as to the role mirrors played in Koryŏ graves may lie in the positioning of the mirror within the grave and its proximity to other grave goods. As already mentioned, it is rarely possible to establish where the mirror was placed in relation to the body, since organic material seldom survives in Koryŏ graves and skeletal remains are therefore uncommon. Among the twenty-eight graves examined, only three contained bodies, namely two stone-coffin tombs at Hyŏn'gongni (nos 12 and 21) and a lime-coffin tomb at Songnari (no. 1) (figs 3.10a-b and 3.11). In both of the Hyŏn'gongni graves, the mirrors appear to have been found near the feet of the dead, whereas in the Songnari grave the mirror was above the head of the deceased woman. Though not clearly stated in the Hyŏn'gongni excavation report, it appears from photographs that scissors were placed on top of the mirrors. In the case of the grave at Songnari, a comb was found on top of the mirror (fig. 3.12), and the scissors were found close to the right hand of the deceased.

Koryŏ graves do not follow a fixed directional axis, undoubtedly due to their location having been selected according to geomantic principles.<sup>241</sup> The most auspicious choice of location would depend on the topographical features of the individual burial site as prescribed by geomantic theories, and the

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<sup>241</sup> The most favourable location was on a south-facing hill protected by mountains on the northern, western and eastern sides and with water flowing through the plain in the front. This is how many royal tombs were positioned. For details of how selected Koryŏ royal tombs are situated in the landscape, see Chŏsen Sŏtokufu 1916. The geomantic theories behind the choosing of Koryŏ royal tomb sites are briefly discussed by Murayama 1990: 385-388. For an interesting cross-cultural examination of the

directional axis would therefore differ accordingly from grave to grave. This would also affect how the corpse was placed in the burial pit. Thus, in the absence of organic material and purely on the basis of the grave goods, it is impossible to estimate how they were placed in relation to the body. In the case of mirrors, it is only possible to assess how they were placed in relation to other grave goods.

There seems to have been few rules as to how, where and with which objects mirrors were placed. Mirrors are to be found with their reflective surfaces facing either upwards or downwards, indicating that their placement was of little significance. As for their location, they are just as likely to be found in the middle as in either end of a grave. In some cases they are situated underneath other grave goods, in other instances they are found on their own. When are they found below or next to artefacts, these tend to be combs, iron scissors, jewellery, bronze spoons and/or ceramics. At Chibongni, for example, a pair of iron scissors was placed on top of the mirror which was located in the southern part of the grave, whereas ceramics and a bronze spoon were found in the northern part (figs 3.4a-b). In the case of the above-mentioned lime-coffin tomb at Songnari, a lacquered comb was placed on top of the mirror (fig. 3.12). This position was not unusual as indicated by imprints of combs on several Koryŏ mirrors in museum collections (fig. 3.13).

Judging from the archaeological evidence, the ways in which mirrors were used as burial goods changed little during the course of the Koryŏ kingdom. In

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significance of grave orientation with particular focus on second century cemeteries in Somerset, England, see Rahtz 1978.

Chapter 2 it was demonstrated that mirrors were exclusively placed in burials of elite members of society and it appears that this continued in the Koryŏ period. Throughout the course of the dynasty, not only are the numbers and variety of burial goods found alongside mirrors larger than in graves without them, but the types of artefacts they were placed alongside with are frequently prestige goods indicative of high social status, such as weapons and jewellery.

In Chapter 1, section 1.1.1, it was pointed out that mirrors in burials have frequently been interpreted as indications of the interred being female. Combs and jewellery found alongside mirrors, traditionally perceived as women's objects, have strengthened this argument. However, there is no concrete evidence of any of the above objects being gender specific. Due to the lack of skeletal remains in most Koryŏ graves no such assumption can be verified. Moreover, the link of mirrors to female burials is weakened by the appearance of mirrors near objects traditionally considered male, such as weapons, as well as ceramics and eating utensils which are not openly suggestive of gender. Finally, if during the Koryŏ period bronze mirrors were placed predominantly in women's burials, it would have been a marked departure from the practice of earlier periods, when they were found in tombs of men as well as of women.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.2, Chinese mirrors of the Song, Liao and Jin dynasties were associated with the reflection of light. This was an important stimulus for attaching them to the ceilings of tomb chambers from where it was believed that they would light up the interior. A mirror was, for example, discovered in the ceiling of a Liao tomb at Xiabali 下八里 in Xuanhua

宣化, Hebei province, dating to AD 1113 (fig. 3.14).<sup>242</sup> Were Koryŏ mirrors to perform a similar function, a consistent and clear pattern of positioning within the graves, both in terms of where and how they were placed, would be expected. As this is not the case, it must be assumed that their function was less associated with reflection and more with their symbolic roles. Regarding the mirrors placed in pagoda relic chambers discussed below, there is no doubt that they performed tasks removed from their secular use as reflectors. Similarly, rather than arguing that the domestic function of mirrors continued within the burial setting, I believe that their symbolic roles were more crucial in a funerary context and that they were pertinent to men and women alike.

### **3.8. Mirrors from pagodas**

In addition to the above-mentioned mirrors excavated from grave sites, other mirrors from known Koryŏ dynasty contexts comprise those found in pagoda relic deposits. They include the Kwangju western five-storey stone pagoda 光州西五層石塔 and the Naegyeri five-storey stone pagoda 內溪里五層石塔, both in South Chŏlla province, and the nine-storey octagonal stone pagoda 八角九層石塔 at Wŏlchŏngsa 月精寺 in Kangwŏn province 江原道. As the

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<sup>242</sup> For further details on the Xiabali tomb, see Zhangjiakou 1990: 1-19. Four mirrors were also excavated from a Northern Song tomb in Mangshan 芒山, Henan 河南 province. One had originally been attached to the ceiling of the burial chamber, as suggested by the head of an iron nail located inside its knob. The nail had been used to fasten the mirror to a hook in the central part of the domed ceiling. The mirror is circular, measures 24.6cm in diameter and is decorated with two curling dragons. For details of this tomb, see Luoyang 1992. For a comparison of this tomb with other Song tombs, where mirrors were found in the ceilings of the tomb chambers, see Schulten 2000: 165-170.

excavations of these sites have not been recorded in detail, the following is a preliminary introduction to and discussion of the material.

The five-storey stone pagoda at Kwangju is the earliest of the three sites and dates to the tenth century. Measuring 7m in height, the pagoda follows Silla prototypes in its shape and construction. When excavated in 1961 a square relic chamber was found above the second roof (fig. 3.15). It sheltered a gilt-bronze shrine decorated with Buddha figures and the Four Heavenly Guardians (fig. 3.16). Inside, a silver bowl with the relic rested on a lotus shaped stand. In the chamber were also a circular mirror, a Buddhist manuscript, several beads and a woven pouch with pearls. Measuring around 9cm in diameter, the mirror is devoid of decoration.<sup>243</sup> It stood propped against the relic shrine, thus paralleling the position of the mirrors in the Sŏkkat'ap relic chamber, discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.5.3.5, and those found in the Wŏlchŏngsa pagoda, suggesting this location had a specific significance in relation to the roles mirrors played in relic deposits.

Wŏlchŏngsa temple was erected in AD 645 under the instruction of the Vinaya Master Chajang 慈藏律師 and continued to be active during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods.<sup>244</sup> The 15.5m tall pagoda dates between the eleventh and the twelfth century. When excavated in 1970, a round relic chamber measuring 32cm in diameter and 19cm in depth was discovered on top of the first storey. The deposit contained among other artefacts a bronze bowl with relics and

<sup>243</sup> The excavation of the pagoda has been published in a brief article by Chin Hong-sŏp 1962. It has not been possible to obtain an illustration of the mirror.

<sup>244</sup> Chajang was a highly influential monk during the Silla period who was appointed Chief Abbot of State. His birth and death dates are unknown. Lee Ki-baik 1984: 60.

surrounding it were four mirrors – the largest number of mirrors within any Korean relic deposit (figs 3.17-3.18).<sup>245</sup>

Decorated with two dragons (fig. 3.18c), the largest of the four mirrors stood on the southern side, on the north was a mirror with a wave motif (fig. 3.18a), a plain mirror was on the east (fig. 3.18b), and on the west stood a mirror decorated with mythical animals and an inscription, which reads (fig. 3.18d):

光流素月	Brightness flowing like moonlight
質稟玄精	By nature it is dark and refined.
澄空鑿水	Clear emptiness like reflection in water,
照迥疑清	Shining differently, as though it were liquid.
結古永固	Connected to antiquity, ever stable
瑩此心靈	Shining with innate magic. <sup>246</sup>

In its shape, inscription and decoration the western mirror initially resembles those of the mid-Tang period. However, the undecorated knob and the poor casting of the figures suggest that it must be a Koryŏ copy.<sup>247</sup> Also the other mirrors in the deposit are of Korean make.

The third Koryŏ relic chamber with mirrors is from the five-storey pagoda at Naegyeri. Though excavated in 1993 a report is yet to be published. As a result it has neither been possible to establish the exact date of the pagoda, nor ascertain the nature of the relics and their position. Two small bronze mirrors

<sup>245</sup> The bowl contained a smaller lidded bowl of silver, a gilt-bronze sutra box and fragments of incense. Inside the silver bowl were a crystal bottle and a sutra written in black ink on mulberry paper.

<sup>246</sup> I am grateful to Professor Roderick Whitfield for his assistance in translating this inscription.

<sup>247</sup> For a report of the excavation of the pagoda and a discussion of the objects found in the relic chamber, see Hong Sa-jun 1971.

were found; one appears to be a copy of a Tang 'animal and grapevine' mirror, the other is a plain circular example (fig. 3.19).<sup>248</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 2, Kang U-bang has argued that mirrors were used as *chijin 'gu* and *chindan 'gu*, placed in the relic chamber as offerings to the site and the pagoda. However, this proposition ignores the Buddhist symbolism inherent to mirrors, their position in the deposit and their frequent lack of decoration. Koryŏ society was founded on Buddhist thoughts and principles, and there can be no doubt that the many metaphorical references to mirrors in Buddhist texts were well-known to the monks who performed the rituals for the consecration of a pagoda, and they must have influenced the selecting and placing of mirrors in the deposits. As in pre-Koryŏ times, many of the mirrors found in the relic chambers are devoid of decoration, thus embodying the notion of clarity. Mirrors arguably symbolised the most basic and significant concepts within Buddhism, namely purity of thought and emptiness of the mind. Their reflective qualities are also frequently alluded to in Buddhist writings since a shiny, dust free surface is likened to an enlightened state of being. The bronze surfaces of mirrors had to be regularly polished to maintain their lustre. Similarly, as a tarnished surface is unable to clearly reflect, so is the uninformed unable to perceive the world without prejudice.<sup>249</sup>

The fact that the inscription on the Wŏlchŏngsa mirror refers to the concepts of brightness, clarity, emptiness and lustre cannot be coincidental and

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<sup>248</sup> Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 111-112.

<sup>249</sup> Demiéville 1987: 24.

is likely to have enhanced the Buddhist attributes of the mirror. Judging from their position inside the relic chamber, the mirrors also seem to have been imbued with apotropaic powers as they also appear to protect the relic from evil. As will be demonstrated in the following chapter, similar notions of auspiciousness may have been strong influences in the use of mirrors as funerary goods.

### **3.9. Conclusion**

This chapter set out to examine the known contexts within which mirrors were used during the Koryō kingdom. In the lack of other contextual material, the only viable way of addressing this was within the framework of funerary customs and rituals for the enshrinement of Buddhist relics. Three relic chambers and 304 burials from nineteen sites, dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, formed the basis of the analysis.

In order to get an accurate picture of how mirrors fitted into this context, it was necessary to limit the research to intact graves, hence the relatively small size of the sampled material. In the assumption that burial assemblages, in the form of grave construction and numbers and types of grave goods, change over time, the graves were placed into two broad time-frames based on major historical events. One hundred and fifty-nine of the graves belong to the first half of the Koryō rule, from the eleventh to the mid-twelfth century, while the remaining 145 date to the latter half of the period, from the end of the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century.

Early Koryŏ graves were found to be different from their later counterparts, both in terms of their construction and grave goods, and the practice of placing mirrors in graves was viewed within this context. Firstly, stone-lined tombs seem to have been more popular in the first half of the Koryŏ period than in the latter half, where they were only used at the late twelfth century site at Hyŏn'gongni. Lime-coffin tombs, on the other hand, are not present in any of the early Koryŏ sites, but became more popular towards the end of the dynasty. The reason behind this must be attributed to the increase in Confucian style burial practices, which advocated the use of this type of construction. The number and types of burial goods placed in these kinds of graves do not, however, differ from earthen pit and stone-lined tombs, suggesting that the Confucians' discouragement of lavish burials and their protocol of burying miniature objects rather than life-sized ones, evidently did not take hold until the Chosŏn dynasty. Secondly, early Koryŏ graves contain on average a slightly larger number of burial goods than their later counterparts. Thirdly, the number of metal wares placed in the graves also decreases proportionally over time, especially with regards to bronze and silver artefacts.

As for mirrors, they have been found in all of the three different types of burial constructions that feature in the sample, suggesting that they are not linked to a specific type of structure. They appear more frequently in richly furnished than in modestly equipped early graves, and are only seen in well-equipped late ones. This suggests that their use was linked to social standing, as further indicated by the kinds of objects they were found together with.

Utilitarian objects are the most frequently occurring type of burial good in both

early and late graves, and mirrors were often placed alongside them. Other categories of artefacts, notably weapons and jewellery, are also associated with mirrors, but such cases are much more frequent in early than in late Koryŏ graves. This echoes the trend to decrease the number of jewellery and weapons in the late period. There seems to be no clear pattern as to where and how mirrors were placed in the graves, though they appear frequently alongside utilitarian objects, especially ceramics, iron scissors and bronze spoons. In some cases, however, they are positioned with hairpins and combs. Similarly, they are just as likely to have been placed with the reflective side downwards as upwards.

Though mirrors are not as prevalent in late Koryŏ graves as in early ones, I do not believe this indicates that they became less valued as burial items, as it coincides with the overall decrease in burial objects of iron, bronze, and especially silver towards the end of the Koryŏ rule. As already mentioned, this is more likely to have been caused by the depletion of Korea's natural resources by the Mongols than by a change in funerary practices. Moreover, their use in pagoda relic chambers clearly indicates that they were valued as ritual objects.

Pertinent to this chapter was the question of whether the use of mirrors was associated with social status. References were made to studies demonstrating that variations within funerary practices tend to be determined by social organisation, as expressed in the size and splendour of burials. The archaeological material shows that mirrors tend to be found in well-equipped graves with a larger number and a bigger variety of goods. But who were the interred? None of the graves are located near the capital of Kaesŏng, where members of the royal family and high-ranking officeholders in the central

government were normally buried. Instead the majority of graves with mirrors are near important administrative and population centres in the southern half of the peninsula, namely Chŏnju 全州,<sup>250</sup> Ch'ŏngju, Ch'ungju and Seoul. These regional centres had a significant place in Koryŏ history as politically strategic locations and as homes to powerful local strongman families and influential aristocratic descent groups. From this viewpoint, it is possible that well-furnished graves in the sampled data contained the remains of such people.

Thus, we may conclude that mirrors are likely to be associated with graves of high rather than low-ranking people, buried with as many objects as they could afford, especially metal wares. It seems likely that provincial funerary customs were governed by a conscious effort to emulate those of the royal and aristocratic families in the capital through the placing of similar types of goods in a grave. This argument becomes all the more pertinent when we consider that the law did not allow those outside the central aristocracy to inter their dead in stone chamber tombs, as they could only be used by a relatively small select social group. As a result, one of the only ways of imitating elite burial customs was in the use of similar burial artefacts.

Due to the lack of detailed excavations of relic chambers with mirrors, the last part of this chapter mainly served to demonstrate that not only did the placement of mirrors in pagodas continue in the Koryŏ period, but that it functioned alongside the burying of mirrors in graves and the use of them in everyday life. Although a mirror was used in a domestic setting, this function did not necessarily influence its role outside the secular sphere. Mirrors served

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<sup>250</sup> Chŏnju was the seat of nine prefectures and counties. See Duncan 2000: 292.

multiple functions in Koryŏ society, both as secular and as ritual objects. In the following chapter I will look closer at the roles they played and assess how they operated within different social contexts through an assessment of their formal qualities, in other words their shapes, sizes and motifs.

## Chapter 4

### Meaningful Commodities

#### – a social reading of mirror iconography

*When symbols are understood, words can be forgotten... When ideas are understood, symbols can be forgotten.*<sup>251</sup>

Wang Bi 王弼 (AD 226-250)

#### 4.1. Introduction

Under the patronage of the royal court, the Koryō kingdom witnessed a flourishing production of decorative arts, including celadon ceramics, textiles, paintings and bronze wares. Many bronze objects, such as bells, gongs, incense burners and (Sk.) *kundika*, were made for Buddhist temples. Others, in particular spoons, chopsticks and vessels, were for domestic use. The casting of bronze mirrors increased significantly as well, bringing with it new styles, shapes and designs.

As is customary for bronze mirrors, those of the Koryō period are plain on the one side, thus allowing for reflection, but are in most cases decorated on the other. In contrast to earlier mirrors which were predominantly circular, Koryō ones were cast in a wide spectrum of sizes and geometric and natural shapes,

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<sup>251</sup> Siggstedt 1999: 28.

such as circles, squares,<sup>252</sup> flowers, clouds and bells (fig. 4.1). Typical of Koryō mirrors is their large array of different motifs encompassing pictorial subject matter as well as stylised flower, bird and animal patterns. Many show a strong influence of Chinese and Japanese mirror designs, which were either directly copied or modified to suit Koryō taste and traditions.

The production of mirrors clearly underwent a transformation in the Koryō period as manifested in the mirrors' stylistic variables – their shapes, sizes and in particular their motifs. In this chapter these variables will be analysed in order to assess the roles they played in society at this time. To date, studies on Koryō mirrors have not examined the possible associations between the iconography of mirror designs and the functions of the objects as ritual artefacts, collectibles, gifts and trade merchandise. These roles or 'social lives', to use a phrase by Arjun Appadurai,<sup>253</sup> are not necessarily mutually exclusive and over a length of time a mirror is likely to have functioned under one or more such guises. It can also be argued that it is precisely these social lives that have continuously given value – commercial as well as symbolic – to mirrors.

The large variety of motifs, shapes and sizes of mirrors suggests that the manufacturing process was not restricted by a lack of imagination or creativity on behalf of the craftspeople producing the objects. Yet, judging from mirrors found at the sites discussed in Chapter 3 and examples from museum collections, it is apparent that certain motifs are more prominent than others and

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<sup>252</sup> Though not as prevalent as circular ones, square mirrors are not uncommon during this period when they were decorated with a variety of motifs, ranging from floral scrolls to bird designs.

<sup>253</sup> Appadurai 1986: 3.

that some patterns appear only on particular types of mirrors, indicating that specific regulations and social concerns dictated mirror production and use. This chapter will assess the possible reasons for this by focusing on the making and consumption of mirrors and by considering the factors that lay behind a mirror of a particular shape and design being used in a specific way.<sup>254</sup> Focusing on principal mirror types, mirrors will be viewed as symbols of social status, as collectibles and as objects for secular and ritual use.

The following analysis incorporates mirrors of provenances both known and unknown. The former includes examples from the burials and pagodas examined in Chapter 3 as well as mirrors excavated from disturbed Koryō graves, since their uses as well as approximate dates are known.<sup>255</sup> The latter comprises selected examples from the several hundred pieces in museum collections in Korea, Japan, Europe and the United States of America. In most cases their origins are not detailed and they are simply dated as ‘Koryō’.

#### **4.2. Production**

During the Koryō dynasty rules were laid down as to which clothes, accessories and objects each social class could use and wear in order to make sure that subjects behaved and dressed according to their social standing. Such sumptuary laws were facilitated by the establishment of government-regulated workshops

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<sup>254</sup> This argument is based on that of Arjun Appadurai who has demonstrated that the consumption of objects is largely based on active rather than passive choices made by the consumer at a specific point in time. In this way, the meaning attributed to things derives from human transactions and motivations and it is these ‘life histories’ that give things value. A similar view is presented by Craig Clunas who focuses on how ‘things’ were consumed (as opposed to ‘produced’) in Ming China. See Clunas 2004.

which were subject to official control, since under this system, the products that were made and their consumers could be regulated more easily.

The making of crafts<sup>256</sup> thus flourished as an efficient government-run industry as well as a private one. In the capital of Kaesŏng, specialised workshops (K. *kongjang* 工匠) produced either wares of specific materials, such as stone, silk or lacquer, or made certain goods, including mirrors, knives, bows and writing brushes. All such workshops operated under the control of a government office. Those producing embroidery, hats and shoes, for example, were administered by the Bureau of Clothing (K. *Sangŭiguk* 尙衣國).<sup>257</sup>

In the capital, the Office for Metalworking (K. *Changyasŏ* 掌冶署) controlled eleven workshops which predominantly specialised in producing artefacts of specific metals, such as silver, bronze, and ‘white copper’ (K. *paektong* 白銅).<sup>258</sup> Since it is not detailed which kinds of objects were made in these workshops, it must be presumed that a wide variety was produced as opposed to a few select types. Unusually, a workshop specialising in the casting of mirrors (K. *kyŏngjang* 鏡匠), also managed by the Office for Metalworking, stands out as being the only one making a specific type of object,<sup>259</sup> thus

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<sup>255</sup> Disturbed graves comprise looted and/or damaged ones.

<sup>256</sup> It should be noted that the Koryŏ concept of craft 匠 differs from its modern interpretation as it encompasses a wider variety of artefacts and skills, ranging from the making of architectural constructions to the breeding of horses and the cultivation of flowers. Hong Sŭng-gi 2001: 185. See also Hong Sŭng-gi 1975.

<sup>257</sup> *Koryŏsa* 80: 1a-15b.

<sup>258</sup> *Paektong* is an alloy of copper and nickel, which sometimes also contained zinc. The nickel served to make the copper soft and thus easier to hammer. In Korea it was produced already in the Three Kingdoms period when it was frequently used for the casting of bells. See Jeon Sang-woon 1974: 252-254.

<sup>259</sup> *Koryŏsa* 80: 14b.

suggesting that mirrors were not only cast in significant numbers, but also that their production was subject to government control. This must have had a significant impact on mirror production and use in the Koryŏ period. The official workshop is likely to have attracted only the best craftsmen with the skills to produce high-quality artefacts. Moreover, being subject to government control, the production of the objects would have been closely monitored, ensuring a persistently high standard of production.

This is clearly demonstrated in the case of a large mirror with an intricately executed decoration of ducks among floral sprays with an inscription stating that it was cast by the master craftsman Kŭm Hyŏ 金叶 in a government workshop: 高麗國鏡匠金叶造 (K. *Koryŏguk kyŏngjang kŭmhyŏjo*) (fig. 4.2). Its weight of 1.425kg and its elaborate decoration suggests it was made for a high-ranking member of society who could afford it and was allowed such an item of luxury. Other inscriptions are less detailed and simply confirm the Koryŏ provenance of the mirrors. Two examples, now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea, are reported to have been found within the vicinity of Kaesŏng. Their backs are cast with scrolls and a rectangle with the following characters: 高麗國造 (K. *Koryŏgukcho*) (fig. 4.3). The inscription literally means “made in Koryŏ”, suggesting that they were also produced in a government-run workshop. It should be noted that as these inscriptions are relatively rare, it appears that mirrors cast in the official workshop were not always inscribed.

The diversity in quality and types of mirrors made at this time suggests that their manufacture was not only confined to the government *kyōngjang*, but that they were also made in other workshops, most likely run by private craftspeople in craft centres located in the countryside (K. *so* 所).<sup>260</sup> These craft centres were administrative units assigned to the manufacture of specific products, such as paper, thread, coal and salt.<sup>261</sup> Other groups of skilled workers included those working in temples (K. *sūngjang* 僧匠) making bells, gongs and incense vessels, though little is known about how they operated. Ch'oe Ŭng-ch'ōn suggests that they may have had the same official titles as government craftspeople.<sup>262</sup> Temple and private artisans may at times have worked together as suggested by an inscription on a bronze bell at Sōnaksa temple 仙岳寺, dated to 1066.<sup>263</sup>

The crafts industry flourished during the early and mid Koryō period. However, the Mongol invasions of the mid-thirteenth century devastated the country bringing the crafts industry into decline at the same time. Many artisans abandoned their profession and began toiling the land. It seems that the shortage of skilled workers was so acute that when, in 1346, Yōnboksa temple 演福寺 in Kaesōng wanted to cast six bells, no local craftspeople could be found, and

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<sup>260</sup> Private craftspeople are often recorded simply as *chang* 匠 or *changin* 匠人. Ch'oe Ŭng-ch'ōn 2004: 173.

<sup>261</sup> Pak Yong-un 1996b: 142-142, 244. For a discussion of bronze bells and other inscribed metal wares made by private craftspeople, see Ch'oe Ŭng-ch'ōn 2004: 173-175.

<sup>262</sup> Ch'oe Ŭng-ch'ōn 2004: 178-179.

<sup>263</sup> The inscription reads: 匠口口口 “craftsperson [...]” and 鑄匠棟梁僧鏡珍 “cast by the Master Priest Kyōngjin”, indicating a collaboration between two different craftspeople, one of them being a Buddhist monk. Ch'oe Ŭng-ch'ōn 2004: 179.

instead artisans from China were invited to carry out the work.<sup>264</sup> The decline in bronze production is also reflected in the scarcity of bronze burial goods, including mirrors, towards to the end of the Koryŏ period, as discussed in Chapter 3.

#### **4.3. Patronage**

It is difficult to reconstruct the complex relationship between patronage and mirror production due to the lack of written and archaeological evidence. In contrast to Chinese mirrors, Koryŏ ones are less likely to carry inscriptions detailing when, where and for whom they were cast. As argued in the previous section, some mirrors were made in a government-run workshop by craftspeople whose products were subject to official control. It must be assumed that the mirrors made under these circumstances were not available to all, and smaller and invariably cheaper mirrors would have been manufactured for those unable to afford a better artefact. This assumption is corroborated by the large range of mirrors of different shapes, sizes and motifs; in terms of their size, for example, Koryŏ mirrors range in weight from 34gr to over 2kg.<sup>265</sup> Moreover, it seems that certain motifs appear solely on large, heavy mirrors whereas other patterns are only seen on smaller and lighter ones, suggesting a correlation between the size of a mirror, its decoration and its owner. We may also note that only large

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<sup>264</sup> Ch'oe Ŭng-ch'ŏn 2004: 180.

<sup>265</sup> In March 1998, I assisted Chu Kyŏng-mi in measuring and weighing a large selection of mirrors in the collection of Seoul National University Museum. The 114 mirrors examined spanned in diameter from 5.8cm to 29.7cm and weighed between 65gr and 1.6kg. See Chu Kyŏng-mi 1998.

mirrors can rest on the elaborately decorated mirror stands made during this time, undoubtedly for upper class households (fig. 3.1).

The largest mirror found in the graves examined in Chapter 3 measures 23cm in diameter and 0.8cm in thickness. It was excavated from tomb no. 57 at the large site of Kūmch'ōndong II-1 near Ch'ōngju, dating from the late eleventh to the early twelfth century. Its back is divided into three concentric bands. Large lotus petals surround the knob and clouds adorn the rim area, while the central section features two dragons chasing flaming jewels (fig. 4.4). This motif is only seen on large mirrors weighing in excess of 1kg and spanning more than 22cm in diameter.<sup>266</sup> For example, a more ornate rendering of the design appears on two large mirrors, both 26 cm wide, one weighing 1.9kg and the other 1.45kg, now in a private collection (figs 4.5 and 4.6). Their size and skilfully cast designs suggest they were made for an exclusive clientele who could afford and were allowed to use such items. Moreover, traditionally the use of dragon motifs was not available to all but reserved for the royal family, since in accordance with Chinese custom, it denoted power and authority.<sup>267</sup> As the most imposing dragon mirrors tend to be thicker and larger than other mirrors, it seems unlikely that their considerable difference in size and weight is accidental.

Several mirrors of this type, which are now housed in the National Museum of Korea, are recorded to have been found near Kaesōng, suggesting they may have come from the royal and aristocratic tombs located in this area. This theory is partially substantiated by the excavation of an eleventh century

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<sup>266</sup> For additional examples, see Yi Nan-yōng 1983: 159-160.

stone chamber tomb at Nyöngjöngni 령정리 near Kaesöng by North Korean archaeologists in 1995. Inside the tomb a mirror, similar in design and shape to the Kümch'öndong piece, was found alongside celadon wares and other objects (fig.4.7).<sup>268</sup> Considering the location and construction of the grave, as well as the comparatively large number of burial goods it contained, it is likely to have belonged to either a member of the Koryö royal family or a high-ranking aristocrat based in the capital. Significantly, though not a stone chamber but an earthen pit one, the Kümch'öndong grave, which yielded the dragon mirror, was also well-equipped, judging by the number and variety of burial goods found. These include a pair of iron scissors, five bronze coins, a silver hairpin and two bronze vessels, suggesting that this grave belonged to a person of relatively high social status (Appendix, p. 460).

Judging from the analysis carried out in Chapter 3, mirrors tend to appear in well-equipped graves containing a larger than average number of burial goods, typically ones of metal. It has been suggested that such graves may have belonged to members of the local elites who, in seeking to manifest their social position, may have strived to copy the burial traditions of the capital elite and would have been eager to furnish the burial pits with as many objects as they had the funds for. This may explain why the majority of the mirrors excavated from the 304 sampled graves are comparatively thin and small, measuring only around 10cm in diameter.

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<sup>267</sup> In China the five-clawed dragon had been the emblem of imperial power since the Han dynasty. Williams 1932: 139.

Moreover, the difference in the quality of the designs suggests that small and poorly cast mirrors were made in craft settlements by regional craftspeople catering for a local clientele and not in government-run workshops in the capital.

If mirrors were coveted products, regarded in part as luxury items, how is this reflected in their iconography? The following section will address this through an examination of imported mirrors. It will show that, as there was no shortage of locally cast bronze artefacts in Koryŏ until the closing decades of the dynasty, the import of Chinese and to a lesser extent Japanese mirrors must largely have been due to other factors, such as fashion, the desire for exotic objects, the social prestige associated with the possession of a foreign mirror and the importance of mirrors as collectibles. The final section will examine the influence of Buddhism in mirror iconography and address this in relation to their use in burials and pagodas. The discussion of individual patterns will be incorporated within these overarching discourses.

#### **4.4. Distribution and imitation of Chinese mirrors**

Foreign mirrors had a strong influence on Koryŏ mirror production, as craftspeople incorporated and adapted Chinese and to a lesser extent Japanese mirror designs to suit local taste and traditions. In fact, most of the motifs discussed in this chapter, like the phoenix, dragon, peony and other popular patterns, were imported from China over the course of time and were gradually included into the Korean iconographical scheme as demonstrated by the fact that

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<sup>268</sup> Unpublished and untitled report by anonymous source, written in P'yŏngyang, May 2000. (Personal communication with the North East Asia and Pacific Department,

many mirrors with these motifs no longer resemble their foreign prototypes. However, in some cases overseas mirror designs were closely imitated, suggesting a deliberate effort to maintain and preserve the original motifs and their non-native references. This was particularly the case of Chinese mirrors, which were widely distributed and copied on the Korean peninsula.

Mirrors from the Chinese mainland entered Koryŏ in the wake of tributary and trade liaisons. Official embassies were exchanged on a more or less regular basis between Kaesŏng and the various states of the Five Dynasties 五代 (907-960) and later with the Song, Liao, Jin and Yuan. From the Koryŏ point of perspective, diplomatic activities were pursued in order to secure its border, maintain commercial interests and obtain coveted foreign goods. The establishment of official ties with the Song was deemed to be of particular importance, not least because it was seen as a potential ally against the Liao, which loomed as a considerable military threat in the north. This was not always successful, however, as Song China was unwilling to disrupt its own diplomatic contacts with the Liao.<sup>269</sup> Koryŏ's relations with the Khitan 契丹 people were equally precarious and marred by intimidation and direct conflict. Initially the Koreans had refused to pay them tribute, but when the Liao invaded Koryŏ in 993, Sŏnjong 宣宗 (r. 1083-1094) was forced to recognize their suzerainty. In an

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Foreign and Commonwealth Office, May 2000.)

<sup>269</sup> In 1014, for example, when Koryŏ requested military aid to help overcome Khitan aggression, the Song refused, reluctant to disrupt its newly established peaceful relations with the Liao. Koryŏ's ambassadorial missions to the Song in the ensuing years were therefore not reciprocated, and the Song did not dispatch envoys to Korea until 1072, when their court sent gifts to King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046-1083) in an effort to resume official relations. See Tao 1988: 80-81.

effort to restore peace, tributary relations were established and Koryŏ sent more than twenty tributary missions to the Liao between 994 and 1110.<sup>270</sup> Koryŏ's relations with the Jin were notably different as they were characterized by conciliation rather than overt threat. In 1129, envoys were commissioned to bear King Injong's 仁宗 (r. 1122-1146) oath of allegiance to the emperor of the Jurchen 女眞, thus avoiding a pending invasion.<sup>271</sup> Similarly, the establishment of official contacts with the Mongols was instigated by the attempt to purchase autonomy by the submission of tribute. With the surrender to the Mongols in 1259 after some thirty years of repeated invasions, such relations were mainly driven by Mongol demands rather than voluntary tribute.<sup>272</sup>

A significant aspect of the ambassadorial missions was the goods exchanged through the official gift-giving process that went hand in hand with the dispatch of ambassadors.<sup>273</sup> Gifts normally included the best examples of local manufacture as well as items specifically requested by the other party, and though not specified in the historical sources it cannot be excluded that, as in

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<sup>270</sup> The Liao sent its first embassy to Koryŏ in 942, when it presented a gift of fifty camels to the Koryŏ king. However, the gift was refused as T'aejo let the animals starve under Manbo bridge 萬夫橋 in Kaesŏng. T'aejo's negative feelings towards the Khitans are expressed in his Ten Injunctions in which he called the Liao "a nation of savage beasts". See *Koryŏsa* 2:15b. For discussions of the Koryŏ-Liao relationship, see Wittfogel and Feng 1949: 318-319, Pratt 1980: 28, Tao 1988: 79-82 and Rossabi 1991.

<sup>271</sup> Koryŏ's relation with the Jin is discussed in Rogers 1978.

<sup>272</sup> Henthorn 1963: 4-5.

<sup>273</sup> In addition to the gifts, all expenses for accommodation and travel within the host country were, by long-established tradition, borne by that country. Sustaining official relations therefore entailed a considerable expense which was not always welcomed. The Song often lamented the high costs occurred in maintaining official relations with Koryŏ, both in terms of hosting the foreign envoys and of dispatching diplomats to the Koryŏ capital. However, it recognized Koryŏ's strategic usefulness in the event of hostilities with the Khitan and only relinquished relations when they were felt to jeopardize its relationship with the Liao. For a discussion of the criticism of the

earlier times, mirrors were among the Chinese gifts to Koryŏ.<sup>274</sup> Yet, Koryŏ's tributary relations with the Chinese mainland states changed and became more one-dimensional following the submission to the Mongols. The Mongol demands upon Koryŏ partly took the form of scheduled annual tribute and unscheduled levies for which the Koreans received only little in return.<sup>275</sup> Thus, between 1264 and 1294 Koryŏ submitted tribute thirty-six times and while tributary items were traditionally reciprocated, as had been the case with the Song, the *Koryŏsa* records that cloth which had been given by Koryŏ to the Mongols the previous year was presented as a gift the following.<sup>276</sup>

Raw metal and metal wares were frequently among the tributary items sent by the Koryŏ court, not only suggesting that such goods were sought after internationally but also confirming Koryŏ's ability in producing them. Thus, in 1078, the Koreans presented to the Song court objects of gold, silver and bronze as well as knives, horses, ginseng and scented oil.<sup>277</sup> In 1262 the Mongols

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expenses occurred in the maintaining of diplomatic exchanges with Koryŏ, as voiced by Song officials, see Rogers 1958.

<sup>274</sup> In 1078, for example, Song envoys presented to the Koryŏ court items such as multi-coloured silks, embroidered satin, lacquered boxes, wine, tea and musical instruments. See Song 1995: 69. The Koreans, however, requested books, especially historical and encyclopedic items. This appeal was not always granted for security reasons, as the Song feared that they would end up in the hands of the Khitan. The statesman Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), for example, argued that “wherever the envoys go they chart and sketch our mountains and rivers and buy books. Counsellors hold that of the gifts which they obtain they hand over the greater part to the Khitan.” After Rogers 1958: 198.

<sup>275</sup> In 1221, for example, the Yuan court insisted on the following goods: otter pelts, silk, ramie, ink, writing brushes, paper, groomwell, safflower, indigo shoots, cinnabar red, orpiment, lacquer and oil. *Koryŏsa* 22: 20a. ‘Groomwell’ is a plant yielding purple dye. ‘Safflower’ is used in cosmetics and dying. ‘Orpiment’ is a pigment used in medicine. See Henthorn 1963: 202.

<sup>276</sup> *Koryŏsa* 22: 19b-20b. See also Henthorn 1963: 202.

<sup>277</sup> Kim Sang-gi 1985: 68-70.

demanded a levy of 20,000 *kŭn* 斤 of copper (K. *hodong* 好銅) (approximately 1200 kg), undoubtedly in the belief that Koryŏ could supply it.<sup>278</sup>

Bronze and its component copper were therefore not rare commodities in Korea, as also verified in the *Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 東國輿地勝覽 (Geographical Conspectus of the Eastern Kingdom Korea), dating to 1486, from which it becomes clear that copper was produced in large quantities on the peninsula.<sup>279</sup> Bronze and copper also featured in Koryŏ's commercial activities, which were closely linked to its diplomatic missions. In addition to the goods they paid as tribute, it is known that the Koreans also exported various metals to the Song, including gold, silver and bronze.<sup>280</sup> At times when no official relations were in place, merchants still remained active and mirrors could easily have been brought to the peninsula by the many traders from China, Japan and even the Islamic world that operated in the peninsula.<sup>281</sup> Song merchants appear to have been particularly active, and this is likely to be one of the reasons why Song mirrors especially were copied by Korean craftspeople.<sup>282</sup>

<sup>278</sup> *Koryŏsa* 25: 24b-25b.

<sup>279</sup> Jeon Sang-woon 1974: 248.

<sup>280</sup> The Chinese also bought silk, paper, ginseng and pine seeds. See Kim Sang-gi 1985: 163 and Pak Yong-un 1996b: 241.

<sup>281</sup> Koryŏ relations with Japan were essentially on a non-official level. It appears that it was the Japanese rather than the Koreans who were the main driving force behind establishing mercantile opportunities between the two countries. Arab merchants operated in Song China and stimulated by the Song-Koryŏ trade were active in Korea, too. The *Koryŏsa* records that one hundred Arabs traded goods on the peninsula in 1024 and a year later another hundred came. In 1040 Arab traders sold mercury, medicinal products and other items to the Koreans. See Pak Yong-un 1996b: 328-330.

<sup>282</sup> According to Kim Sang-gi, traders from Song China visited Koryŏ 128 times between the reigns of Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r. 1009-1031) and Ch'ungyŏl 忠烈 (r. 1274-1308). It is not known how many times Koryŏ merchants travelled to Song China. Kim Sang-gi 1985: 158-161. For further insight into the Koryŏ-Song trade, see Song 1979: 139-186 and Song 1995.

Evidently, the import and local imitation of foreign mirrors was, for the most part of the Koryŏ period, neither driven by a shortage of materials nor by the inability to manufacture such objects locally. Instead, the desire for foreign mirrors, particularly Chinese ones, appears to lie in the new role mirrors began to play in Koryŏ as luxury goods. It can be argued that this was an important reason why certain imported motifs were not changed but remained in their original form in order to stress their exclusive and foreign qualities. The Koryŏ court was a great patron and consumer of the arts, and its use of fashionable luxury goods is likely to have influenced other strata of society. In order to answer the demand for the latest Chinese merchandise, Korean craftspeople may have copied imported Chinese mirrors in order to satisfy the demand among those who for financial or other reasons were unable to obtain the foreign goods themselves. Nor can it be excluded that such local products were sold as fakes to unsuspecting buyers.

An unmistakably Song motif is found on a mirror from a damaged stone-lined tomb at the mid-eleventh century site of Chwahangni in Kyŏnggi province (fig. 4.8). Petals and a band of dots surround the knob. The central design is made up of closely set circles with square centres inside which are four or five dots. Each circle is joined to the next with large singular dots. Other mirrors with the same shape and motif have been excavated from graves no. 19 and no. 55 at Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1 in North Ch'ungch'ŏng province, dating from the late eleventh to the early twelfth century (figs 4.9 and 4.10). A fragment with the same motif was also excavated at this site, but the exact location of its discovery

is unknown (fig. 4.11). The fact that these types of mirrors were found in different regions suggests that their popularity was widespread.

The design is termed in Korean *ch'ilbomun* 七寶文, literally 'seven-treasure-motif'.<sup>283</sup> The term 'seven treasures' (Sk. *sapta ratna*) refers to the seven Buddhist treasures, which commonly are gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, rubies or red pearls and cornelian.<sup>284</sup> Yet, it is undoubtedly a copy of the Song mirror pattern which in Chinese is commonly called a 'chained-coin-pattern' (Ch. *lianqianwen* 連錢紋) (fig. 4.12). The motif of intersecting circles, leaving square spaces in the middle of each, takes its name from Chinese copper coins, which since the Han dynasty have been circular with a square hole in the centre. The casting of mirrors with this design was undoubtedly triggered by a conscious effort to emulate a Song design. Thus, in order to emphasise its foreign connotations, even the wide, flat rim – this being a Chinese and not a Koryŏ feature – was in most cases retained. The design is therefore normally found on circular mirrors with this type of rim, though eight-lobed examples also exist.<sup>285</sup> Like their Chinese counterparts, they tend to measure around 10cm in diameter.

Another important group of imported mirrors are those with early Chinese motifs, particularly Han and Tang ones. In Song China, Han mirrors with the *liubo* design and other early patterns underwent a revival fuelled by the

<sup>283</sup> The motif is briefly discussed by Hwang Ho-gŭn 1996: 247-8.

<sup>284</sup> Soothill and Hodous 1969: 11-12.

<sup>285</sup> For similar Koryŏ examples, see Kyŏto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 187, 191. See also Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 108.

antiquarian interest in things of the past which Chinese scholars cultivated.<sup>286</sup>

Ancient mirrors became collectors' items and it was not uncommon to be buried with them.<sup>287</sup> In order to cater for the demand, workshops even began copying popular pre-Song examples, not only of the Han but also of the Tang periods.<sup>288</sup>

Early Chinese mirrors also enjoyed widespread popularity in Koryŏ, as suggested by many Korean copies of them. One was excavated from grave no. 1 at the late twelfth to thirteenth century site of Songnari, Kyŏnggi province (fig. 4.13). The raised central boss of this relatively large mirror is surrounded by twelve stylised petals. An indented scalloped edge separates this pattern from the central one of interchanging eight-petal flowers and the Chinese characters 家常富貴 (Ch. *jia chang fu gui* "May the family always have wealth and honour").

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<sup>286</sup> Craig Clunas argues that the Song emperor Huizong's 徽宗 (r. 1100-1125) project of cataloguing the imperial collection of early Chinese bronze vessels was instigated by an interest in the cultural heritage of antiquity, since "possession of ancient things stood for an equivalence with the wise rulers of ancient times". Clunas 1997: 57-58. Jessica Rawson presents a similar argument in suggesting that the possession of a collection of ancient bronzes was probably seen as reinforcing Song claims to have received the mandate of heaven, despite setbacks on the northern borders and invasions by the Liao and later the Jin dynasty. See Rawson 1993: 60-61. Schuyler Cammann, on the other hand, maintains that the rise in antiquarian interests among the Song scholar class was triggered by the breakdown of beliefs caused by some fifty years of civil wars and the realisation that old traditions and the heyday of the Tang dynasty had been lost. See Cammann 1955: 54. Ankeney Weitz has discussed the collecting of antique art during the Yuan dynasty. She argues that the political and social disruptions of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries helped create the conditions for a 'geographically integrated art market' on a scale that had not been seen for several centuries. With the change in rule, some Song loyalists had to find new sources of income and were forced to sell off their art works. The art market was also fuelled by the rise of a new class of wealthy Yuan officials eager to appropriate their political and social status through the collecting of antiquities. See Weitz 1997 and 2002: 3-26.

<sup>287</sup> Chou Ju-hsi provides several examples of Tang mirrors excavated from tombs of the Liao and Jin, thus indicating their use as antique collectibles. See Chou 2000: 11.

<sup>288</sup> For a metallurgical analysis of Tang, Song and Ming copies of Han mirrors, see Bulling and Drew 1971-1972: 41-45.

Several mirrors of this type have been found in Korea,<sup>289</sup> and they appear to be copies of Jin mirrors which in turn were made to imitate a Han design. A Jin mirror excavated at Jiujiang 九江 in Jiangxi 江西 province is very similar in style and size to the Songnari piece, measuring around 16cm in diameter (fig. 4.14). With its four-character inscription and round petals surrounding the central knob, the motif is similar to that seen on many Western Han mirrors, indicating that these may have been the source of inspiration for its making (fig. 4.15).

A Koryŏ imitation of another early Chinese mirror design was excavated from a partially destroyed grave at the late eleventh to twelfth century site of Chŏngjiri 定止里 at Nonsan in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province (fig. 4.16). The decoration on this circular, thin-rimmed mirror has been arranged with a strong emphasis on linearity. The knob is enclosed by two sharply outlined concentric diamond-shapes, while the remaining surface is covered by a closely-set weave pattern. No identical Chinese mirrors have been identified, but the mirror bears close stylistic resemblance to those from the Warring States 戰國 period (475–221 BC), which tend to have strongly linear, symmetrically arranged surface decorations. Many mirrors from this period carry a motif of four tridents set against an ornamental field of curls and/or foliate designs. Variations of the design are represented in a mirror from the Warring States burial M29 from

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<sup>289</sup> For example, two mirrors that are of similar size and design to the Songnari mirror have been found within the vicinity of Kaesŏng and are now in the National Museum of Korea. See Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 47.

Heshanzhen 赫山鎮 at Yiyang 益陽 in Hunan 湖南 province.<sup>290</sup> It has an overall pattern of relief curls and striations, dominated by four bold zigzag lines that do not emanate from the centre but rather run parallel to one another across the circular face (fig. 4.17). A similar mirror was excavated at Nanmenguangchang 南門廣場, also in Hunan province (fig. 4.18). The decorated face of this mirror is organised into two square shapes; the smaller encircles the central knob, with the larger surrounding it. The outer square is adorned on all four sides with a chevron-shaped medallion.<sup>291</sup> Whereas the central knobs on the two Warring States examples are triple-fluted and small, as is typical of mirrors from this period, the one on the Chǒngjiri mirror is round and larger, indicating its Korean make.

Many mirrors from the Tang period were also imitated by Koryŏ craftspeople. One of the most popular Tang mirror motifs is that of the 'animal and grapevine', which was imitated extensively.<sup>292</sup> A mirror found at the above-mentioned site of Chǒngjiri was excavated from a partially destroyed late eleventh to twelfth century earthen pit tomb (fig. 4.19). It bears an animal and grapevine decoration similar to the Tang mirror illustrated in fig. 4.20, which was excavated in Liaocheng 聊城, Shandong province 山东.<sup>293</sup> As is typical of this design, the central knob is shaped in the form of a crouching animal. Around

<sup>290</sup> For details of this tomb and its contents, see Hunan 1985: 106.

<sup>291</sup> For a discussion of this mirror and others with a similar design, all excavated in Hunan province, see O'Donoghue 1990: 97.

<sup>292</sup> For examples, see Yi Nan-yǒng 1983: 65-71.

<sup>293</sup> In Liu and Sun 1986 several other animal and grapevine mirrors recently excavated in this region are illustrated. See Gugong 1986 for examples from other regions of China.

it are four animals superimposed on a field of vines and grapes. A raised band separates the inner zone from the outer band which is again decorated with crouching animals amidst grape plants arranged in flowing scrolls of leaves and fruits.

In China, this type of motif began appearing on mirrors around the end of the sixth century. It developed as a result of increased contact with regions located to the west of China, where these types of scrolling grapevines and leonine animals were frequently used as a decorative motif.<sup>294</sup> Jessica Rawson has demonstrated that the lion is not an indigenous Chinese animal but was well known in the Near East and Mesopotamia, where it was treated as a symbol of power and authority, or as a guardian of sacred buildings.<sup>295</sup> Likewise grapes were introduced to China in the Han dynasty and soon appeared in textiles as a decorative motif. Schuyler Cammann notes that as grape wine gained popularity in the Tang period among the gentry, so did the motif.<sup>296</sup>

The animal and grapevine mirror was extremely popular during the Tang period, as well as in the Song and Yuan, and it was often copied or simply re-

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<sup>294</sup> The adoption and adaptation of imported designs were by no means unfamiliar to the Chinese, who had by this time already been subject to foreign artistic influences as a result of the spread of Buddhism. According to Perceval Yetts, Buddhism not only introduced a whole world of alien mythology which for centuries provided favourite themes for Chinese painters, sculptors and designers in every branch of the arts, but it also directed the very expression of these new ideas along the lines of Western traditions. Thus, to the present day Greco-Indian and Persian elements are found mingled with native Chinese traditions. See Yetts 1912: 17. Schuyler Cammann traces the development of the pattern and gives examples of its variations in Tang mirror designs. See Cammann 1955: 51.

<sup>295</sup> Rawson 1984: 110.

<sup>296</sup> Schuyler Cammann notes that in AD 640, the art of fermenting grapes to make wine was introduced to Tang China from a state in Eastern Turkistan. Cammann 1955: 51.

cast, the latter being facilitated by the deep relief of the originals.<sup>297</sup> Tang prototypes are easily identified by their clearly outlined expressive forms. The Chōngjiri mirror is thinly made with a pattern of randomly placed figures, suggesting it is a Koryō imitation. Due to its poor condition it is not possible to assess whether it is a copy of a Tang mirror or a Song copy of a Tang original.

The fact that the animal and grapevine motif only appears on mirrors in this particular arrangement and was not reinterpreted or changed locally, is suggestive of the importance attached to the preservation of the original pattern. Even the few Koryō mirrors bearing only a scrolling grapevine are close copies of Tang pieces, and not Koryō re-adaptations. Thus, the grapevine scrolls on a mirror from the National Museum of Korea are virtually identical to those seen on a small Tang mirror from the Carter Collection (figs 4.21 and 4.22).

The reluctance of mirrorsmiths to modify certain Chinese designs is not unique to the Koryō period, but also occurs in pre-Koryō times. During the Iron Age, Proto-Three Kingdoms and Three Kingdoms periods, bronze mirrors had played an important role within the China-Korea relationship, as they were used by the Chinese as gifts bestowed upon those who paid them tribute. By the Koryō period, mirrors were no longer as desirable as gifts and diplomacy was not the main avenue through which foreign mirrors entered Korea. Foreign designs were associated with high social status, since they implied access to non-native merchandise, affordable only to affluent members of society. This is reflected in the burial context of the above-mentioned Han-style mirror from

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<sup>297</sup> According to research carried out by Anneliese Bulling and Isabella Drew, obvious signs of later date manufacture are a yellowish-brassy colour, poor workmanship and/or

Songnari. The grave in which it was found appears to have contained the body of a woman of elevated social status as suggested by the objects with which she was interred, namely a lacquered comb, a bronze finger ring and a pair of iron scissors (Appendix p. 529). The fact that she was also buried with a large Chinese style bronze mirror must have affirmed her social position.

As noted above, antiquarianism and the custom of collecting also seems to have played a significant role in the distribution and imitation of earlier Chinese mirrors. The Koryō upper class was well-versed in the Chinese classics as knowledge of them was a crucial component of the civil service examinations. Officials frequently engaged one another in discussions on Chinese art and poetry, and it can therefore be assumed that they would have had an interest in the collecting of Chinese antiquities in general and mirrors in particular.

#### **4.5. Introduction of new mirror designs**

The previous section addressed the production and consumption of mirrors in relation to their foreign influences and highlighted the new roles mirrors acquired in Koryō society as coveted Chinese merchandise and as collectors' items. This section will look at the changing function of mirrors as manifested in the designs which became popular at this time, particularly auspicious motifs and pictorial scenes.

Whereas pre-Koryō mirrors had predominantly featured cosmological motifs paralleling the iconography of Han and Six Dynasties mirrors, those of the Koryō dynasty are frequently made up of auspicious patterns featuring

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stylistic discrepancies. Bulling and Drew 1971-1972: 46-47.

certain flowers and/or birds.<sup>298</sup> One of the most common is the so-called ‘double-bird-auspicious-flower-motif’ (K. *ssanggŭmsŏhwamun* 雙禽瑞花文).<sup>299</sup> It appears to have been popular across different regions throughout the course of the dynasty. Several of those now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea are said to have come from the city of Kaesŏng and the provinces of Kyŏnggi and North Chŏlla.<sup>300</sup> Those excavated from the sampled graves are from the provinces of Kyŏnggi and North Ch’ungch’ŏng. One of the earliest known examples is from the stone-lined tomb no. 9 at Chwahangni in Kyŏnggi province, dating to the mid-eleventh century (fig. 4.23). The knob is wide and encircled by a small row of petals. The main field is adorned by two birds with outstretched wings flanked by stylised lotus scrolls. A petal border separates the central design from the bracketed rim. Four *ssanggŭmsŏhwamun* mirrors were excavated from the site of Kŭmch’ŏndong II-1, dating from the late eleventh to the early twelfth century (figs 4.24-4.27). A similar mirror was excavated from Hyŏn’gongni and three from the later site of Hoamdong 虎岩洞, dating from the early twelfth to the fourteenth century, both sites in North Ch’ungch’ŏng province (figs 4.28-4.31). Irrespective of the shape of the rim, all mirrors with this design are similar in size, ranging from 8.4 to 12.6cm in diameter.

<sup>298</sup> Jan Wirgin has stressed that the subject matter was chosen not merely as beautiful pictures, but primarily because of its symbolic significance. Flowers and trees, for example, were singled out because of their symbolic meanings, which could be understood by anyone. Other motifs had literary associations that could only be interpreted by the educated or even served as pictorial puns, based on plays of homophones. See Wirgin 1979: 166.

<sup>299</sup> Hwang Ho-gŭn 1996: 100-103.

No similar mirrors have been found in China, but a particular type of eight-bracketed Japanese mirror bears a close resemblance. Termed (J.) *zuika sôhō hachiryôkyô* 瑞花双鳳八稜鏡, it appeared in the early Heian 平安 period (AD 794-1185) (fig. 4.32). Following Sugiyama Hiroshi, Kubô Tomoyasu suggests that the design was developed from the Chinese mirror design of two facing phoenixes flanked by floral motifs. This particular motif was extremely popular during the Tang period when it appeared in many different variations, mostly on lobed and bracketed mirrors (fig. 4.33). In Japan, between the ninth and the twelfth century the design gradually deviated from Tang prototypes and became increasingly intricate as the knob was encircled by chrysanthemum petals and dense floral scrolls filled the space between the birds, as demonstrated in a twelfth century mirror from Sekihôji temple 石峯寺 in Kyoto (fig. 4.34).<sup>301</sup>

The close parallels between the Koryô and Heian mirrors cannot be overlooked, suggesting that the Korean *ssanggûmsôhwamun* mirrors evolved from Japanese prototypes. Certainly with the earliest Korean examples dating to the mid-eleventh century, approximately two centuries later than the earliest of the Japanese pieces, it seems likely that this particular design was a Heian import. Furthermore, not only is the main design very similar, but the knobs of the Koryô mirrors are encircled by delicately arranged petals and the rim is embellished with floral motifs – both characteristic features of Japanese mirrors.

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<sup>300</sup> For *ssanggûmsôhwagyông* mirrors in the collection of the National Museum of Korea, see Yi Nan-yông 1983: 136-143.

<sup>301</sup> Kubô Tomoyasu's research is closely based on Sugiyama's analysis of *zuika sôhō hachiryôkyô* 瑞花双鳳八稜鏡 from the Heian period. By placing the bird design into six stylistic categories based on its complexity, Sugiyama Hiroshi traced the

Such stylistic elements are only seen on Koryō mirrors with Japanese-type designs. However, rather than being simply imitated, the Japanese motif was considerably modified with the result that, in contrast to the Koryō copies of Chinese mirrors discussed in the previous section, the Koryō *ssanggŭmsōhwamun* mirrors are easily distinguished from their Japanese counterparts. For example, as opposed to the thin, delicate lines which typify the Japanese examples, Koryō ones are characterised by heavier rendering.

The felicitous connotations of the motif become apparent when assessing the different elements from which it is composed. The floral scrolls are mainly based on stylised lotus, while the birds are usually identified as phoenixes 鳳, though in some variations of the design they are more reminiscent of doves 鳩 or ducks 鴨 identified by their short necks and round bodies. In his extensive study on doves, Wang Shixiang writes that in China the custom of breeding doves became popular in the Tang dynasty. In the Tang and Song periods they were used as messengers by the military as well as by private individuals, and they were also bred as presents for high-ranking people. The tradition of using particular breeds of doves as gifts derives from the Jin dynasty (AD 265-420) when white doves were presented to the king wishing him a long life.<sup>302</sup> Doves may have been used in similar ways in Koryō, too. As the male and female

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development of the design from Tang prototypes to Heian and Kamakura copies. See Sugiyama 1991: 4-21 and Kubô 1999: 20.

<sup>302</sup> For a discussion of the breeding, uses and symbolism of doves in China, see Wang 2000: 16-17.

doves always fly together and do not take other mates, the dove has also come to symbolise faithfulness, marital love and harmony.<sup>303</sup>

The duck represents similar blessed sentiments, since when paired the male and female duck are said to be singularly attached to one another and are thought to pine away and die when separated. For this reason, the Japanese, influenced by Chinese literary works, have traditionally viewed pairs of ducks as a symbol of fidelity and marital unity.<sup>304</sup> As signs of long life, marital harmony and love, doves and ducks are well-suited auspicious symbols on mirrors given as presents to loved ones.

The phoenix has in Korea, as well as in China and Japan, conventionally been regarded as the most honourable of birds.<sup>305</sup> In accordance with Chinese tradition, it is a bearer of good omen in that it is believed only to appear in times of peace and prosperity. During Koryŏ times, the phoenix was popular as a decorative motif on mirrors, whereas it features less frequently on ceramics where parrots and especially cranes were preferred instead.<sup>306</sup> This may suggest that representations of auspicious nature were perceived more pertinent to mirrors and mirror use than to other types of objects. Moreover, since the phoenix was traditionally used as a symbol of the empress in both China and

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<sup>303</sup> Wang 2000: 3, 15.

<sup>304</sup> In popular Japanese legends, mandarin ducks (J. *oshidori* 鶺鴒) have been celebrated for their faithfulness. In a story from the thirteenth century anthology *Kokon chomonjū* 古今著聞集 a hunter enters priesthood after discovering that the mate of a drake he killed has died of grief. In reality though, ducks do change their partners each year. See Takano and Saitō 1983: 100-101.

<sup>305</sup> For a discussion of the phoenix as an ornamental design in Chinese art, see Rawson 1984: 99-106.

<sup>306</sup> For examples, see Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 2001.

Korea, it is possible that mirrors cast with this motif were largely used by women.

Floral motifs became popular on Koryŏ mirrors, where they were used either to complement a central design of, for example, birds or dragons, or as the main feature, as seen in a large mirror from tomb no. 111 at Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1 (fig. 4.35).<sup>307</sup> Since they appear in many different guises and styles, it is difficult to sum up their general characteristics. However, the most frequently used floral design is the (K.) *posanghwamun* 寶相花文, literally 'treasure-flower-motif', which is found on several Koryŏ mirrors now in museum collections as well as on four of the mirrors from the burials analysed in Chapter 3. Two virtually identical circular mirrors were excavated from graves no. 89 and no. 157 at the late eleventh to early twelfth century site of Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1 (figs 4.36-4.37). In both cases the knob appears to be surrounded by petals, while the design in the central band consists of a scroll with leaves and eight-petal flowers.

The *posanghwa* motif is an imaginary floral composition made up of palmettes or stylised flowers, often resembling peony (K. *moran* 牡丹) or lotus (K. *yŏnhwa* 蓮花), entwined with leaves and floral buds. Like the phoenix, the design has wondrous and mythical undertones as *posanghwa* were regarded as the zenith of floral beauty.<sup>308</sup> Popular for its beauty and easy adaptation to various types of artefacts, it is particularly common on objects with Buddhist

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<sup>307</sup> Two mirrors with this particular floral arrangement are recorded to have been found near Kaesŏng. The mirrors, which are now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea, are illustrated in Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 92.

associations. Thus, during the Unified Silla period it was used on Buddhist bronze bells, such as on the lower and upper rims of a bell at Sangwōnsa 上院寺 in Kangwōn province, dating to 725 (fig. 4.38). It also featured on a large number of roof tiles, including some from Buddhist temple sites, such as Kamūnsa 感恩寺 in North Kyōngsang province, completed in 682 (fig. 4.39). Likewise, it appeared on a wide range of secular and ritual objects in Koryō, such as the incense burner in fig. 4.40 in the collection of the National Museum of Korea.

Though the motif had been in use prior to the tenth century, its widespread popularity on Koryō mirrors is likely to have been due to Chinese influences; it was often cast on mirrors from the Tang dynasty onwards and many Koryō mirrors with this design closely resemble Song ones in shapes, motifs and style. Thus, the *posanghwa* motif on a large circular mirror said to be from Kaesōng is similar to the scroll of large peony blossoms which feature on an angular Song mirror from Henan province (figs 4.41 and 4.42).<sup>309</sup>

The frequent appearance of peonies on Koryō mirrors is interesting, and may also have been influenced from China, where they were known as the ‘king of flowers’ due to their exquisite blossoms and fanciful forms. One of the oldest

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<sup>308</sup> Hwang Ho-gŭn 1996: 249.

<sup>309</sup> The leaves depicted with peony blossoms are rarely accurate depictions of the actual ones. Whereas flowers and fruit tend to be faithfully reproduced in East Asian art, this is rarely the case with leaf forms. Ornamental leaves from entirely different types of plants were frequently introduced to set off the flowers more effectively and to produce a better decorative setting. Thus, peony flowers are often seen growing from continuous vines, instead of their own rigid stems. The same is true of lotus and chrysanthemums. Regina Krahl notes that in the case of ceramic designs, little attention is given to the way the leaves are attached to the stem, and often alternate and opposite leaf forms are found on the same plant. See Krahl 1987a: 52.

known flowers,<sup>310</sup> it was exchanged as a farewell gift and as a token of love. It is therefore appropriate that the peony appears on mirrors and other Koryŏ funerary objects, including stone coffins sometimes used by members of the aristocracy.<sup>311</sup> One such example is in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum. As is typical of these caskets, the four exterior walls are engraved with the Four Guardian Animals, whereas peony and lotus flowers decorate the interior walls (fig. 3.2a-b).

Other popular mirror patterns with auspicious undertones are those that denote longevity and immortality, and they include images of cranes and chrysanthemums. As legendary figures, cranes permeated folk consciousness at an early date and many Korean folk tales centre on them.<sup>312</sup> They are cast on a circular mirror from tomb no. 16 at Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, which has a crane on either side of the knob flanked by a small cloud (fig. 4.43). This particular motif is called 'double-crane-flying-cloud-motif' (K. *ssanghakpiunmun* 雙鶴飛雲文).<sup>313</sup> With their long, thin necks, straight legs and outspread wings,

<sup>310</sup> Peonies are mentioned in the ninth century BC *Book of Odes* 詩經. See Bartholomew 1985b: 5 and Li Huilin 1959: 22-26. For a discussion of the popularity of the peony motif on Song ceramics, see Wirgin 1979: 166-170 and Krahl 1987a: 56. Regina Krahl notes that the peony appears at least as often in ceramic decoration as the lotus, which is one of the most frequently represented flowers. The reason why it was particularly in vogue during the Song dynasty, especially in Luoyang, lies in a legend associated with Empress Wu 武 (r. 684-704), who in Herbert Giles' words: "tried to spread the belief that she was the Supreme Being by forcing flowers artificially and then in the presence of her courtiers ordering them to bloom. On one occasion she ordered some peonies to bloom; and when they did not instantly obey, she caused every peony in the capital to be pulled up and burnt, and prohibited the cultivation of peonies ever afterwards." After Giles 1898: 883-4.

<sup>311</sup> The use of stone coffins in Koryŏ burials was discussed in Chapter 3, section 3.3.3.

<sup>312</sup> Akiba 1957: 94 provides a brief discussion of these tales.

<sup>313</sup> For additional examples, see Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 97 and Hwang Ho-gŭn 1996: 164-165.

the rendering of the birds is characteristic of this period, where they also appear repeatedly on ceramics, such as on a celadon *maebyōng* from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4.44).

Though cranes were also popular as a decorative motif in Japan and China, their pictorial treatment in Koryō mirrors is considerably different. They commonly appear on Heian and Kamakura mirrors, usually placed in an ornate landscape setting (fig. 4.45), as opposed to the sparser arrangement typical of Koryō examples. On Tang and Song mirrors, cranes tend to appear in a landscape setting with a pine tree, an immortal and a tortoise -- all symbols of longevity. Their association with longevity coupled with their graceful shape is undoubtedly the reason behind their great appeal as a decorative motif on Koryō mirrors.

Chrysanthemums (K. *kukhwa* 菊花) appear on Koryō mirrors in a number of different ways, with the type excavated from grave no. 23-1 from the mid to late twelfth century site of Nuamni in North Ch'ungch'ōng province being among the most common (fig. 4.46).<sup>314</sup> The knob is encircled by long, thin chrysanthemum petals and the entire surface is covered by small casually arranged and partly overlapping blossoms. A simpler arrangement of the pattern is seen on a small mirror in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 4.47). Both mirrors appear to imitate Japanese ones of the Heian and Kamakura periods on which chrysanthemums are very common (figs 4.48-4.49).<sup>315</sup>

<sup>314</sup> For similar examples, see Yi Nan-yōng 1983: 213.

<sup>315</sup> Chrysanthemums continued to be popular also in the Edo period. For a discussion of such mirrors, see Kubō 1999: 5-6, 34.

Like cranes, chrysanthemums were associated with long life and may for this reason have been a popular motif, not only on mirrors but also on other artefacts, including celadon ceramics (figs 4.50 and 4.51). They are often associated with the life and writings of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (AD 365-427), a scholar-gentleman who cast away his career of public office in favour of a life of retirement. Tao's writings were well known in Korea, as apparent from a poem by Yi Kyu-bo, which praises Tao Yuanming, his life and his poetry.<sup>316</sup>

Many of Tao Yuanming's writings mention chrysanthemums and their life-prolonging qualities. Two lines from a poem dating to around AD 405 read: "[...] Wine can drive out manifold cares. Chrysanthemum may arrest declining years."<sup>317</sup> Due to the continuous fame of Tao Yuanming's poems and his pronounced love of chrysanthemums, they are generally associated with a life of ease and retirement.<sup>318</sup> As for their medicinal qualities, they were known already

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<sup>316</sup> In Kevin O'Rourke's translation the poem reads: "I love T'ao Yuan-ming;/ his poems are limpid and pure./ He always strummed a stringless lyre;/ his poems have the same quiet grace. Sublime rhythm is of its nature soundless;/ there's no need to strum the lyre./ Sublime language is of its nature wordless;/ it's not necessary to carve and trim./ This is a wisdom that springs from nature,/ the longer chewed the better the taste./ T'ao Yuan-ming freed himself from official business;/ he returned to the country,/ to wander among pine, bamboo and chrysanthemum./ When he had no wine, he sought out a friend;/ he fell down drunk every day./ On the sleeping bench he stretched his body out;/ the breeze blew cool and refreshing./ From the bright ancient world he came,/ a scholar noble and true./ I think of the man when I read the poems;/ his integrity will be praised for a thousand years." O'Rourke 1995: 17.

<sup>317</sup> It appears that Tao also consumed chrysanthemums. For example, he writes: "Although I was living in retirement, I delighted in the name of the Double Ninth. The autumn chrysanthemums filled my garden, but I had no means of taking wine. So in want for it, I partook of the flowers, and put my feelings into words." After Davis 1983: 43-44.

<sup>318</sup> During the Song period they were among the best-liked garden flowers. For an account of the popularity of chrysanthemums during the Song period and their use in Song ceramic designs, see Wirgin 1979: 173-175 and Krahl 1987a: 63.

in the Han dynasty, as reflected in a letter by Cao Pi 曹丕 (AD 186-226), which

Albert R. Davis translates as follows:

Yet the fragrant chrysanthemums abundantly bloom by themselves.  
If they did not contain the pure harmony of Heaven and Earth and  
embody the clear essence of fragrance, how could they do so?  
Therefore Ch'ü P'ing grieve at his steadily growing old and  
thought of eating the fallen blossoms of the autumn  
chrysanthemums. For supporting the body and prolonging life  
nothing is as valuable as these. I respectfully offer a bunch to aid  
the art of P'eng-tsu [i.e. longevity].<sup>319</sup>

Considering the fame of Tao Yuanming's writings and the frequent mention of chrysanthemums in Koryŏ writings, it is likely that the flower was associated with similar life-prolonging properties in Korea too.<sup>320</sup>

In Japan, during the Heian period the nobility cultivated chrysanthemums and established the chrysanthemum festival.<sup>321</sup> It became increasingly popular as a decorative motif, because it was also regarded as a noble flower linked to the imperial household. Such associations, however, appear not to have been transferred to Koryŏ.

Pictorial scenes form another distinct group of patterns which developed in the Koryŏ period. Though not as popular as other motifs, they came to occupy

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<sup>319</sup> After Davis 1983: 43-44.

<sup>320</sup> A poem by the Sŏn Master Paegun (1299-1375) reads: "Yellow chrysanthemums and green bamboo,/ they don't belong to others./ Bright moon and clear breeze/ are not for the sphere of the senses./ They're all treasures/ of my house—/ Fetch them home freely/ use them, get to know them." After Lee Peter H. 1981: 67.

<sup>321</sup> Valued for their health-giving properties, records suggest that chrysanthemums were introduced to Japan from China in the fifth century. The chrysanthemum has long been celebrated in Japan as one of the representative plants of autumn. During the Chrysanthemum Festival (J. *kiku no sekku* 菊の節句), held on the ninth September of the lunar calendar, chrysanthemum wine was drunk and cotton with chrysanthemum scent was used to wipe the body in order to achieve long life. According to Matsuda Osamu 1983: 310, these practices derived from the Chinese view of the chrysanthemum

an important place within Koryō mirror traditions, undoubtedly through contact with China, where such motifs began to be cast on mirrors in the Tang period. The most prevalent ones were narrative renditions of mythological scenes from Confucian and Taoist teachings and themes such as the Five Sacred Mountains. The popularity of narrative mirror scenes increased during the Song dynasty, when mirrorsmiths avidly pursued this genre in response to clientele demand.<sup>322</sup> Mythological motifs continued to be the most common but secular subject matter also featured.<sup>323</sup> A particularly intricate and unusual example of a pictorial scene appears on a late Song to early Yuan mirror decorated with women in an interior admiring a painting suspended from the ceiling and held out for viewing by a servant (fig. 4.52).<sup>324</sup> A similar subject is found on a Yuan mirror cast with the image of a standing scholar viewing a painting assisted by two boys (fig 4.53).<sup>325</sup>

As Chinese mirrors were copied by Koryō craftspeople, Tang, Song and Jin mythological and Taoist subject matter entered their repertoire. The motif of the goddess Chang E 嫦娥 in the lunar palace was, for example, frequently

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being a magical plant. For references to chrysanthemums in Japanese historical texts, such as the *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語, see Matsuda 1980: 103.

<sup>322</sup> Chou 2000: 86.

<sup>323</sup> Legends and mythological themes were popular on post-Tang mirrors and include the story of the constellations identified as the Herdboy and the Weaver Maid who were only allowed to unite once a year in the Milky Way. Another much-used topic on Jin and Northern Song 北宋 (960-1126) mirrors is that of the goddess Chang E in the Lunar Palace, and such mirrors were also copied by Korean mirrorsmiths. For a discussion of Chinese mirrors with this motif, see Kerr 1990: 94. A square mirror with an unusual secular decoration has recently been published in Priestley and Ferraro 2003: 12-13. Dating to the Song dynasty, the mirror features four naked amorous couples.

<sup>324</sup> I am grateful to Dr Oliver Moore for bringing this mirror to my attention.

imitated. However, pictorial scenes that were more Korean in appearance were also cast, mostly images of ducks and reeds, children holding lotus flowers and children playing in a garden (figs 4.54-4.55). Some of these patterns were also used on ceramics, especially those featuring ducks, strengthening the possibility of a shared pool of motifs used by craftspeople working across different media. Despite the seemingly secular nature of these motifs, they appear to carry Buddhist undertones. Yi Hŭi-gwan has recently drawn parallels between Mount Potalaka, the residence of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and the water and duck scene, arguing that the popularity of the reed, water and duck design on early Koryŏ celadons was closely related to support for Buddhism. The Buddhist connotations of this motif are also suggested by its appearance on Koryŏ celadon and bronze *kundika* used in Buddhist rituals (fig. 4.56-4.57).<sup>326</sup>

A motif which seems to appear only on mirrors is that of children in a garden. One such example was found at the site of Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, in grave no. 38 (fig. 4.58). The mirror is circular with a wide flat rim and a knob surrounded by a six-petal flower. Above the knob is a small single-storey Buddhist pavilion with a temple bell. The sky is filled with clouds and on either side of the building are banana plants. Four children are depicted in the lower half of the mirror; three of them seem to be playing with a ball while the fourth, at the far right, is beating on a drum placed on a three-legged stand.<sup>327</sup>

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<sup>325</sup> According to Cheng Zhangxin and Cheng Ruixiu, the boy standing on the far left is plucking a qin 琴, but it seems more likely that he is holding a scroll. Cheng and Cheng 1989: 37.

<sup>326</sup> Yi Hŭi-gwan 2001.

<sup>327</sup> A similar mirror is in the collection of Kyoto National Museum. See Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 195.

Measuring 10.1cm in diameter, the mirror is similar in size, motif and style to several pieces in museum collections, including an example at the Seoul National University Museum illustrated in fig. 4.59, indicating they are of a similar date. The image is likely to be connected to that on a considerably larger circular mirror, probably of Koryŏ date now in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco; it is decorated with five children playing musical instruments in a fenced garden near a large banana plant (fig. 4.60).

A Yuan mirror with a comparable decoration was found in Jilin 吉林 province (fig. 4.61). Six children are depicted in a garden watched over by a woman standing behind a fence. The Yuan motif probably developed from genre paintings of the Song dynasty, such as those by the twelfth century artist Su Hanchen 蘇漢臣 (active 1130s-1160s) whose idyllic and elegant paintings of children were very popular (fig. 4.62).<sup>328</sup> The theme of one hundred children (Ch. *baizi* 百子) apparently originated in the Tang dynasty and had by the Song become connected to various ceremonies following the birth of a child, such as the attainment of thirty days, one hundred days and one year; pictures with this motif would have been shown at any of these events.<sup>329</sup> The children are usually

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<sup>328</sup> Sickman and Soper 1988: 243-244.

<sup>329</sup> It has been argued that the *baizi* theme originated in the Tang dynasty when so-called 'one-hundred children curtains' were used in marriage ceremonies. At the time they were not symbols of fecundity, but were meant to represent the marriage suitability of the bridegroom. However, by the Song only the name survived and came to be associated with new ceremonies. For further explanation of the *baizi* genre, see the Cleveland Museum of Art 1989: 55-56.

shown amusing themselves by imitating adults, wearing moustaches and official hats and playing instruments.<sup>330</sup>

None of the children on Koryŏ mirrors appear to don adult clothing or imitate adult behaviour. Instead, images of children with lotus flowers or children in a garden appear to carry Buddhist connotations. The former motif formed part of Buddhist iconography on votive objects, such as a sutra container (K. *kyŏngap* 經匣) in repoussé dating to the twelfth century in the National Museum of Korea technique (fig. 4.63).<sup>331</sup> In her discussion of motifs featuring children with lotus flowers, Ellen Johnston Laing has argued that the meaning of the motif is based on the rebus of *lien* 蓮, 'lotus', equalling *lien* 連, 'continuous' or 'unbroken'. In this way it visualises the wish for an unbroken series of sons to continue the family line and ancestral rites.<sup>332</sup> A similar concern probably lies behind the use of the motif in a burial setting, since the succession severed with the death of the interred is to be continued by surviving members of the family. As for the children in a garden motif, depictions of banana plants signify the Buddhist metaphor for the insubstantiality of the body in that their stems can be stripped away without disclosing any solid substance.<sup>333</sup>

The use of pictorial subject matter on Koryŏ mirrors is not only indicative of the influence of Chinese mirror designs, but also demonstrates the new role

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<sup>330</sup> In some Chinese depictions of the *baizi* theme, one of the children holds a branch of the *osmanthus fragrans* (Ch. *guihua* 桂花), possibly a symbol of success in the civil service examination. However, none of the children in the Koryŏ mirrors hold such a branch.

<sup>331</sup> Repoussé is the method of hammering the metal from behind or within to create a relief design. In Korea, it was used for the first time in the Koryŏ period, particularly on sutra boxes, oil bottles and articles for personal adornment.

<sup>332</sup> Laing 1988-89: 118.

mirrors played in Koryŏ society. They were no longer exclusively associated with the spiritual but also took on secular characteristics. Yet, the auspicious and Buddhist themes which were integral to Koryŏ mirror iconography were retained and appear to have been a constant source of inspiration.

A smaller number of non-pictorial references to immortality, longevity and good fortune are found in mirror inscriptions, and it would be useful to briefly examine them, as they illustrate the associations between such concepts and mirror use. Common wordings include 大吉 (K. *taegil*) 'Great luck' and 長命富貴 (K. *changmyŏng pugwi*) 'May you live long and be successful', as seen in several mirrors excavated near Kaesŏng, now in the collection of the National Museum of Korea.<sup>334</sup> The characters are generally crudely executed and in some cases even wrongly cast, suggesting that their makers may have been illiterate. For example, the inscription 長命富貴 can be seen on a mirror in the National Museum of Korea, but the character (K.) 'chang' 長 is reversed, whereas the other characters are correctly cast (fig. 4.64).

In China, the many references to immortality and longevity in mirror iconography were pertinent to mirror use from as early as the Han period, as reflected in mirror motifs and inscriptions. More recently Ken Brashier added another dimension to the role of Han burial mirrors by arguing that the material with which they were cast, namely bronze, symbolised longevity (K. *su* 壽). Brashier also pointed out that longevity should not simply be interpreted as the

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<sup>333</sup> Demiéville 1987: 14.

<sup>334</sup> For a brief discussion of Koryŏ mirrors with inscriptions, see Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 260-264.

lengthened years of life, but understood as the continuation of reputation and the immortalisation of the deceased's memory for posterity.<sup>335</sup> It is possible that such concerns also informed references to longevity on Koryŏ mirrors.

#### **4.6. Buddhist iconography**

During the Koryŏ period Buddhism was fervently followed by people of all social ranks, and designs which are partly or directly related to Buddhist traditions are common on artefacts, including mirrors. Motifs include arrangements of lotus, swastika and Sanskrit characters. The *posanghwa* motif discussed above also has Buddhist undertones as it frequently incorporates lotus flowers. Though these patterns had featured already on Tang mirrors, they were new to Korean mirror-smithing. Nevertheless, they quickly came to form an important part of Koryŏ mirror iconography. Other types of mirrors which carry Buddhist references are those without any decoration and those shaped like bells.

The lotus is central to the Buddhist iconographical canon; the rise of its pure white flower from the mud of a swamp is likened to the spread of Buddha's pure doctrine throughout the imperfect world.<sup>336</sup> From the time Buddhism entered China the lotus became a common motif and gradually appeared on objects with no direct link to Buddhist rituals. However, despite its frequent

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<sup>335</sup> Ken Brashier supported this argument by citing numerous historical sources and mirror inscriptions. The wording on a stele from AD 181 in Sichuan 四川 exemplifies well the secular as opposed to metaphysical associations of 'longevity': "Our longevity is not that of metal and stone. The body disappears, but the name is made manifest, displayed for later generations." Brashier 1995: 217.

<sup>336</sup> Hulton and Smith 1979: 7.

appearance on secular objects, its popularity goes hand in hand with the support for Buddhism.

As discussed above, many Koryŏ mirrors are decorated with lotus motifs which take up either the whole or a part of their surface. Some carry stylised and at times crudely cast scrolls, whereas others feature sophisticated and ornate patterns (fig. 4.65a-c).<sup>337</sup> In many cases the lotus design is so stylised that the original floral reference is virtually unrecognisable. This appears to be the case of a small mirror with an eight-bracketed rim from grave no. 8 at Hyŏn'gongni which has an unusual decoration of three crudely cast concentric rows of dots (fig. 4.66). No identical pieces have been found elsewhere in Korea, though vaguely similar patterns feature on a small number of contemporary mirrors. Yet, the use of dotted lines is quite common on Koryŏ mirrors, and they are often seen as borders between the rim and the main design. The use of such border designs is likely to have been a Chinese influence, as this is in particular a feature of Song, Liao and Jin mirrors, like the Song one excavated in Luoyang 洛阳, Henan province (fig. 4.67).<sup>338</sup> Yet, contrary to Chinese practice, Koryŏ craftspeople decorated the whole surface of a mirror with dotted rows, either in the form of floral patterns, especially lotus, or as abstractly swirling lines. It is likely that the design of dotted lines is linked to Buddhist iconography. Concentric rows of dots are frequently seen on roof-end tiles excavated from Buddhist temples and other archaeological sites dating to the Unified Silla

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<sup>337</sup> It is worth noting that the elaborate mirror illustrated in fig. 4.71a is also unusually large, stressing the previously discussed correlation between the size of a mirror, its decoration and its monetary and social value.

period. Dotted lines are also common on tiles decorated with lotus flowers, where they encircle the main design (fig. 4.68). Sometimes a row of dots can be seen in the seed receptacle of lotus flowers, representing the seeds (fig. 4.69). In other cases, dots appear on their own, but may refer to lotus flowers (fig. 4.70). From this viewpoint, the Hyōn'gongni motif may indeed symbolise a lotus flower, especially in the light of a commentary in the *Da Piluzhena fo shenbian jia chi jing* 大毗盧 遮那佛神變加持經 (“Commentary on Mahāvairocana Sutra”) that compares the lotus to a mirror, noting that “the lotus is dazzling. Inside is a full circular moon, dustless like a bright mirror”.<sup>339</sup>

The frequent use of swastika and Sanskrit characters further cements the link between mirrors and the Buddhist faith. The word *swastika* derives from the Sanskrit *su* ‘well’ and *as* ‘to be’, meaning ‘so be it’ and denotes resignation of spirit. The wider symbolic meaning of the swastika depends on its context, but it came to be regarded as a symbol of Buddha’s heart and is believed to contain within it the whole mind of Buddha.<sup>340</sup> Koryō mirrors with swastika tend to be plain and devoid of any other decoration, suggesting that such pieces were not appreciated for their aesthetic value but for their religious associations (fig. 4.71a-c). In contrast, mirrors with Sanskrit characters tend to be more ornate (fig. 4.72). Whereas swastika and Sanskrit characters do not feature on ceramics, they appear as inlaid motifs on Koryō bronzes, especially incense burners used in Buddhist ceremonies (figs 4.40, 4.73). The presence of mirrors decorated with

<sup>338</sup> For examples of Song and Jin mirrors with these types of borders which have been excavated in the region of Liaocheng, Shandong province, see Liu and Sun 1986: 88-89.

<sup>339</sup> Sen 1999: 46-47.

<sup>340</sup> Williams 1932: 381.

these symbols in burials suggests they were chosen for their ritual connotations in a conscious attempt to emphasise the Buddhist milieu within the graves.

This iconography is likely to have been initially influenced by Chinese mirrors, where it first appears in the mid-Tang period and continues in the Liao. The discovery of a mirror with a large swastika in a Tang tomb at Heshan temple 赫山庙 in Yiyang, Hunan province further testifies to the link between mirrors, their iconography and their Buddhist references (fig. 4.74).<sup>341</sup>

As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, mirrors have multiple meanings and usages in the Buddhist context. In some texts they have been used as metaphors for emptiness, the human mind and the wisdom of Buddha. In other cases their brightness has been celebrated, thus referring to notions of clarity. Many undecorated mirrors in museum collections embody in their bare surfaces these concepts, as verified by references to mirrors and mirror iconography in Buddhist texts. Some of them are bell-shaped and have been cast with a raised undecorated disk (fig. 4.75).<sup>342</sup> Plainer examples have been excavated from graves. The earliest is from the stone-lined tomb no. 1-2 at Chibongni in North Ch'ungch'öng province dating to the eleventh century (fig. 4.76). Eight-lobed undecorated mirrors like this tend to have a flat rim slightly raised above the central decorative field, which in this case is totally plain and has a small raised knob at its centre. A virtually identical piece was excavated from the stone-lined tomb no. 15 at the mid to late twelfth century site of Hyön'gongni (fig. 4.77).

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<sup>341</sup> The tomb is dated to 763. For details of this tomb, see Yiyang 1981.

<sup>342</sup> The Buddhist connotations of this type of mirror are further demonstrated in another bell-shaped example cast with a raised disk surrounded by Sanskrit characters discovered in a tomb near a temple located in Kaesöng. See Yi Nan-yöng 2003: 304.

Another plain mirror fragment with a bracketed rim was found at the same site in tomb no. 21 (fig. 4.78). Two plain circular mirrors were excavated from tombs no. 90 and no. 46 at the late eleventh to early twelfth century site at Kūmch'ōndong II-1; one was broken when found, presumably due to its thinness, and the other is extremely small, measuring only 4.7cm in diameter (figs 4.79-4.80). A similar piece was found at the partially looted earthen pit tomb no. 2-85 at Hoamdong, dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century (fig. 4.81).

All of the undecorated mirrors found in the graves sampled in Chapter 3 are thin and small, often measuring less than 10cm in diameter and around 2mm in thickness, suggesting that less effort and material were put into their making. They stand in stark contrast to the larger and better cast undecorated mirrors that were also made at this time,<sup>343</sup> suggesting that their poor quality is connected less to the absence of motifs, and more to the social position of the interred who was not able to afford better. Nevertheless, the fact that small undecorated mirrors have been found in early as well as in late Koryō graves indicates that they continued to be in demand throughout the Koryō period and testifies to their popularity as burial goods, probably due to their Buddhist connotations.

Three square undecorated mirrors, all dating from the late eleventh to the twelfth century, are also among the current sample (figs 4.82-4.84). Typically, they are relatively small measuring 12.4-14.8cm in length and only 1-2mm in thickness. The shapes of the two pieces from tomb no. 58 at Kūmch'ōndong II-1

and tomb no. 8 at Tanwöldong bear close resemblance to (K.) *kyöngsang* 鏡像, bronze mirrors or in some cases polished, tin-plated bronze plates with engravings of Buddhist deities on the mirroring surface (figs 4.85-4.86).<sup>344</sup> Like the *kyöngsang*, the two mirrors are thin and square. Unlike the Yudongni mirror (fig. 4.84), they do not have a knob in the centre. Instead, the Kümch'öndong mirror from tomb no. 58 has a loop at the top, similar to those on the *kyöngsang* in the National Museum of Korea. It is possible that the Tanwöldong mirror also had such a loop. Though the Kümch'öndong and Tanwöldong pieces have no decoration, their close resemblance to *kyöngsang* poses interesting questions as to their role within the burials.

Albeit sometimes cast with Taoist and cosmological motifs, Koryö mirrors use Buddhist ones more frequently, supporting their strong association with Buddhist practices and their incorporation in Buddhist rituals, as demonstrated by their appearance in pagodas. In Chapters 2 and 3, sections 2.5.3.5 and 3.8, the Buddhist associations of the mirror as a metaphor for the human mind, the wisdom of the Buddha and enlightenment were discussed in relation to those found inside Korean pagodas. It was also pointed out that the majority of these

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<sup>343</sup> Seoul National University Museum holds several undecorated mirrors in its collection. They measure 11-21cm in diameter, 4-9mm in thickness and weigh 205-920gr. Their original provenances are not known. Chu Kyöng-mi 1998: 56.

<sup>344</sup> Within Buddhism, the term *kyöngsang* 鏡像 (literally 'mirror with image'), signifies that *Dharma*, truth, is intangible. Korean *kyöngsang* are normally thin plates which are undecorated on one side and on the other carry an engraved decoration of a Buddhist deity. As such, they are quite different to Koryö bronze mirrors. For detailed analysis of Korean *kyöngsang*, see Kwak Tong-sök 1989 and 1991. In contrast, Japanese ones are identical in shape and size to Japanese bronze mirrors. The Buddhist image has been engraved on the mirror's undecorated side. Bracketed mirrors with bird motifs seem to have been particularly popular for this purpose. For examples of Heian *kyöngsang*, see Tôkyô Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1983: 109-112.

mirrors were devoid of decoration, and may have served to reinforce the Buddhist references to purity and emptiness. It can safely be assumed that similar preoccupations governed the placing of such mirrors in tombs.

#### **4.7. Conclusion**

The Koryŏ dynasty witnessed an unprecedented rise in the manufacture of mirrors, suggesting that their production and use were governed by new ideas and concerns which had not previously played a role. This chapter set out to examine the social and ideological framework in which mirrors functioned and questioned their use as symbols of social status, as collectibles, as domestic objects and as ritual artefacts. The discussion centred on their iconography and questioned how their stylistic variables signified and enhanced the roles mirrors played in society.

One of the most significant developments came about as a result of the mirrors' growing commodification, as manifested in their diverse range of motifs, sizes and shapes as well as in the increase of their numbers. Historical records confirm that one of the official workshops in the capital was devoted to their casting. Inscriptions on mirrors stating that they were made in the Koryŏ kingdom also bear witness to the governmental control over their production. It must be assumed that the establishment of such a workshop enabled the regime to control not only the manufacture but also the use of the objects. The larger size and superior casting and decoration of the output of such workshops suggest that they were destined for a different clientele to that of mirrors manufactured by regional craftspeople.

The influx of Chinese and to a lesser extent Japanese mirror designs is further suggestive of the growing commercialisation of mirrors. Their role as tributary gifts, paramount during the Iron Age and Proto-Three Kingdoms periods, had become less important in the Koryŏ; instead, they were incorporated within an active trade network that satisfied the demand for coveted foreign products. Many Koryŏ mirror patterns closely imitate their foreign prototypes, indicating that they were made in a conscious attempt to preserve the original designs and their foreign references. Those, who were unable to obtain foreign mirrors, could instead acquire faithful local copies.

Particularly popular were Han and Tang mirrors, which had already become fashionable collector's items among Chinese scholars with antiquarian interests and were copied by workshops, especially during the Song. Their reproduction by Korean craftspeople may in part have been triggered by the demand for *any* Chinese mirror. Yet, it is likely that ancient Chinese mirrors were deemed more precious than contemporary ones for the Koreans, too, due to their value as collectibles, and it cannot be excluded that Song imitations of Han and Tang mirrors were sold to the Koreans as genuine articles.

The influx of foreign mirror designs also meant that new patterns entered the repertory of local mirrorsmiths, which expanded from the earlier reliance on cosmological motifs into incorporating a variety of mythological and secular subject matter, patterns and even pictorial scenes. Many motifs centred on auspicious references to immortality, longevity and good fortune, suggesting that mirrors did not lose their earlier ritual and metaphorical associations, and

in some cases their symbolic roles may have been deemed more important than their reflective qualities, particularly when they were used as ritual objects in tombs and pagodas. This is particularly apparent in the many Buddhist motifs that ranged from lotus flowers to swastika and Sanskrit characters. Bell-shaped mirrors and those without decoration also belonged to this category, as they embodied Buddhist concepts of purity and clarity.

Many of the objects discussed in this chapter were excavated from Koryō tombs, bringing forward the question of their ritual purpose. As in secular life, the size and quality of casting as well as the meaning and exclusivity of the pattern were the components that codified the social value attached to the mirrors. However, failing these qualities would not render the mirror useless within the ritual context, although they undoubtedly enhanced its role as a burial object. The very fact of its inclusion was the fundamental point. Even plain examples of small size and poor casting preserved their auspicious quality, Buddhist references and allusions to status.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusions

Throughout this thesis bronze mirrors have been perceived as multifaceted commodities operating within a social system that framed as well as contributed to their uses and meanings. They have been seen as evolving entities shaped by the setting and time in which they were used, as well as by their earlier roles and attributes. Previous studies on the iconography and stylistic developments of mirrors have largely ignored their social environment and were therefore challenged; for example, the commonly held assumptions that Koryō mirrors remained associated with their domestic role of reflection even when interred and that they were only found in women's graves proved to be one-dimensional. My examination of the material presented a different and far more complex picture.

The methodology used sought to combine the disciplines of archaeology and art history. Given the lack of other surviving contextual material, entombed and enshrined examples recovered from archaeological excavations have provided the most reliable means of placing the mirrors within a known framework of use. By applying the principles of structuralist analysis in Chapter 3, artefact assemblages were 'read' and mirrors were situated in relation to burial constructions, other burial goods and the human remains within the tombs. This enabled a more enlightened understanding of their patterns of use and meaning.

From an art historical point of view, the idea that mirrors could be interpreted as signifiers of signified concepts, as concrete representations of

social realities, gave the point of departure for Chapter 4. The signifiers were the mirrors' stylistic variables – their size, shapes and motifs – inseparable from their functional attributes and decisively contributing to their social roles. The signified concepts were the parameters of the collective networks within which these roles were performed. Questions of iconography and style formed an important part of the study, and mirrors from museum collections, albeit deprived of their original setting, expanded the sample against which questions on mirror production and consumption were asked.

The formal qualities of Koryō mirrors are remarkably varied and are indicative of a multilayered and multifaceted picture of use that was built upon earlier traditions. Though few in number, historical and Buddhist sources on the Three Kingdoms period and beyond suggest that the roles attributed to mirrors exceeded the act of reproducing an image on a shiny surface and were associated with auspiciousness, metaphors of reflection, as well as notions of truth, prophesy and illusion. This symbolism was intrinsic to their presence in relic deposits and informed their inclusion in burials. As secular commodities, mirrors were incorporated into systems of trade and diplomacy, which determined their desirability as collectibles. They were also perceived as status objects and luxury items used in the homes of the social elite. Their multiple dimensions were thus enriched by the continuation of pre-existing traditions and by the new realities that emerged in the Koryō period.

The most obvious use of mirrors is as tools for grooming. The earliest evidence for this comes from the settlement site of Anapchi pond in Kyōngju and dates to the Unified Silla period. We cannot exclude the possibility that

mirrors were used for this purpose prior to this date; however, there is no concrete textual or material record of it. The appearance of mirrors in a domestic context coincided with a move away from earlier cosmological motifs into secular subject matter. Additional patterns of a decorative nature were included in the repertoire during Koryŏ and elaborate mirror stands furnished the wealthiest households.

On the basis of the material examined, it can be suggested that the desire for beautiful, unusual and, in the case of imported mirrors, exotic accoutrements was one of the main driving forces for the popularity and unprecedented rise in the production of extravagant objects of vanity. Only members of elite social groups would have had the surplus means to indulge in such spending, and it can be argued that it was their taste that governed the production of mirrors in Koryŏ. Fashion was dictated and standards were set by the government-controlled mirror workshop in the capital, which is likely to have catered for the aristocracy residing there. Sumptuary laws restricting the use of lavish goods would have limited the access of regional elite groups to such exclusive items and their needs would accordingly be answered by the output of local workshops.

The demand for new and exciting luxury artefacts resulted in the casting of a wide spectrum of shapes, sizes and motifs. Some of the new patterns invented were indigenous to Korea and reflected the increased awareness of 'Koreanness' by the court. Nevertheless, foreign mirrors continued to fascinate and be emulated by craftsmen. It was not only the latest examples that were fashionable. Earlier Chinese mirrors enjoyed popularity, too, possibly paralleled by the Song Chinese interest in things

antique. The upper levels of Koryŏ society were well versed in Chinese classics and would have been aware of the references to the past in such items.

Certain motifs were evidently more in vogue than others, suggesting a preoccupation with and preference for the ideas they symbolised. Many patterns carried auspicious connotations, such as the 'double-bird-auspicious-flower-motif', while others, including cranes and chrysanthemums, denoted longevity. Yet, the largest group of motifs were associated with Buddhism, thus reflecting the permeation of this faith in all strata of society.

Foreign mirrors entered Koryŏ in the wake of its diplomatic and trade relations with neighbouring countries. As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.1, gifts of mirrors formed an important part of the tributary system that was established between China and the various groups on the Korean peninsula between the late Iron Age and the Proto-Three Kingdoms period. Consequently, such objects became closely associated with political power and high social status. Despite the fact that it is not explicitly stated in the sources, it is possible that mirrors were also presented to the Koryŏ court as part of diplomatic exchanges. However, the most appreciated diplomatic gifts were those not available locally, and since the Koreans were already skilful in manufacturing bronze objects which they even sent to China as tribute, it was books that they preferred. Therefore, mirrors no longer formed a crucial part of the tributary system and their political connotations weakened. Instead, foreign prototypes mainly entered Koryŏ through an active trade network and either served as inspiration for or were faithfully copied by local craftsmen. The import, recasting and imitation of foreign

mirrors is a topic which is difficult to fully explore stylistically and therefore would benefit from future metallurgical analysis that can determine the origin of the material with which contested pieces were made.<sup>345</sup>

Whereas the above secular contexts present an image of change in mirror use and production, the realm of the ritual unfolds an altogether different and more conservative picture. The importance of rituals partly lies in their ability to preserve certain actions and thought processes, and the practices involved in funerals may be the most conservative of all rituals as manifested in the slow change in the paraphernalia used in them.<sup>346</sup> In Chapter 2 it was argued that the role of mirrors as burial goods for elite members of pre-Koryō society was especially significant. From the analysis of Koryō material in Chapter 3, it was concluded that this association continued. The sampled graves in which mirrors were found most likely belonged to regional elite groups, who were prevented by law from burying their dead in a manner identical to that of aristocrats residing in the capital. Analysis of the data suggests that despite such prohibitions local elite groups still consciously emulated the customs of the nobility and had the means to furnish their burials abundantly.

The archaeological record seems to indicate that the people of Koryō, unlike the Chinese, did not place mirrors in graves because of their perceived ability to reflect light. Nor were burial mirrors connected to their secular uses as vanity objects linked to the female gender. They were broadly regarded as

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<sup>345</sup> Saitou *et al.* 1998 examines the sources of metal for the casting of coins in medieval Japan. Using lead isotope analysis their study confirms that in the fourteenth to fifteenth century coins were made with Chinese lead, in contrast to the following century when local lead was preferred. Thus, it answers questions on the provenance of materials used in the minting of coins and on the import of Chinese metals. Similar studies need to be carried out on Koryō material.

<sup>346</sup> Pearson 1999: 195.

auspicious, as was emphasised by their iconography, and thus contributed favourably to the burial setting. Undecorated examples embodied in their plain surfaces the fundamental Buddhist concepts of clarity and emptiness. The Buddhist symbolism in burial mirrors was crucial to the pious devotees hoping to be reborn in Buddha's paradise.

Similar associations with the Buddhist belief system governed the employment of mirrors in rituals surrounding the enshrinement of relics in pagodas. Early findings of mirrors at pagoda sites and the modifications in their use over the course of the seventh and eighth centuries were discussed in Chapter 2. By the Koryŏ period, the way in which mirrors were used in relic deposits had crystallised into a set of choices that were no longer arbitrary. By encircling the relic, they performed apotropaic and protective roles, and the undecorated examples that were frequently chosen signified the fundamental Buddhist concept of the 'one mind' and served as metaphors for enlightenment. In this manner, the dominant belief system of medieval Korea assimilated the pre-existing connotations and added new dimensions to the ritual significance of bronze mirrors.

This pattern of continuation and change in secular and ritual mirror use persisted during the Chosŏn period. The Koryŏ crafts industry, that had largely been driven by an aristocracy demanding ostentatious domestic objects and commissioning elaborate artefacts for Buddhist rituals, suffered a decline in the latter part of the dynasty. The new Chosŏn clientele was bound by stringent Confucian codes of social conduct and was not preoccupied with supporting the decorative arts. The industry came under official control and artisans were registered with and managed by the government in a more

systematic manner than ever before;<sup>347</sup> the aim was to ensure that members of different social classes were distinguished from one another through the clothes they wore and the artefacts they used.<sup>348</sup>

The new rule brought with it radical changes to burial customs, most significantly the curtailment of lavish funerary rites. Funerals had to be conducted according to the *Jia li*, written by the Chinese Neo-Confucian philosopher Zhou Xi, where it was prescribed that grave goods “should resemble those used in real life but be smaller”.<sup>349</sup> For this reason miniature ceramics (K. *myǒnggi* 明器)<sup>350</sup> became common as burial goods and graves tended to contain a smaller number of artefacts than those of the Koryŏ period.<sup>351</sup> To my knowledge, the only Chosŏn grave to yield a mirror is the sixteenth century one at Sawŏlli 沙月里 in South Kyŏngsang province 慶尙南道 (figs 5.1a-d).<sup>352</sup> Wrapped in fabric, the mirror was placed on the

<sup>347</sup> New craft-related offices were founded and earlier ones were re-organised, and as in the Koryŏ period, craftspeople were registered with the central government in the capital of Seoul. See Choe Gong-ho 2003.

<sup>348</sup> Dress in particular was subject to prohibitive legislations, undoubtedly because it was one of the most demonstrative ways of displaying social rank. This did not only apply to the types of costumes worn, but also their materials and colours. The use of yellow and red clothes, for example, was restricted to the upper classes during the reign of King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724-1776). See Kim Soo-kyung 1997: 76-77. Yet, Confucian regulations also extended into native ceremonial rites, such as weddings. Martina Deuchler details how laws on the use of luxury items at weddings, which had been introduced in the last years of Koryŏ, became more stringent in Chosŏn. In 1394, gold could no longer be used and rankless persons were prohibited from using silver, silk clothes and furs. See Deuchler 1992: 244-246.

<sup>349</sup> Ebrey 1991: 109.

<sup>350</sup> Chosŏn *myǒnggi* are normally of white porcelain and either imitate the shapes of ritual vessels or are in the form of figurines.

<sup>351</sup> Chosŏn burial material has received little scholarly attention. One of the most comprehensive analyses is that by Martina Deuchler (1992: 197-202). For an archaeological examination of spirit road sculptures and epitaphs used in Chosŏn burials, see Kim U-rim 1998.

<sup>352</sup> The grave, measuring 2m in length and 0.70m in width (inner pit), was excavated by Pukyŏng University Museum in 1996. To date, only a brief report has

pelvic area of the deceased with the decorative side facing downwards (figs 5.1b-c). In keeping with Chosŏn burial traditions, several miniature porcelain vessels and other goods were placed in two niches carved into the coffin wall (fig. 5.1d). The position of the mirror is noteworthy, because during this time burial objects were rarely placed in the pit with the body; it could suggest that the mirror referred to a unique symbolic code, different from other burial artefacts.

The continued use of mirrors in Buddhist ritual settings is exemplified by several examples cast with Sanskrit characters in museum collections (fig. 5.2). Furthermore, two mirrors are believed to have been found in a fifteenth century relic deposit from a stone pagoda at Sudŏksa 修德寺 in South Ch'ungch'ŏng province 忠清南道 (fig. 5.3).<sup>353</sup> The circumstances of their discovery are unknown and therefore it is not possible to reconstruct their original location inside the chamber. In shape, size and iconography they resemble those from the Koryŏ deposit of the five-storey pagoda at Naegyeri.<sup>354</sup>

In conclusion, earlier secular and ritual functions continued to some extent in the Chosŏn period, though changes also occurred, as would be expected in a society which was based on ideologies different from the Koryŏ one. With the import of silvered mirrors in the eighteenth century

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been published on its excavation. See Han'guk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 140-142.

<sup>353</sup> Despite the efforts exerted by the Chosŏn government to uproot Buddhism, in reality it continued to be practiced, albeit on a different scale to that of the Koryŏ period. Buddhist works of art were made, including paintings and sculptures, many of which were commissioned by the royal family and the aristocracy. Kim Hongnam 1991: 22-36.

<sup>354</sup> Alongside the mirrors were several beads and shells, a bronze bowl and a hand-written sutra manuscript. The latter contained an inscription stating it was commenced in 1458. Kang U-bang 1991: 236.

giving rise to the manufacture of lacquered boxes with mirrors that were used as vanity cases, the production of bronze mirrors was brought to a virtual halt.

Through a rigorous and original study of the available material record, in conjunction with textual evidence, the picture of the multifarious Koryŏ society has emerged. Elements of conservatism surviving in the ritual domains of religious worship and funeral practices were contrasted with novel realities. A rigid social hierarchy headed by a centralised aristocracy located at the capital and counterbalanced by aspiring elite groups based in regional centres dictated a series of convictions, desires and choices. The wish for items demarcating social differentiation, the patronage of elite groups that allowed surplus to be channelled to luxury goods, the laws protecting the exclusivity of these goods and their corresponding emulation by regional production centres, the awareness of 'Koreanness' contrasting with the evolving influence of China, and the tension between central and local seats of power were the fundamental social parameters reflected in the production and use of mirrors during the Koryŏ.

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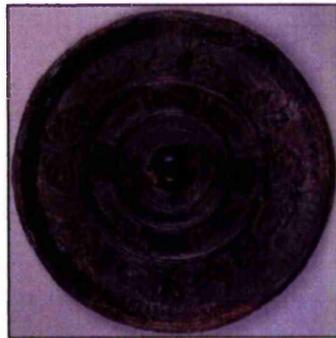
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**Mirrors in Koryō Society  
Their History, Use and Meanings**

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**Volume 2**

**Illustrations  
Appendix**

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
SOAS, University of London  
2005



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**Fig. 2.45:** Mirrors. Unified Silla period (668-935). Bronze, d. (right) 9cm, l. (left) 8.2cm. Anapchi pond, Kyŏngju, North Kyŏngsang province.

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**Fig. 2.46:** Mirror. Unified Silla period (668-935), eight to ninth century AD. Bronze with gold and silver foil set in black lacquer, d. 18.2cm, t. 0.5cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 58.)

**Fig. 2.47:** Mirror. Unified Silla period (668-935). Bronze with gold and silver foil set in black lacquer, d. 15.3cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 59.)

**Fig. 2.48a:** Mirror. Unified Silla period (668-935), eighth century. Bronze with mother-of-pearl, amber and blue stones set in lacquer, d. 18.6cm, t. 0.6cm.

Reportedly from South Kyŏngsang province. Private collection.

(After Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 56.)

**Fig. 2.48b:** Mirror, detail of fig. 2.48a. Unified Silla period (668-935), eighth century. Bronze with mother-of-pearl, amber and blue stones set in lacquer, d. 18.6cm, t. 0.6cm. Reportedly from South Kyŏngsang province. Private collection.

(After Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 56.)

### Chapter 3

**Fig. 3.1:** Mirror stands with mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth to fourteenth century. (Left stand) gilt-bronze, (right stand) iron inlaid with silver wire, (mirror) bronze, h. (left stand) 56cm, (right stand) 54.8cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos (left stand) tŏk 5704, (right stand) tŏk 5393.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1993: 203.)

**Fig. 3.2a:** Coffin. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Slate, carved with the Four Guardian Animals (exterior) and lotus and peony flowers (interior), l. 74.5cm, h. 39cm, w. 39cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. A. 117-1918.

(After McKillop 1992: 94.)

**Fig. 3.2b:** Peony flower, detail of coffin in fig. 3.2a. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Slate, carved with the Four Guardian Animals (exterior) and lotus and peony flowers (interior), l. 74.5cm, h. 39cm, w. 39cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. A. 117-1918.  
(After McKillop 1992: 94.)

**Fig. 3.3:** Koryŏ dynasty tomb sites (918-1392). Site numbers correspond to those in table 3.1.

**Fig. 3.4a:** Stone-lined tomb no. 1-2. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh century. Chibongni, Yŏngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987: 20.)

**Fig. 3.4b:** Detail from interior of stone-lined tomb no. 1-2 in fig. 3.4a. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh century. Chibongni, Yŏngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987: 20.)

**Fig. 3.5:** Stone-lined tomb no. 9. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid-eleventh century. Chwahangni, Yongin'gun, Kyŏnggi province.  
(After Sin Chŏn-sik and Ŏm Ik-sŏng 1994: 74.)

**Fig. 3.6:** Earthen pit tomb no. 1. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Yudongni, Mujugun, North Chŏlla province.  
(After Kang In-gu 1980: 3.)

**Fig. 3.7a:** Earthen pit tomb no. 19. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 49.)

**Fig. 3.7b:** Earthen pit tomb no. 38. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 84.)

**Fig. 3.7c:** Earthen pit tomb no. 46. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 95.)

**Fig. 3.7d:** Earthen pit tomb no. 55. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 114.)

**Fig. 3.7e:** Earthen pit tomb no. 57. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 114.)

**Fig. 3.7f:** Earthen pit tomb no. 58. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 125.)

**Fig. 3.7g:** Earthen pit grave no. 62. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏn-dong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 132.)

**Fig. 3.7h:** Earthen pit tomb no. 89. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 183.)

**Fig. 3.7i:** Earthen pit tomb no. 90. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 185.)

**Fig. 3.7j:** Earthen pit tomb no. 96. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 197.)

**Fig. 3.7k:** Earthen pit tomb no. 99. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 202.)

**Fig. 3.7l:** Earthen pit tomb no. 111. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 219.)

**Fig. 3.7m:** Earthen pit tomb no. 130. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 256.)

**Fig. 3.7n:** Earthen pit tomb no. 157. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 296.)

**Fig. 3.7o:** Earthen pit tomb no. 181. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 333.)

**Fig. 3.7p:** Earthen pit tomb no. 207. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 372.)

**Fig. 3.8:** Earthen pit grave no. 16. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 423.)

**Fig. 3.9:** Earthen pit tomb no. 23-1. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1992: 117.)

**Fig. 3.10a:** Stone-lined tomb no. 12. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 12.)

**Fig. 3.10b:** Stone-lined tomb no. 21. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 14.)

**Fig. 3.10c:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with beaded design, d. 12.7cm. Stone-lined tomb no. 8, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

**Fig. 3.10d:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast in eight-lobed shape without decoration, d. 9.8cm. Stone-lined tomb no. 15, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

**Fig. 3.10e:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with a motif of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.6cm. Stone-lined tomb no. 31, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

**Fig. 3.11:** Lime-coffin tomb no. 1. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late twelfth to thirteenth century. Songnari, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province.  
(After Yun Se-yŏng and Kim U-rim 1995: 22.)

**Fig. 3.12:** Comb. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late twelfth to thirteenth century. Lacquer, l. 19cm, h. 7cm. Lime-coffin tomb no. 1, Songnari, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province.  
(After Yun Se-yŏng and Kim U-rim 1995: 25.)

**Fig. 3.13:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast in lobed shape with imprint of comb on reflective surface, d. 13.4cm. Ch'ŏngju National Museum, tŏk 419.  
(Author's photograph.)

**Fig. 3.14:** Symbols of the zodiac and constellations surrounding lotus flower with mirror in the centre. Liao dynasty (AD 907-1125), AD 1113. Detail of wall painting. Tomb M2, Xiabali, Xuanhua, Hebei province.  
(After Zhangjiakou 1990: colour plate 3.)

**Fig. 3.15:** Relic deposit. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), tenth century. Western five-storey stone pagoda, Kwangju, South Chŏlla province.  
(After Chin Hong-sŏp 1962: 5.)

**Fig. 3.16:** Shrine and bowl with relic. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), tenth century. Gilt bronze and silver with figures of the Four Heavenly Guardians, h. (shrine) 15.7cm, h. (bowl) 2.5cm. Western five-storey stone pagoda, Kwangju, South Chŏlla province.  
(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991: 68.)

**Fig. 3.17:** Relics. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze, silver, gilt bronze and crystal, d. (outer case) 18.3cm, h. 11.6cm. Nine-storey octagonal stone pagoda, Wŏlchŏngsa, Kangwŏn province.  
(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991: 72.)

**Fig. 3.18:** Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with (a) wave design, (b) no design, (c) dragon design and (d) mythical animals design, d. (a) 11.6cm, (b) 11.6cm, (c) 11.9cm, (d) 9.5cm. Nine-storey octagonal stone pagoda, Wŏlchŏngsa, Kangwŏn province.  
(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 364-365.)

**Fig. 3.19:** Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with (top) 'animal and grapevine' design and (bottom) no design, d. (top) 6.9cm, (bottom) 7.9cm. Five-storey stone pagoda, Naegyeri, South Chŏlla province.  
(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 111-112.)

#### Chapter 4

**Fig. 4.1:** Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decorations of (a) the goddess Chang E visiting the moon palace, (b) two phoenixes, (c) cranes and cloud scrolls, (d) ducks in flight above reeds and (e) with floral scrolls and a plain concave disk, d. (a) 21.5cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.  
(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1993: 92.)

**Fig. 4.2:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of ducks and floral sprays, d. 22.7cm, wt 1.425kg. Collection of Senoku Hakkokan, Kyoto.  
(After Senoku Hakkokan 1990: 68.)

**Fig. 4.3:** Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with scrolls and rectangles with the inscription "Made in Koryŏ", d. (left) 9.7cm, (right) 9.7cm. Reportedly from Kaesŏng, National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos tŏk (left) 3407, (right) 89.  
(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 295.)

**Fig. 4.4:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 23cm. Tomb no. 57, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 122.)

**Fig. 4.5:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 26cm. wt 1.9kg. Private collection.  
(After Gana at'ŭ kongyegwan 2000: 3.)

**Fig. 4.6:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 26cm. wt 1.45kg. Private collection.  
(After Gana at'ŭ kongyegwan 2000: 3.)

**Fig. 4.7:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh century. Bronze cast with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 22.8cm. Stone chamber tomb, Nyŏngjongni, P'anmun'gun, Kaesŏng.  
(Photograph supplied by anonymous North Korean sources via the North East Asia and Pacific Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, May 2000.)

**Fig. 4.8:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid-eleventh century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, d. 10.4cm. Tomb no. 7, Chwahangni, Yongin'gun, Kyŏnggi province.  
(After Sin Ch'ŏn-sik and Ŏm Ik-sŏng 1994: 81.)

**Fig. 4.9:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, d. 10.8cm. Tomb no. 19, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: viii.)

**Fig. 4.10:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, d. 10.4cm. Tomb no. 55, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 114.)

**Fig. 4.11:** Mirror fragment. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, t. 0.1-0.2cm. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 291.)

**Fig. 4.12:** Mirror. Song dynasty (960-1279). Bronze cast with 'chained-coin-pattern'.  
(After Kong and Liu 1992: 686.)

**Fig. 4.13:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late twelfth to thirteenth century. Bronze cast with scalloped rim and four-character inscription, d. 16.2cm. Tomb no. 1, Songnari, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province.  
(After Yun Se-yŏng and Kim U-rim 1995: iv.)

**Fig. 4.14:** Mirror. Jin dynasty (1115-1234). Bronze cast with scalloped rim and four-character inscription, d. 16.5cm. Jiujiang City Museum, Jiangxi province.  
(After Wu 1993: 68.)

**Fig. 4.15:** Mirror. Western Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 9). Bronze cast with fowl design and four-character inscription, d. 11cm. Kyoto National Museum.  
(After Kyŏto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 164.)

**Fig. 4.16:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with diamond and weave pattern. Tomb no. 27, Chŏngjiri, Nonsan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Ch'ungnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 2000: fig. 67.)

**Fig. 4.17:** Mirror. Warring States period (475-221 BC), circa third century BC. Bronze cast with geometric design, d. 13cm. Tomb no. M29, Heshanzhen, Yiyang, Hunan province.

(After Hunan 1985: 106.)

**Fig. 4.18:** Mirror. Warring States period (475-221 BC), circa third century BC. Bronze cast with geometric design, d. 12.3cm. Nanmenguangchang, Yiyang, Hunan province.

(After O'Donoghue 1990: 176.)

**Fig. 4.19:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of animals and grapevine. Tomb no. 14, Chŏngjiri, Nonsan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 2000: fig. 67.)

**Fig. 4.20:** Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906). Bronze cast with decoration of animals and grapevine, d. 10.8cm, t. (rim) 1.1cm. Excavated at Liaocheng, Shandong province.

(After Liu and Sun 1986: 88.)

**Fig. 4.21:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of scrolling grapevines. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. 249.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 65.)

**Fig. 4.22:** Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906), seventh century. Bronze cast with decoration of scrolling grapevines, d. 4.9cm, wt 61gr. The Carter Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1999.218.

(After Chou 2000: 65.)

**Fig. 4.23:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid-eleventh century. Bronze cast with bracketed rim and decoration of birds amongst floral scrolls, d. 10.2cm. Tomb no. 9, Chwahangni Yongin'gun, Kyŏnggi province.

(After Sin Ch'ŏn-sik and Ŏm Ik-sŏng 1994: 81.)

**Fig. 4.24:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with bracketed rim and decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.5cm. Tomb no. 62, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 134.)

**Fig. 4.25:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.1cm. Tomb no. 99, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 202.)

**Fig. 4.26:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 11.5cm. Tomb no. 130, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 256.)

**Fig. 4.27:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 8.4cm. Tomb no. 207, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: viii.)

- Fig. 4.28:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.6cm. Tomb no. 31, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)
- Fig. 4.29:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), early twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 10cm, t. 0.5cm. Tomb no. 1-24, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: fig. 33.)
- Fig. 4.30:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), early twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds and floral sprays, d. 10.5cm. Tomb no. 2-59, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: fig. 130.)
- Fig. 4.31:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), early twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 11.8cm, t. 0.5cm. Unknown tomb, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: 211.)
- Fig. 4.32:** Mirror. Heian period (794-1185), ninth to tenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two phoenixes on either side of the knob. Tado shrine, Kuwana, Mie prefecture. (After Kubô 1999: 20.)
- Fig. 4.33:** Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906). Bronze cast with decoration of two phoenixes facing each other and flowers above and below the knob. (After Kong and Liu 1992: 582.)
- Fig. 4.34:** Mirror. Kamakura period (1185-1336), twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two mandarin ducks on either side of the knob. Sekihôji temple, Kyoto. (After Kubô 1999: 21.)
- Fig. 4.35:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with floral scroll, d. 14.3cm. Tomb no. 111, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 220.)
- Fig. 4.36:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *posanghwa* design, d. 9.7cm. Tomb no. 89, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 183.)
- Fig. 4.37:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *posanghwa* design, d. 10cm. Tomb no. 157, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 296.)
- Fig. 4.38:** Temple bell. Unified Silla period (668-935), dated 725. Bronze, h. 167cm. Sangwŏnsa temple, Kangwŏn province. (After Kungnip Kyŏngju pangmulgwan 1999: 182.)

- Fig. 4.39:** Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Earthenware with *posanghwa* design, d. 16.1cm. Kamūnsa temple, North Kyōngsang province. (After Kungnip Kyōngju pangmulgwan 2000: 127.)
- Fig. 4.40:** Incense burner. Koryō dynasty (918-1392). Bronze inlaid with silver wire, h. 23.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul. (After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1997: 42.)
- Fig. 4.41:** Mirror. Koryō dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with *posanghwa* design, d. 21cm. Reportedly from Kaesōng, National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tōk 3681. (After Yi Nan-yōng 2003: 225.)
- Fig. 4.42:** Mirror. Song dynasty (960-1279). Bronze cast with peony scrolls, d. 15.6cm. Henan province. (After Kong and Liu 1992: 668.)
- Fig. 4.43:** Mirror. Koryō dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two cranes, d. 13.4cm. Tomb no. 16, Kūmch'ōndong II-2, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. (After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 423.)
- Fig. 4.44:** *Maebiyōng*. Koryō dynasty (918-1392), late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Celadon stoneware with inlaid decoration of cranes and clouds, h. 29.2cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 27.119.11. (After Smith 1998: pl. 18.)
- Fig. 4.45:** Mirror. Kamakura period (1185-1336), thirteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of cranes in a landscape setting, d. 11.5cm. Kyoto National Museum. (After Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 218.)
- Fig. 4.46:** Mirror. Koryō dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums, d. 11cm. Tomb no. 23-1, Nuamni, Chungwōn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. (After Munhwajae yōn'guso 1992: 118.)
- Fig. 4.47:** Mirror. Koryō dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums, d. 11cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. FE. 229-1974. (After McKillop 1992: 105.)
- Fig. 4.48:** Mirror. Heian period (794-1185), twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums and flying sparrows, d. 11.2cm. Kyoto National Museum. (After Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 208.)
- Fig. 4.49:** Mirror. Kamakura period (1185-1336), thirteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums and sparrows on a hedge, d. 11.7cm. Kyoto National Museum. (After Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 214.)

- Fig. 4.50:** Covered box. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth century. Celadon stoneware incised with decoration of chrysanthemums, d. 8.8cm. Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka.  
(After Ōsaka Shiritsu Tōyō Tōji Bijutsukan 1992: 55.)
- Fig. 4.51:** Jar with two handles. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth century. Celadon stoneware with inlaid decoration of chrysanthemum scrolls, h. 21.4cm. Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka.  
(After Ōsaka Shiritsu Tōyō Tōji Bijutsukan 1992: 82.)
- Fig. 4.52:** Mirror. Late Song (960-1279)-early Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). Bronze cast with decoration of women admiring a painting.  
(After Zhu 1986: 129.)
- Fig. 4.53:** Mirror. Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). Bronze cast with scalloped edge and decoration of scholar viewing a painting assisted by two boys, d. 18.8cm, w. 0.8cm.  
(After Cheng and Cheng 1989: fig. 128.)
- Fig. 4.54:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of birds above pond, w. 15cm, wt 293gr. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, inv. no. B83 B3.  
(Author's photograph.)
- Fig. 4.55:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with children holding lotus flowers, d. 9.4cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tōk 1923.  
(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 198.)
- Fig. 4.56:** *Kundika*. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid-twelfth century. Celadon stoneware with inlaid decoration of ducks and willow trees, h. 35.5 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. C. 743-1909.  
(After McKillop 1992: 53.)
- Fig. 4.57a:** *Kundika*. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth century. Bronze with inlaid silver wire decoration of birds, plants and grasses, h. 35cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.  
(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1997: 31.)
- Fig. 4.57b:** Design inlaid on the kundika in fig. 4.57a. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth century. Bronze with inlaid silver wire decoration of birds, plants and grasses, h. 35cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.  
(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1997: 31.)
- Fig. 4.58:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of children in a garden setting, d. 10.1cm. Tomb no. 38, Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 84.)
- Fig. 4.59:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of children playing in a garden setting, d. 10.3cm, wt 136.98gr. Seoul National University Museum, inv. no. yōk 44.  
(Author's photograph.)

**Fig. 4.60:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of children playing in a fenced garden with rocks and a banana plant, d. 26.04cm, wt 1.8733kg. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, inv. no. B60 B580. (Photograph supplied by Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.)

**Fig. 4.61:** Mirror. Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). Bronze cast with decoration of children playing in a garden, d. 15.3cm. Excavated in Jilin province. (After Duan 1998: 70.)

**Fig. 4.62:** Su Hanchen (traditional attribution), *One hundred Children at Play*. Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). Album leaf, ink and light colour on silk, h. 28.8cm, w. 31.3cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 61.261. (After Goodfellow 1980: 55-56.)

**Fig. 4.63:** Sutra container. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), 12<sup>th</sup> century. Gilt-bronze with repoussé decoration of birds and children with lotus flowers, h. 10.3cm, w. 6.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul. (After Hoam misulgwan 1995: 49.)

**Fig. 4.64:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with inscription: "May you live long and be successful", d. 12.3cm. National Museum of Korea, inv. no. tök 2438. (Author's photograph.)

**Fig. 4.65:** Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of lotus scrolls, d. (a) 27cm, (b) 12.1cm, (c) 17.1cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos tök (a) 4789, (b) 2717, (c) 4833. (After Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 122.)

**Fig. 4.66:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of rows of beads, d. 12.7cm. Tomb no. 8, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. (Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

**Fig. 4.67:** Mirror. Song dynasty (960-1279). Bronze cast with peony scrolls, d. 16.8cm. Luoyang, Henan province. (After Kong and Liu 1992: 675.)

**Fig. 4.68:** Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Green-glazed earthenware with decoration of lotus and rows of beads, d. 12.5cm. Kyŏngju National Museum. (After Kungnip Kyŏngju pangmulgwan 2000: 378.)

**Fig. 4.69:** Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Earthenware with decoration of lotus and rows of beads, d. 16cm. Anapchi pond complex, Kyŏngju, North Kyŏngsang province. (After Kungnip Kyŏngju pangmulgwan 2000: 54.)

**Fig. 4.70:** Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Earthenware with decoration of rows of beads, d. 13.5cm. Kyŏngju National Museum. (After Kungnip Kyŏngju pangmulgwan 2000: 268.)

**Fig. 4.71:** Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with swastikas, d. (a) 17.6cm, (b) 9.7cm, (c) 16.5cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos (a) tŏk 5504, (b) tŏk 4129, (c) pon 2734.  
(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 255-256.)

**Fig. 4.72:** Mirrors. Bronze cast with Sanskrit characters, d. (left) 18.5cm, (right) 13.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.  
(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 254-255.)

**Fig. 4.73:** Incense burner. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze inlaid in silver with swastika, h. 22.3cm. Horim Art Museum, Seoul.  
(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1997: 47.)

**Fig. 4.74:** Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906), eighth century. Bronze cast with swastika, d. 14.5cm, t. 0.15cm. Tomb at Heshan temple, Yiyang, Hunan province.  
(After Yiyang 1981: 315-318.)

**Fig. 4.75:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast in bell-shape with concave circular disk, l. 16.5cm, w. 9.4cm. Ch'ŏngju National Museum, inv. no. tŏk 1924.  
(Author's photograph.)

**Fig. 4.76:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh century. Bronze. Tomb no. 1-2, Chibongni, Yŏngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987: 22.)

**Fig. 4.77:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze, d. 9.8cm. Tomb no. 15, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

**Fig. 4.78:** Mirror fragment. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze, d. 7.8cm, t. 0.55cm. Tomb no. 21, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

**Fig. 4.79:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, d. 10.6cm. Tomb no. 90, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 185.)

**Fig. 4.80:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, d. 4.7cm. Tomb no. 46, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 97.)

**Fig. 4.81:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze, d. 9cm. Tomb no. 2-85, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: 200.)

**Fig. 4.82:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, l. 14.2cm, t. 0.15-0.2cm. Tomb no. 58, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 125.)

**Fig. 4.83:** Mirror fragment. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, l. 14.8cm, w. 10.7cm, t. 0.2cm. Tomb no. 8, Tanwŏldong, Ch'ungjushi, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1992: 57.)

**Fig. 4.84:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, l. 12.4cm. Tomb no. 1, Yudongni, Mujugun, North Chŏlla province.  
(After Kang In-gu 1980: 5.)

**Fig. 4.85:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze engraved with decoration of standing Avalokiteśvara, l. 14.4cm, w. 10.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tŏk 5645.  
(After Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 211.)

**Fig. 4.86:** Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), fourteenth century. Bronze engraved with decoration of seated Avalokiteśvara, l. 12.1cm, w. 7.6cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tŏk 2353.  
(After Hoam misulgwan 1995: 165.)

## Chapter 5

**Fig. 5.1a:** Lime-coffin tomb. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), sixteenth century. Sawŏlli, South Kyŏngsang province.  
(After Han'guk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 140-141.)

**Fig. 5.1b:** Inner burial pit, detail of tomb in fig. 5.1a. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), sixteenth century. Sawŏlli, South Kyŏngsang province.  
(After Han'guk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 140-141.)

**Fig. 5.1c:** Mirror. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), sixteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of dragons. From the tomb in fig. 5.1a. Sawŏlli, South Kyŏngsang province.  
(After Han'guk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 140-141.)

**Fig. 5.1d:** Niches with funerary objects, detail of tomb in fig. 5.1a. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), sixteenth century. Sawŏlli, South Kyŏngsang province.  
(After Han'guk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 140-141.)

**Fig. 5.2:** Mirror. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Bronze cast with Sanskrit characters and chrysanthemum flowers, d. 12.7. National Museum of Korea, Seoul. inv. no. tŏk 542.  
(After Lee Nan-yŏng 1983: 220.)

**Fig. 5.3:** Relics. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Reportedly from the stone pagoda at Sudŏksa, Yesan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.  
(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991: 95.)

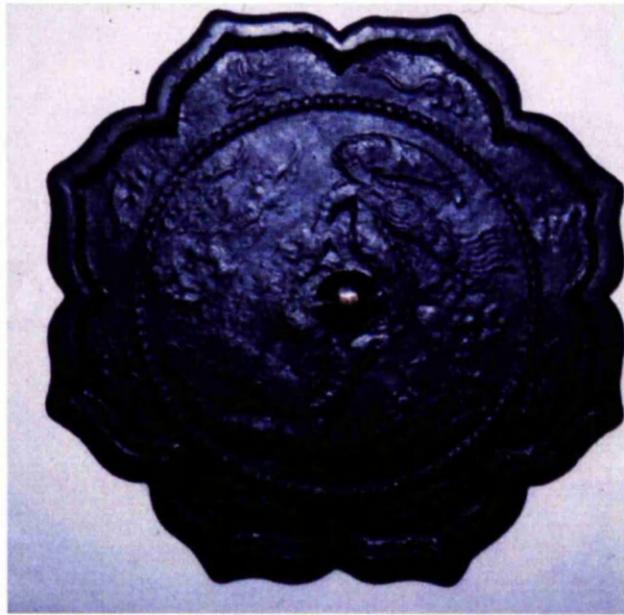


Fig. 1.1: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast in bracketed shape with decoration of phoenixes, d. 14.85cm, wt 219.69gr. Seoul National University Museum, inv. no. yŏk 591.

(Author's photograph.)

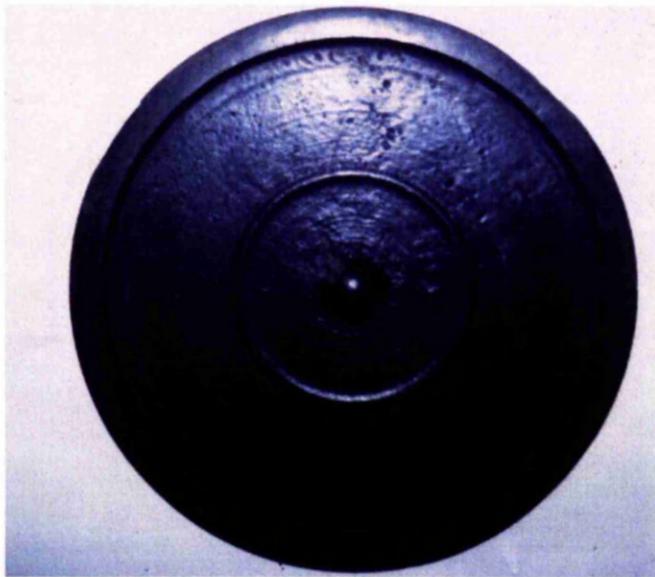


Fig. 1.2: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast in circular shape, d. 13.82cm, t. 2.7cm, wt 221.36gr. Seoul National University Museum, inv. no. yŏk 48.

(Author's photograph.)



Fig. 1.3: Mirror. Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), circa 50 BC-AD 150. Bronze cast with *liubo* design, d. 15.7cm. Seattle Art Museum, inv. no. 48.157.

The inscription reads:

The imperial armoury made this mirror; it really is of the finest quality,  
On the surface are transcendent people who do not know old age.  
When thirsty they drink from the Jade Spring,  
    and when hungry they eat jujubes.  
They ramble over the world and roam within the Four Seas.  
Their longevity is enduring like metal or stone.  
This mirror is to be kept like a National Treasure.

(After Knight 1994: fig. 13.)



Fig. 2.1: Mirror. Bronze Age (circa 1000-circa 300 BC). Bronze cast with coarse-lined star pattern (outlined in red), d. 13.2cm. Yöüidong, Chönju, North Chölla province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 82.)



Fig. 2.2: Mould for coarse-lined mirror. Bronze Age (circa 1000-circa 300 BC). Stone, 1. approx. 20cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 121.)

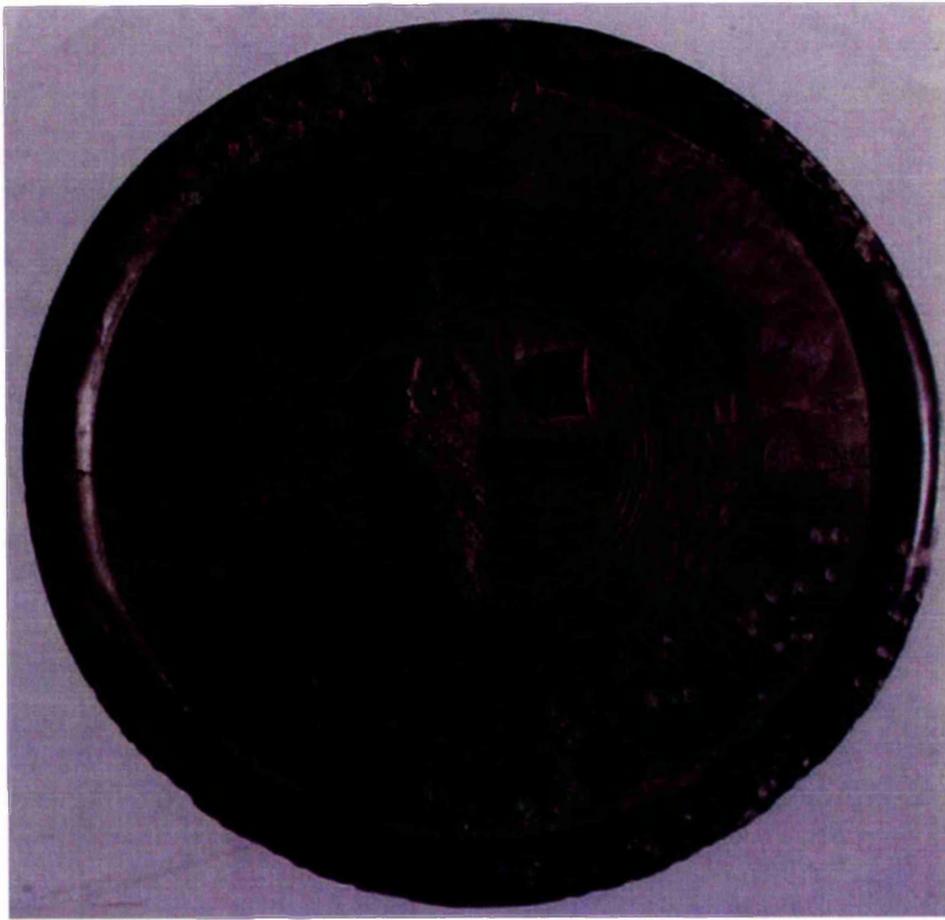


Fig. 2.3: Mirror. Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1), around second century BC. Bronze cast with geometric design, d. 21.2cm. Reportedly from Nonsan, South Ch'ungch'ōng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 84.)

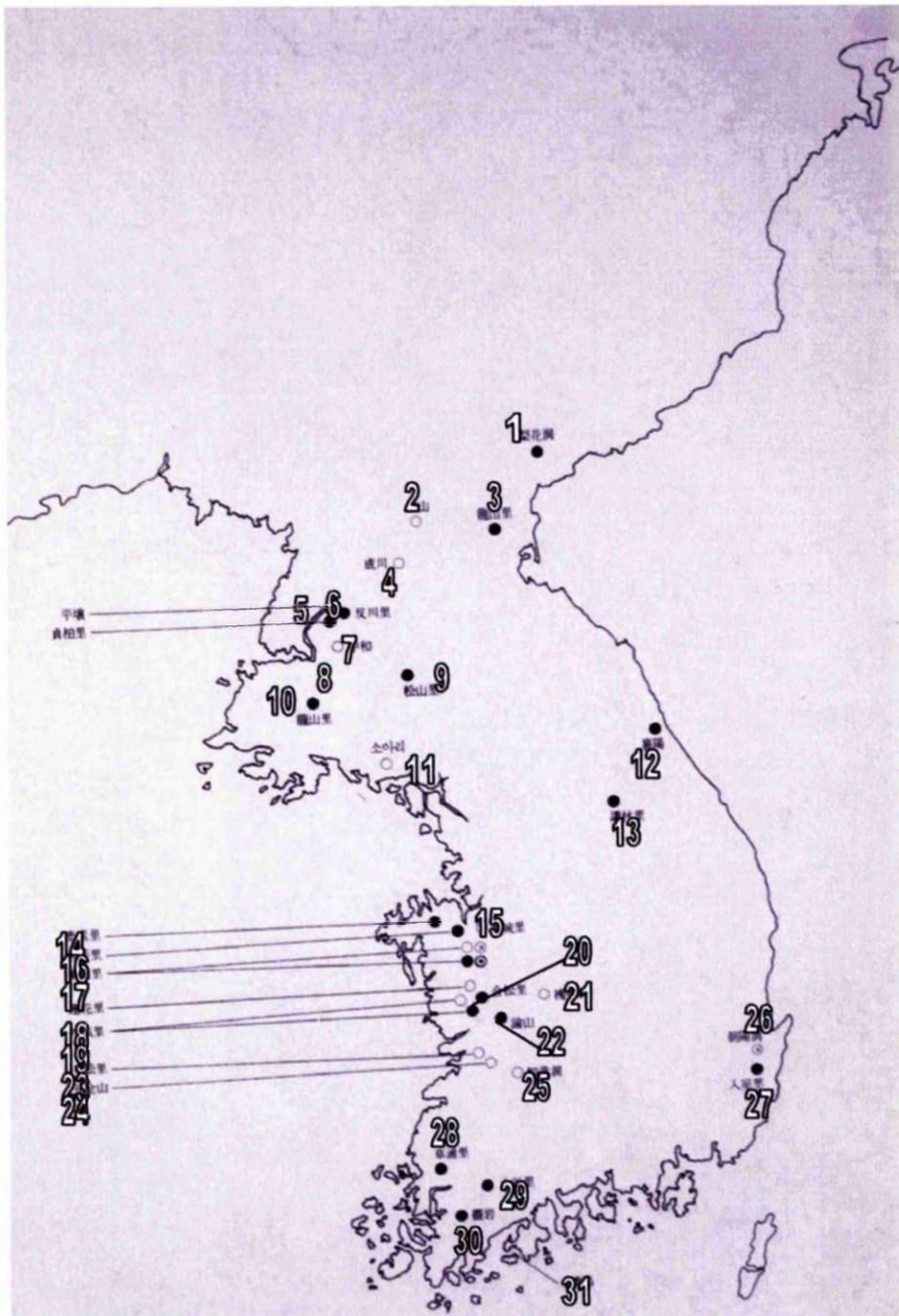


Fig. 2.4: Sites with mirrors on the Korean peninsula during the Bronze Age (circa 1000-circa 300 BC) and early Iron Ages (circa 300 BC-AD 1). Coarse-lined mirrors O, fine-lined mirrors ●, undecorated mirrors ⊗, disc-shaped objects ⊙. 1: Nihwadong. 2: Maengsan. 3: Yongsalli. 4: Söngch'ön. 5: P'yöngyang. 6: Panch'ölli. 7: Chöngbaengni. 8: Chunghwa. 9: Songsalli. 10: Yongsalli. 11: Soari. 12: Yangyang. 13: Kurimni. 14: Sosori. 15: Namsöngni. 16: Kungp'yöngni. 17: Tongsöri. 18: Yönhwari. 19: Kubongni. 20: Hapsongni. 21: Koejöngdong. 22: Nonsan. 23: Tasongni. 24: Ogümsan. 25: Yöüidong. 26: Hanyangdong. 27: Ipsilli. 28: Ch'opori. 29: Taegongni. 30: Yöngam. 31: Toyang.

(Adapted after Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 146.)

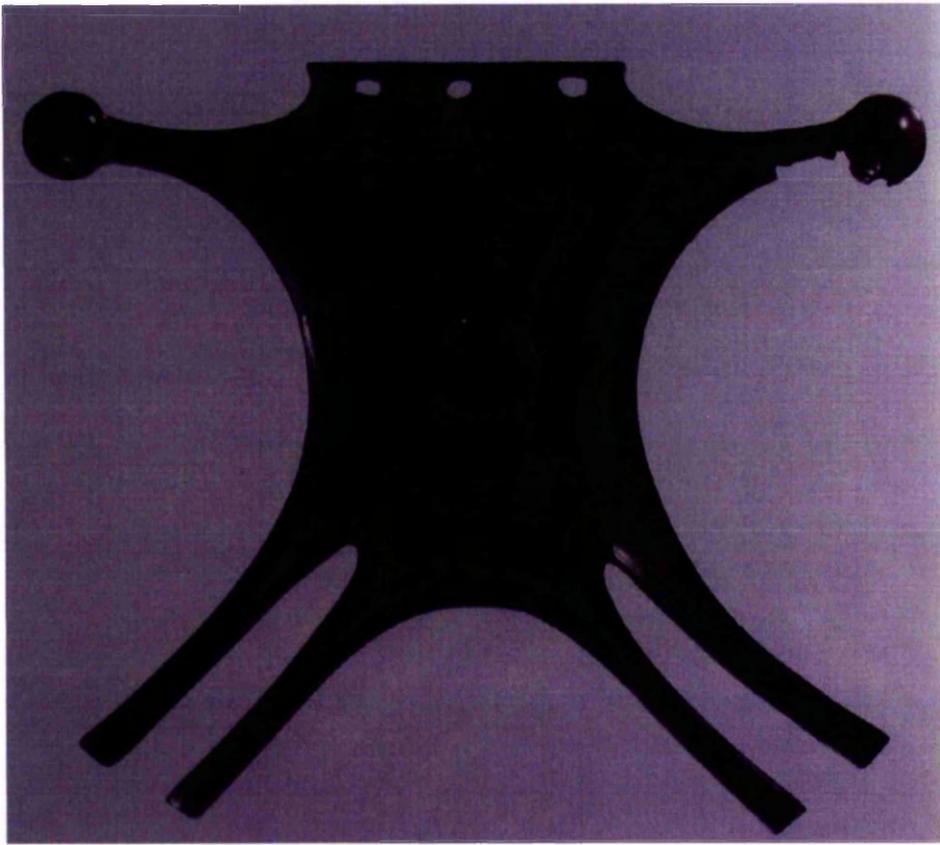


Fig. 2.5: Protective plate with bells. Bronze Age (circa 1000-circa 300 BC) to early Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1). Bronze, l. 17.6cm. Namsŏngni, Kisan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 92.)

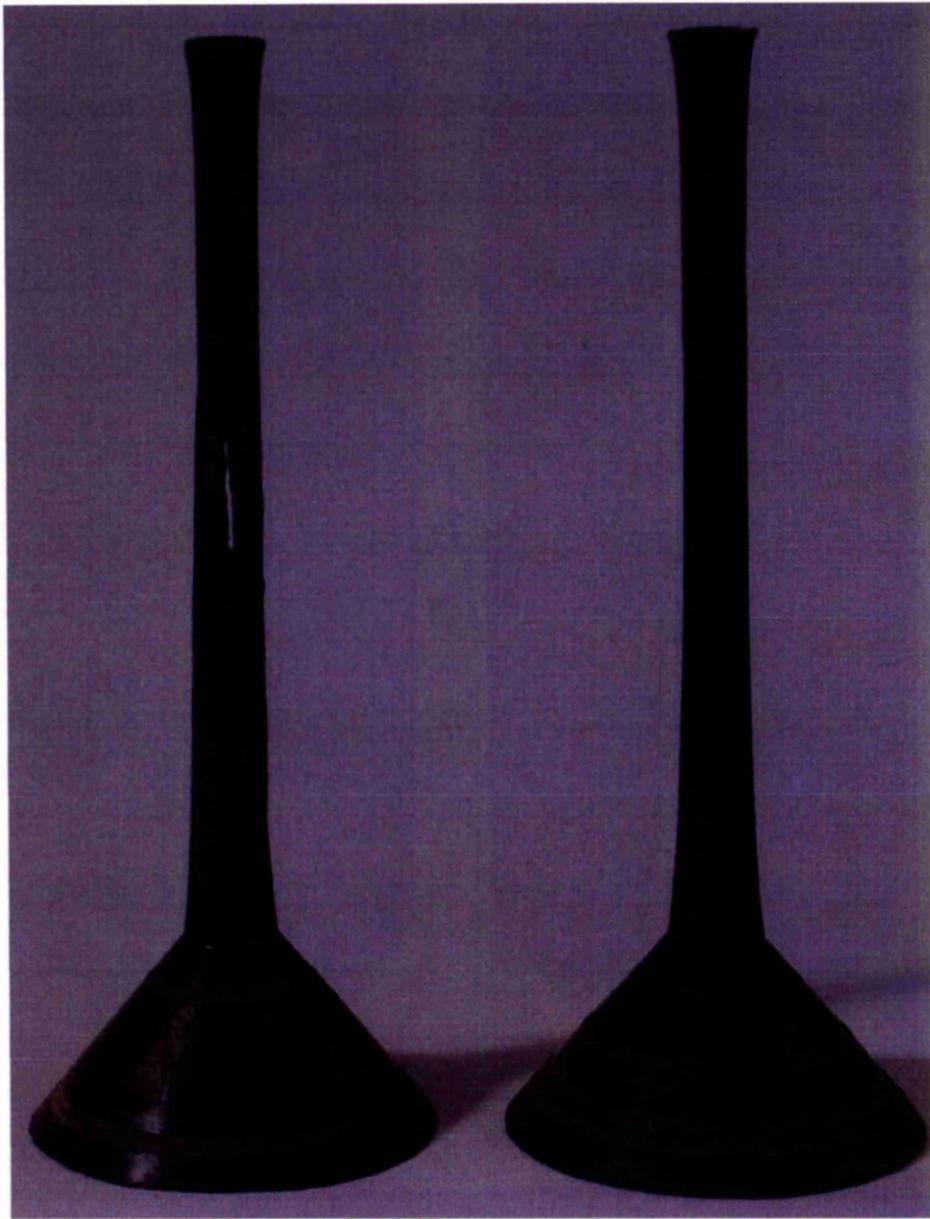


Fig. 2.6: Trumpet-shaped objects. Early Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1), latter half of third century BC. Bronze, l. 26cm. Tongsöri, Yesan, South Ch'ungch'öng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 101.)

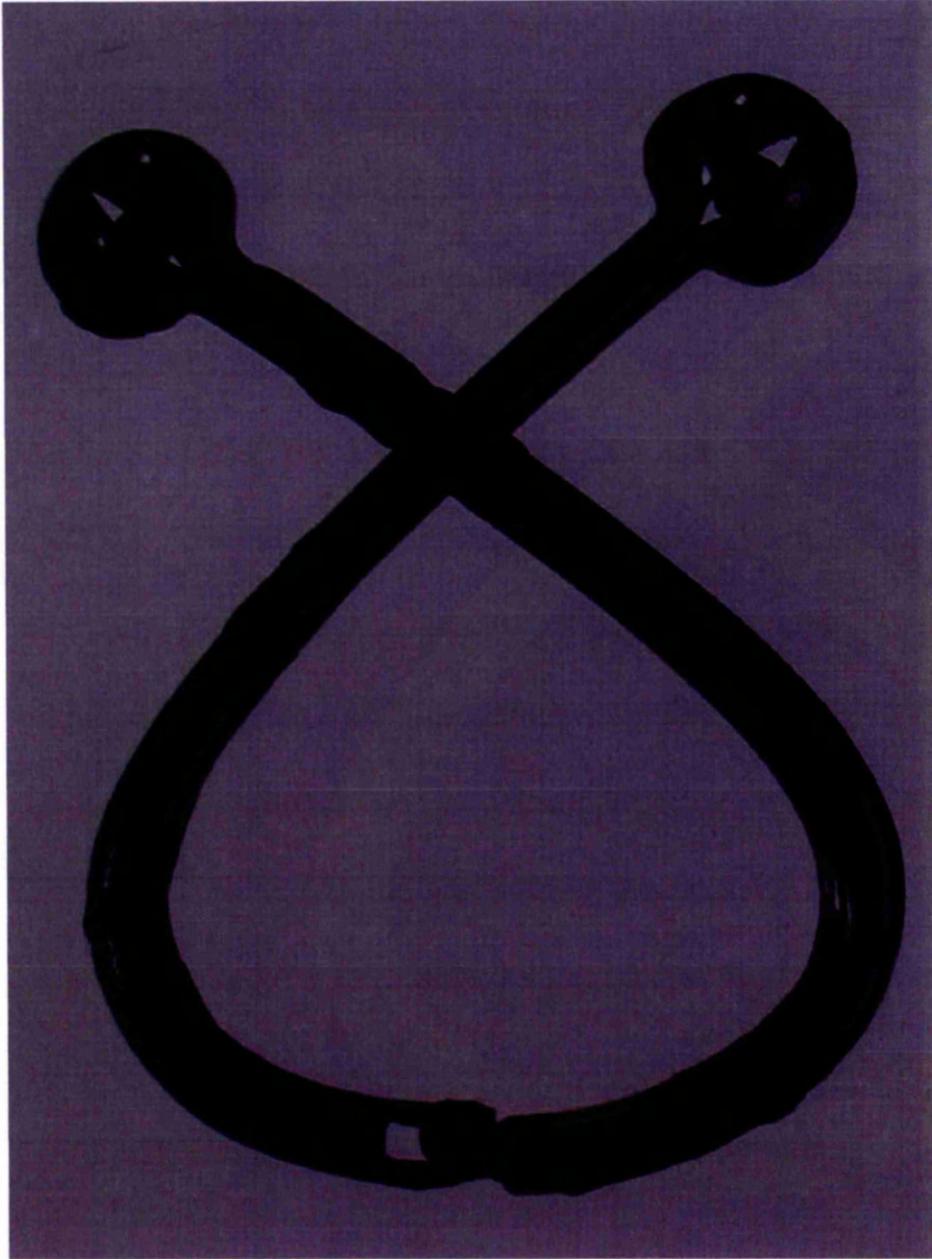


Fig. 2.7: Bell. Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1), around second century BC. Bronze, l. approx. 18cm. Reportedly from Nonsan, South Ch'ungch'ōng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 107.)

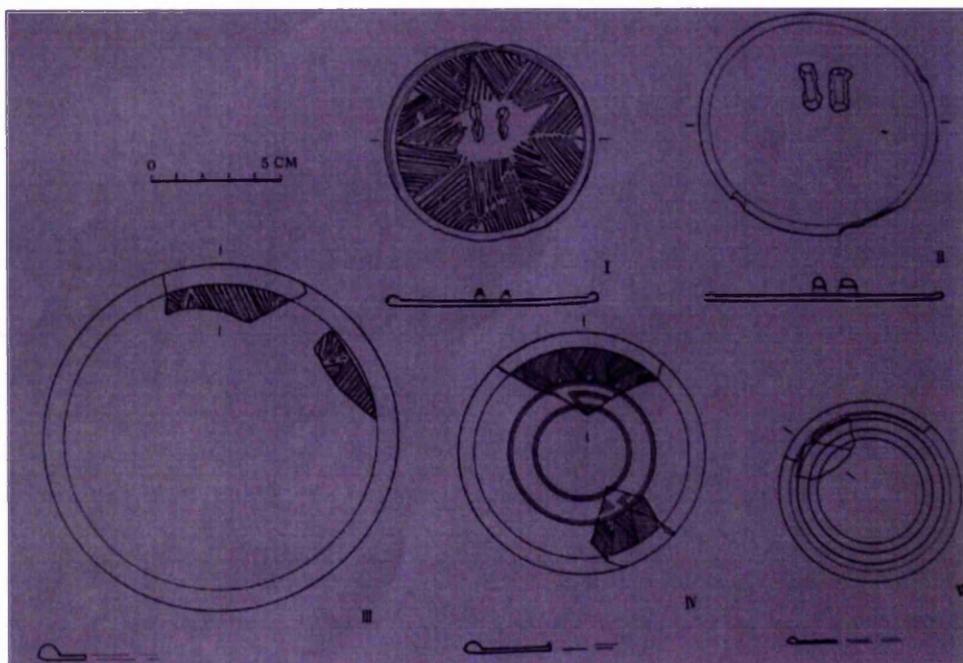


Fig. 2.8a: Mirrors excavated from a grave. Early Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1), latter half of third century BC. Tongsŏri, Yesan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Mirror I is coarse-lined. Mirror II has no decoration. Mirrors III-V are fine-lined.

(After Chi Kŏn-gil 1978: 171.)

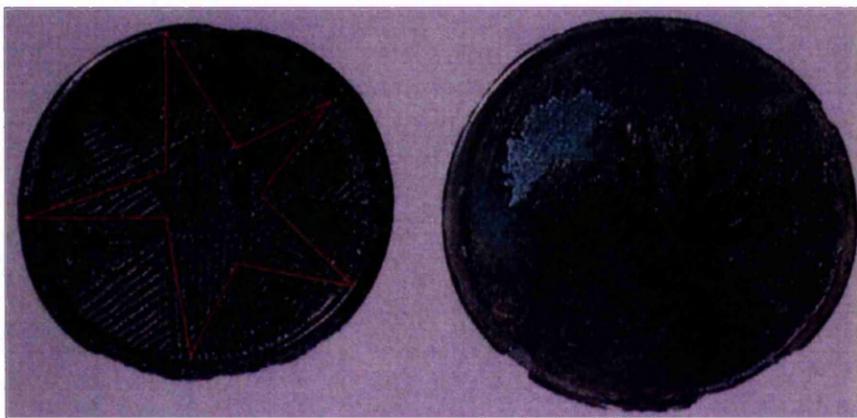


Fig. 2.8b: Mirrors I and II in fig. 2.8a. Bronze, d. (left mirror) 8.1cm.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 31.)

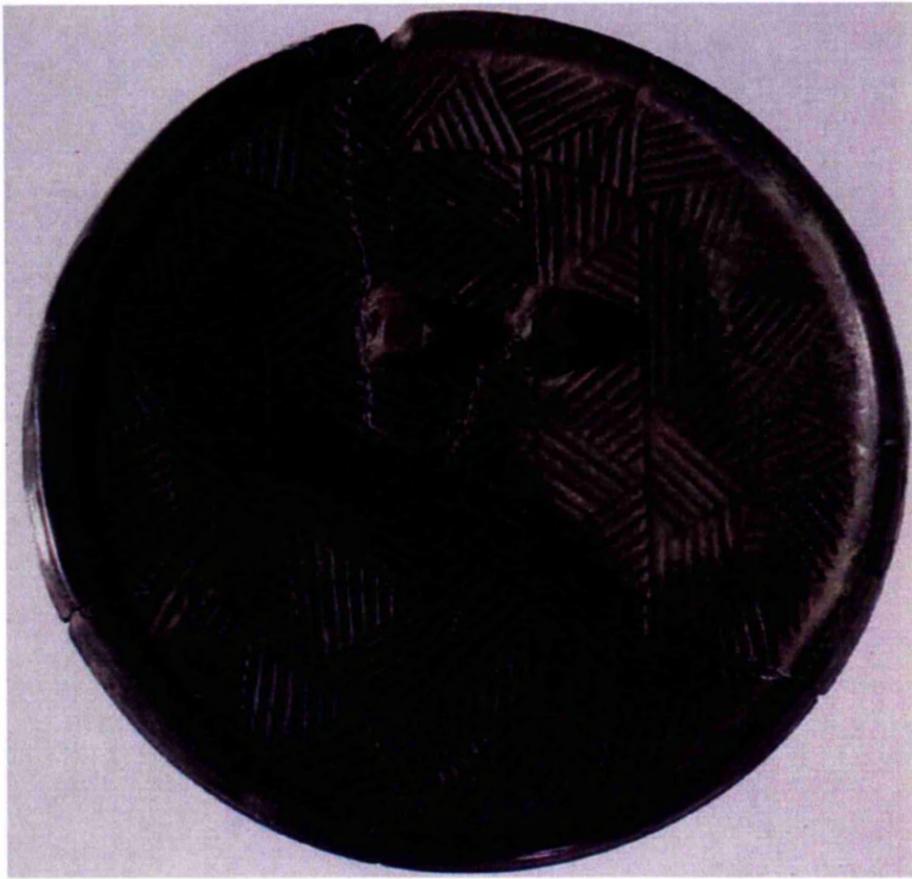


Fig. 2.9: Mirror. Bronze Age (circa 1000-circa 300 BC). Bronze cast with coarse-lined design, d. 15.3cm. Yöüidong, Chönju, North Chölla province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 83.)

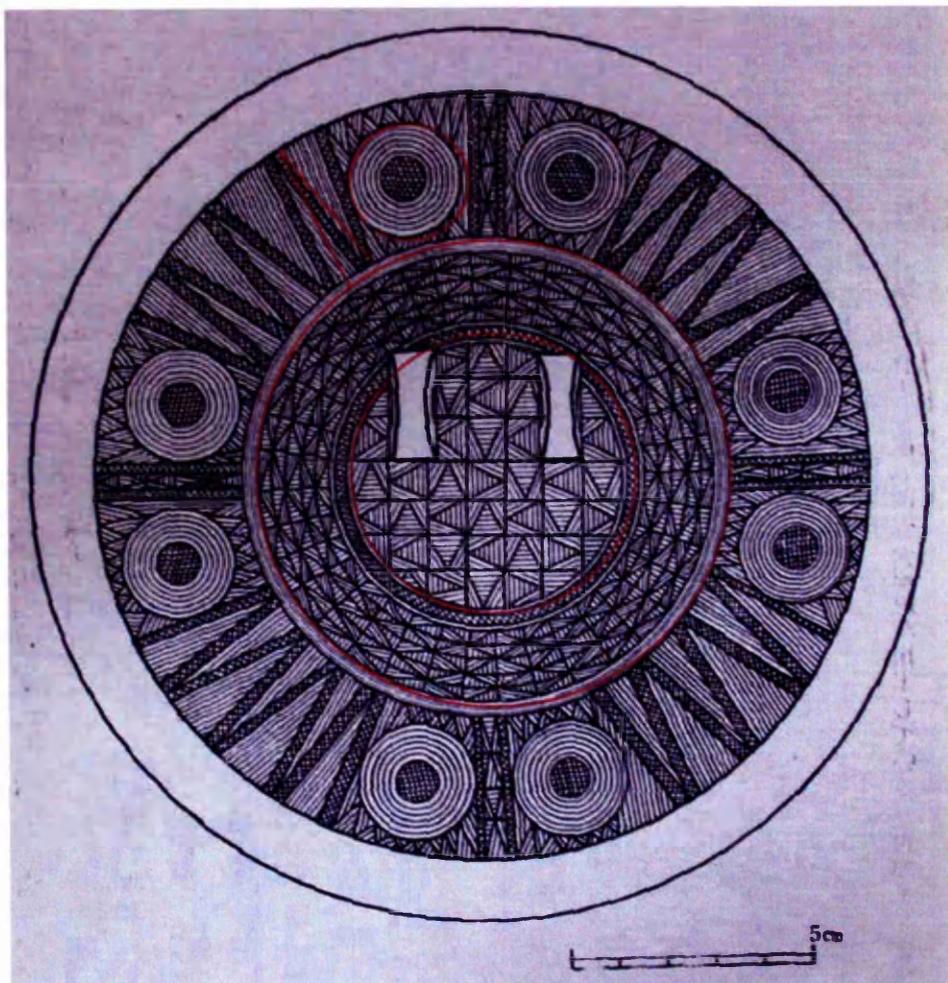


Fig. 2.10: Mirror. Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1), around second century BC. Bronze cast with fine-lined design (partially highlighted in red). Taegongni, South Chōlla province.

(After Uno 1977: 99.)

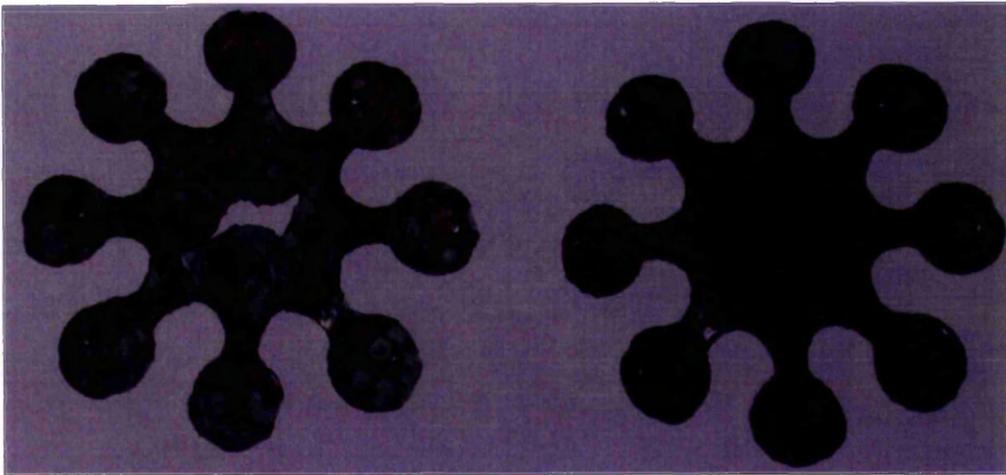


Fig. 2.11a: Bells. Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1), around second century BC. Bronze, d. approx. 12cm. Taegongni, South Chölla province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 102.)

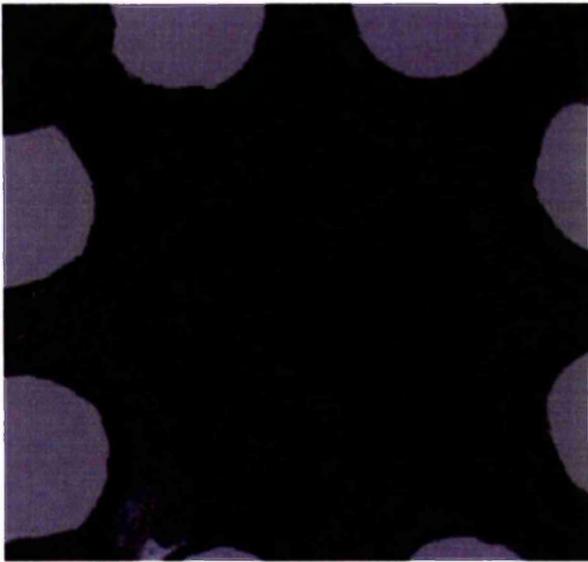


Fig. 2.11b: Bell, detail of fig. 2.11a (right).

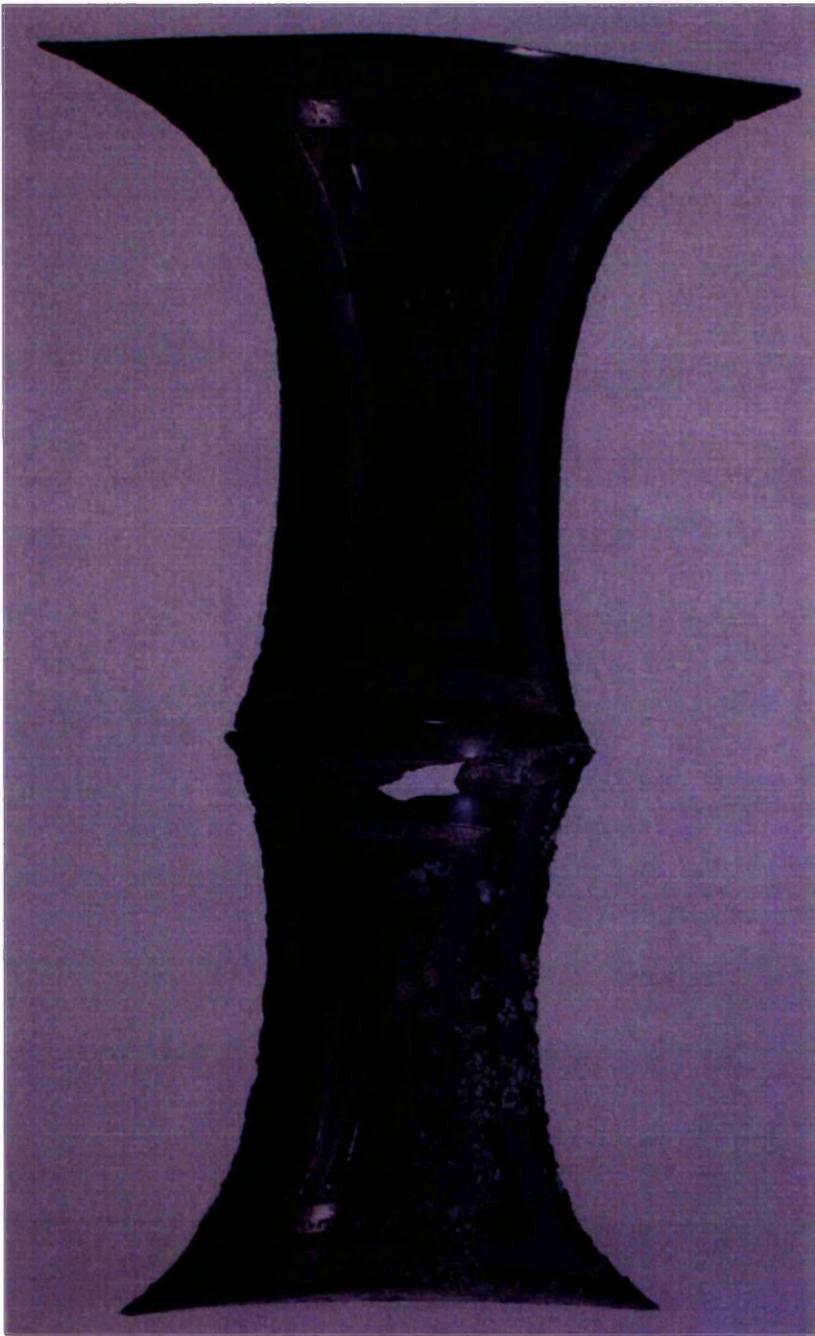


Fig. 2.12: Sword hilt-shaped object. Early Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1), latter half of third century BC. Bronze, l. 24.5cm. Tongsöri, Yesan, South Ch'ungch'öng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 95.)

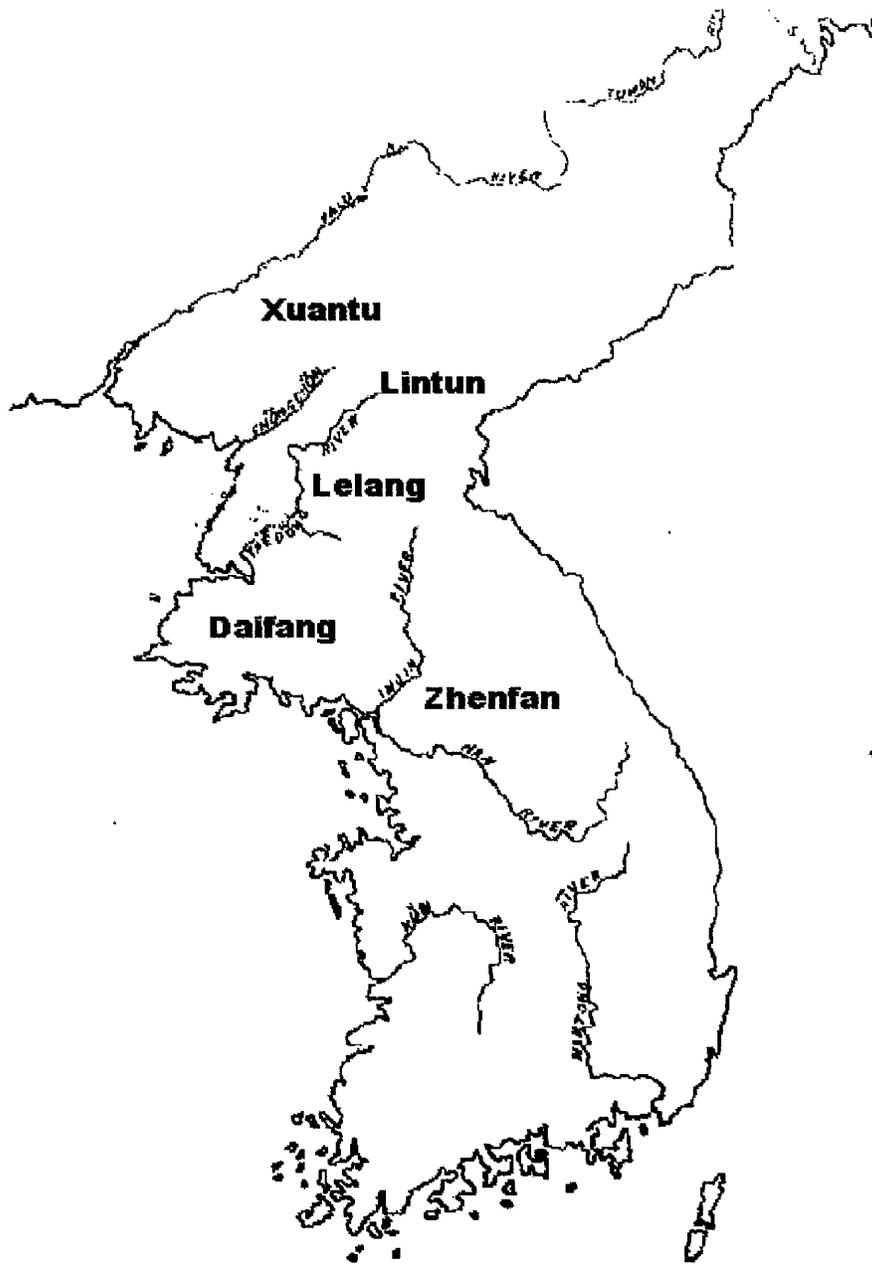


Fig. 2.13: Chinese commanderies in Korea (first century BC).

(Adapted after Yi Pyŏng-do 1976: 98.)

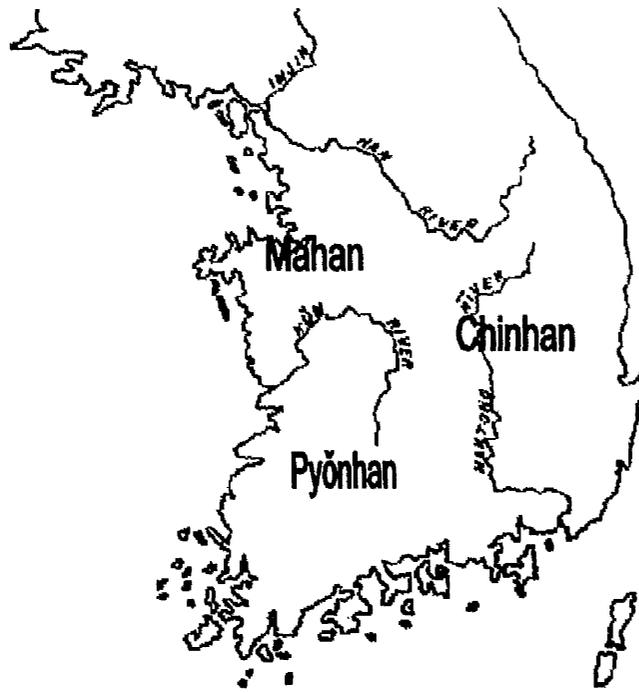


Fig. 2.14: Southern part of the Korean peninsula (first to third centuries AD).

(Adapted after Lee Ki-baik 1984: 25.)

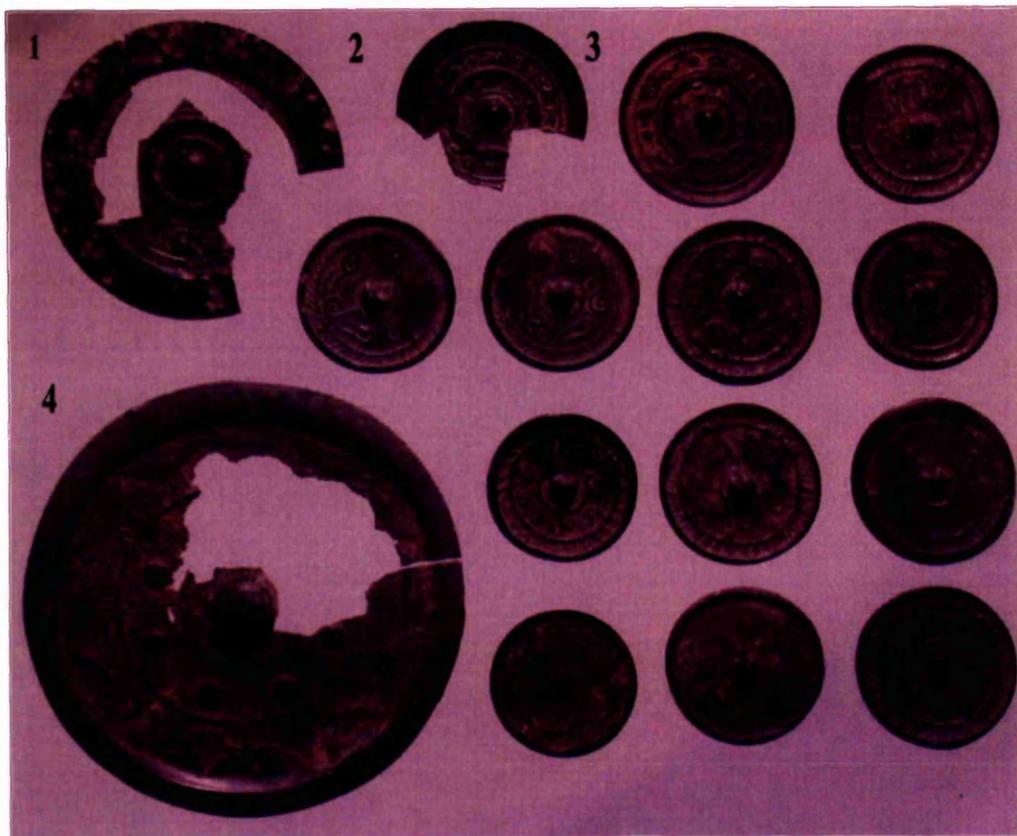


Fig. 2.15: Mirrors. Iron Age (circa 300 BC-AD 1) and Western Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 9), late first century BC. Bronze, d. (no. 1) 14.9cm. Ōūdōng, North Kyōngsang province.

1-3: China, Western Han dynasty, 4 and remaining: Korea, Iron Age.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1992: 58.)

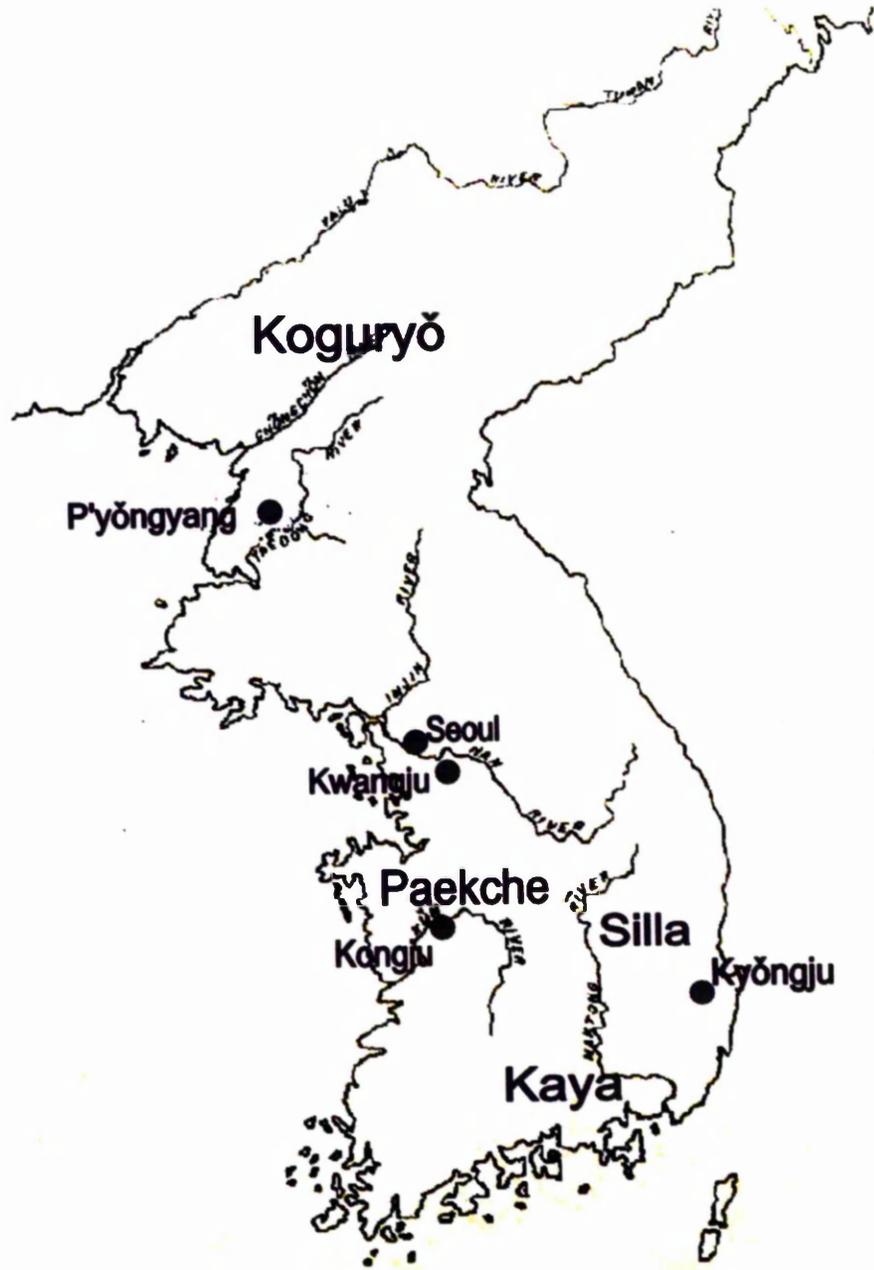


Fig. 2.16. Korea during the Three Kingdoms period (AD 300-668).

(Adapted after Lee Ki-baik 1984: 39.)



Fig. 2.17: Mirror. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-AD 660), second half of fourth century AD. Bronze, d. 4.3cm. Grave no. B-2, Hwasǒngni, South Ch'ungch'ǒng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 34.)

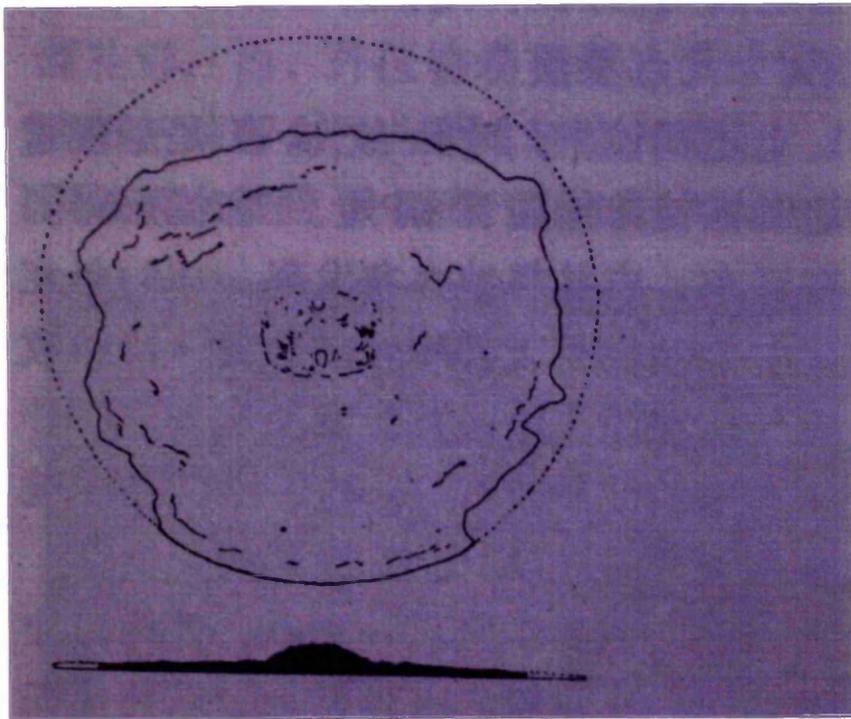


Fig. 2.18: Mirror. Koguryŏ kingdom (trad. 37 BC-AD 668). Iron, d. 13.5cm.  
Tomb 1487, Maxian, Ji'an, Jilin province.

(After Zhang 1986: 96.)

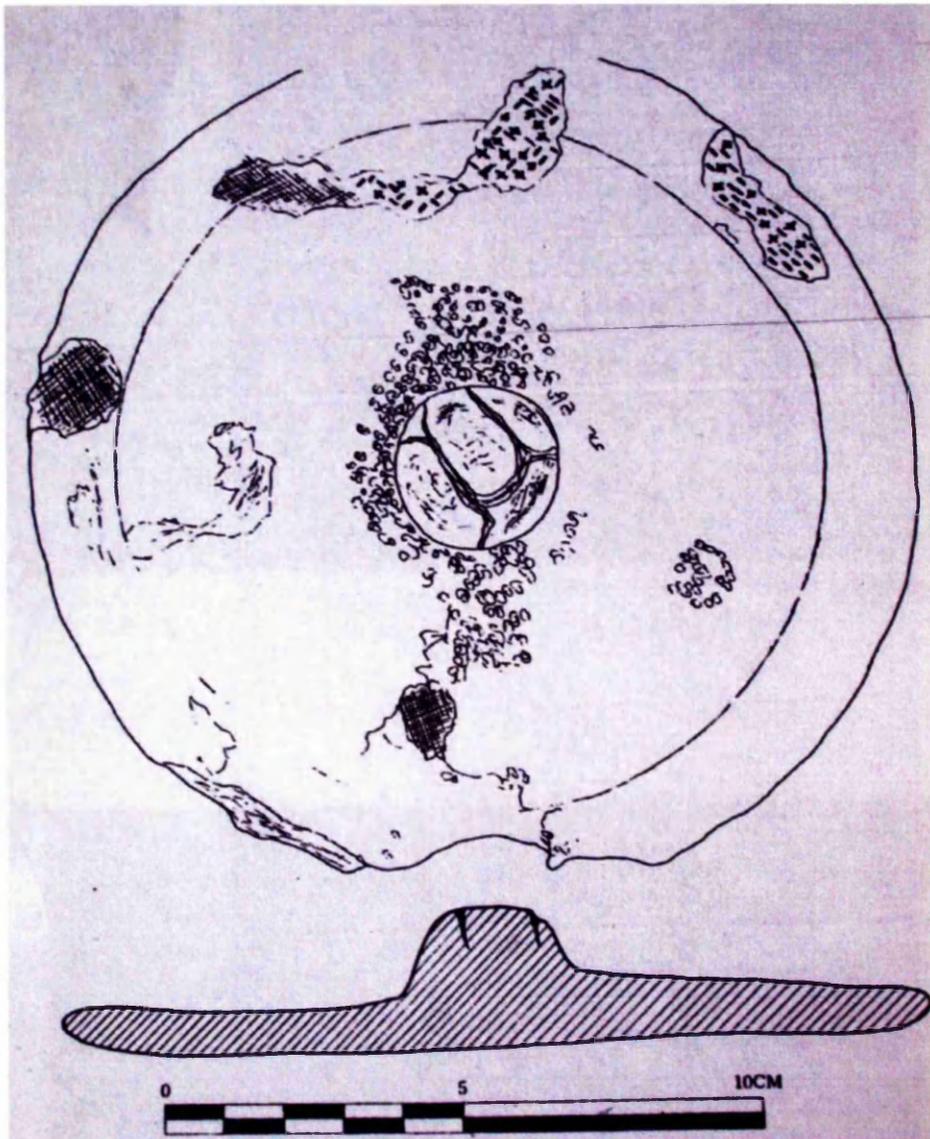


Fig. 2.19: Mirror. Silla kingdom (trad. 57 BC-AD 668), fifth century. Iron, d. 14.7cm. North mound of Hwangnam Taech'ong, Kyŏngju, North Kyŏngsang province.

(After Munhwaje kwalliguk and Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1994: 108.)

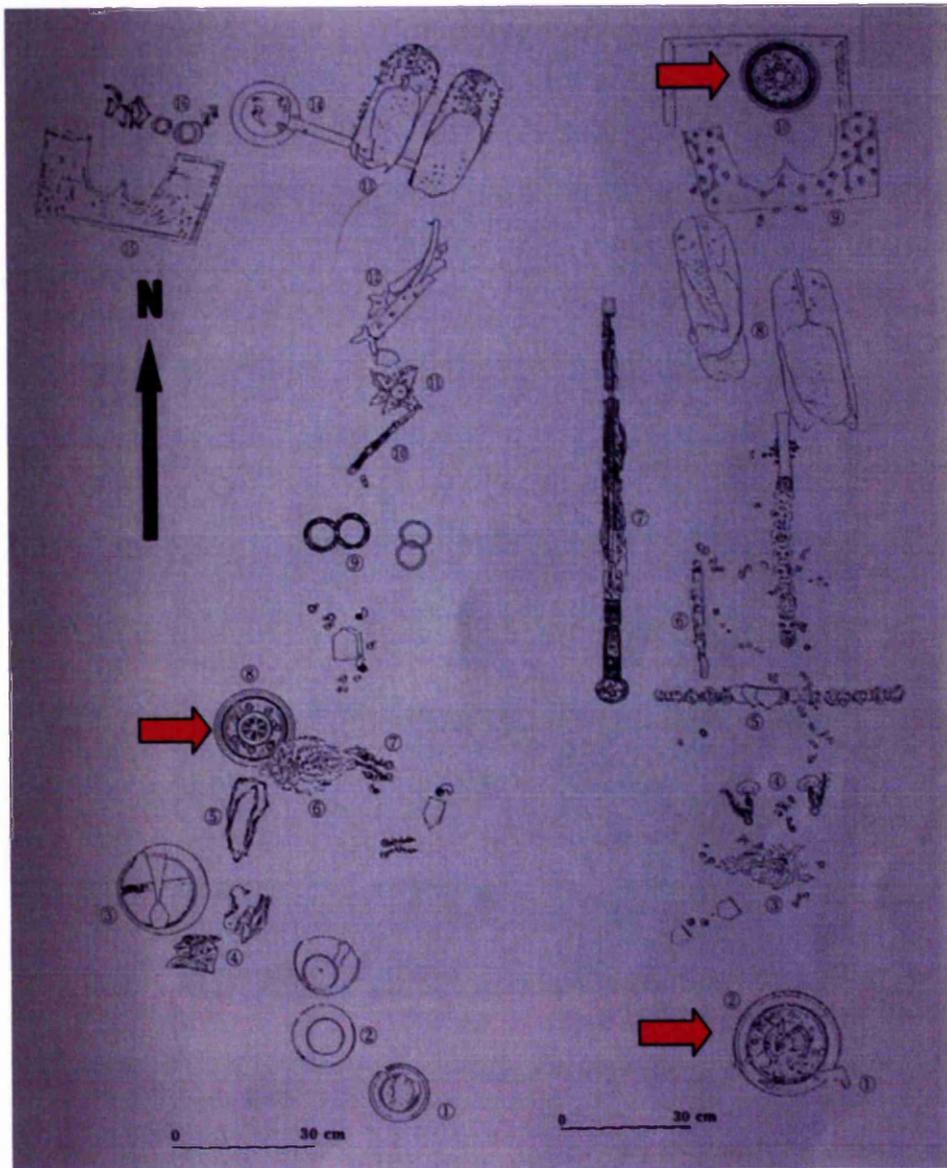


Fig. 2.20: Tomb of King Muryŏng. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-AD 660), AD 525. Kongju, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province. The king's resting place is on the right, the queen's on the left. Heads at the bottom, feet at the top. Objects 2, 8 and 10 are bronze mirrors (see red arrows).

(After Kungnip Kongju pangmulgwan 1998: 13.)



Fig. 2.21: Mirror. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-AD 660), sixth century. Bronze cast with *liubo* design, d. 17.8cm. Tomb of King Muryŏng, Kongju, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province. For the mirror's location within the tomb, see fig. 2.20, no. 10.

(After Kungnip Kongju pangmulgwan 1998: 44.)

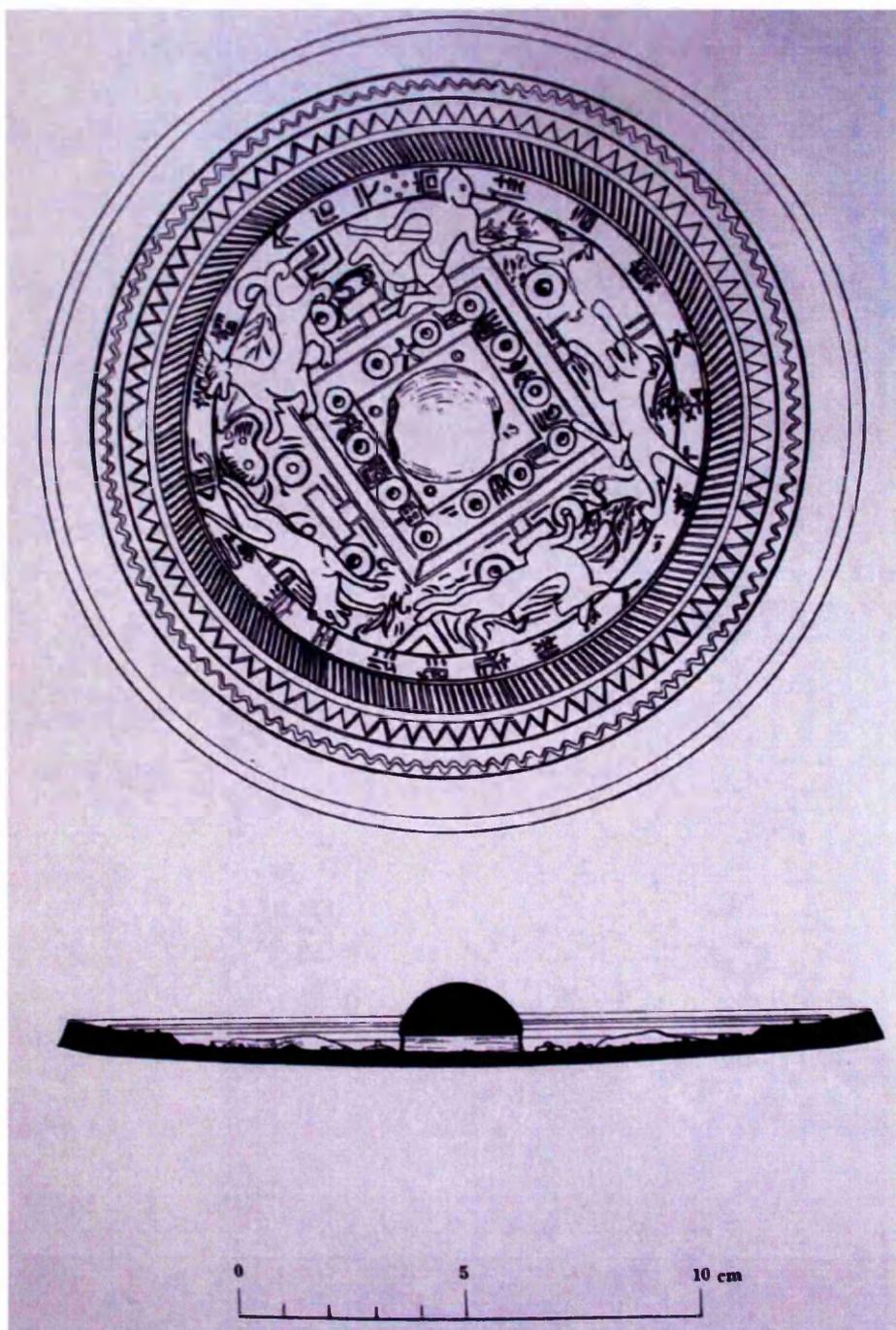


Fig. 2.22: Drawing of mirror. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-660), sixth century. Bronze cast with *liubo* design, d. 17.8cm. Tomb of King Muryōng, Kongju, South Ch'ungch'ōng province.

For the mirror's location within the tomb, see fig. 2.20, no. 10.

(After Munhwajae kwalliguk 1973: fig. 83.)



Fig. 2.23: Mirror. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-AD 660), sixth century. Bronze, d. 23.2cm. Tomb of King Muryŏng, Kongju, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Found close to the king's head underneath a gold hairpin, see fig. 2.20, no. 2.

(After Kungnip Kongju pangmulgwan 1998: 45.)



Fig. 2.24: Mirror. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-AD 660), sixth century. Bronze, d. 18.1cm. Tomb of King Muryōng, Kongju, South Ch'ungch'ōng province. Found close to the queen's head underneath a gold diadem, see fig. 2.20, no. 8.

(After Kungnip Kongju pangmulgwan 1998: 45.)

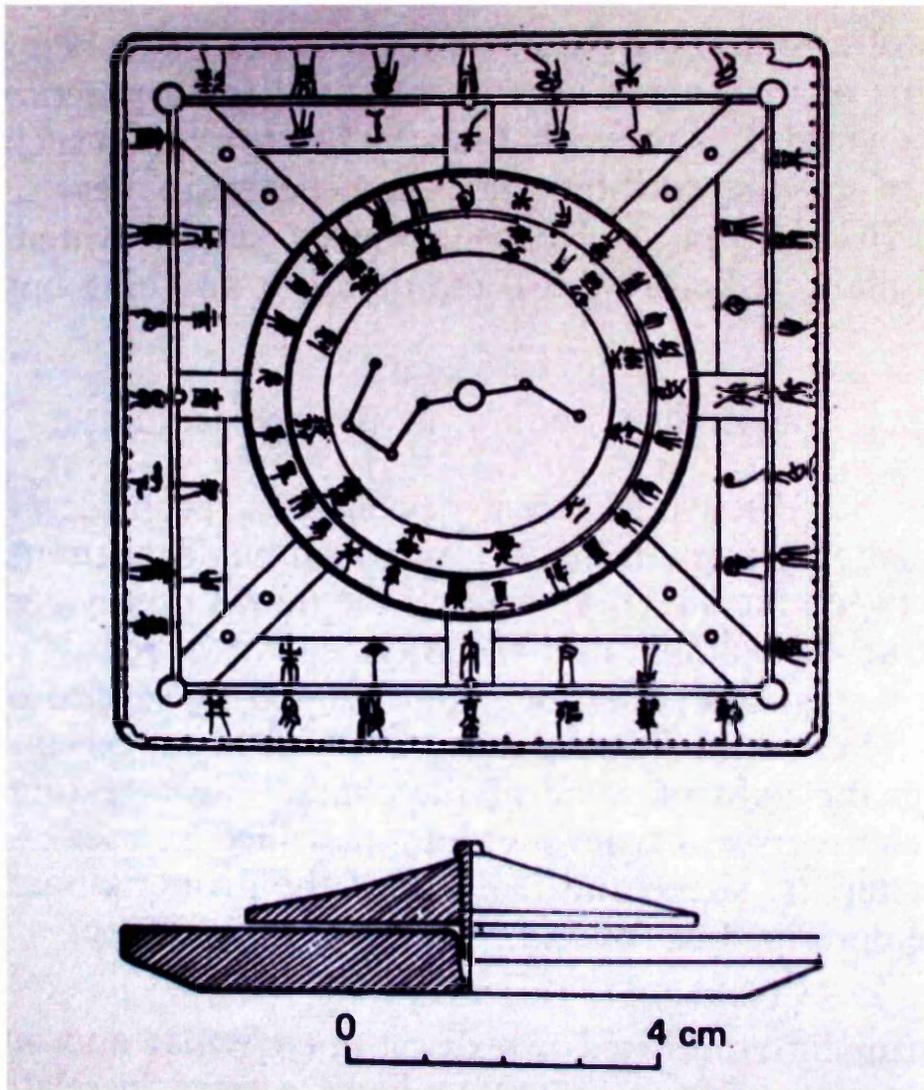


Fig. 2.25: Diviner's board. Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220). Lacquered wood. Tomb 62, Mozuizi, Gansu province.

(After Loewe 1979: 76.)



Fig. 2.26: Mirror. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-660), sixth to seventh century AD. Bronze, d. 9.4cm. Hahwangni, Puyŏ, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 173.)

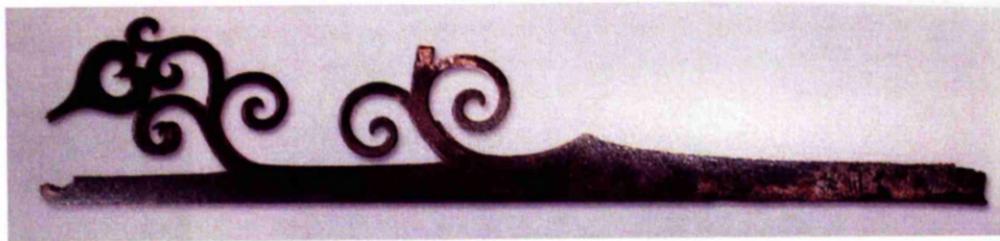


Fig. 2.27: Crown ornament. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-660), sixth to seventh century AD. Silver, l. 17cm. Hahwangni, Puyŏ, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 172.)

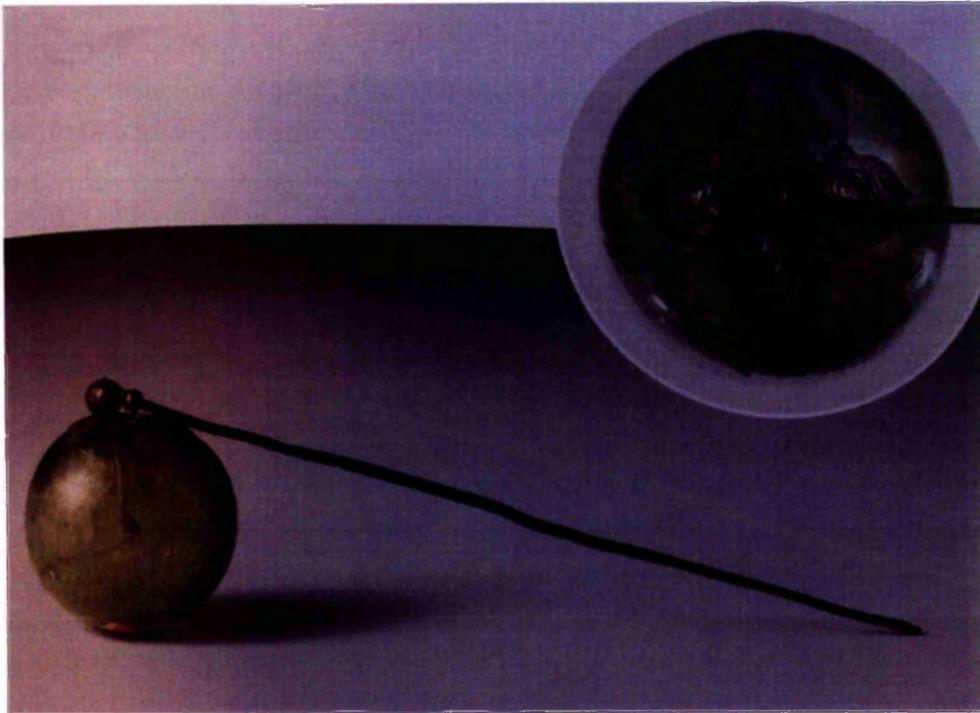


Fig. 2.28: Ball with handle. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-660), sixth to seventh century AD. Glass and silver, l. 19cm. Hahwangni, Puyŏ, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 172.)



Fig. 2.29: Mirror. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-AD 660), early fourth century AD. Bronze, d. 7.1cm. Grave no. han 1, Misani, Kyōnggi province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 9.)

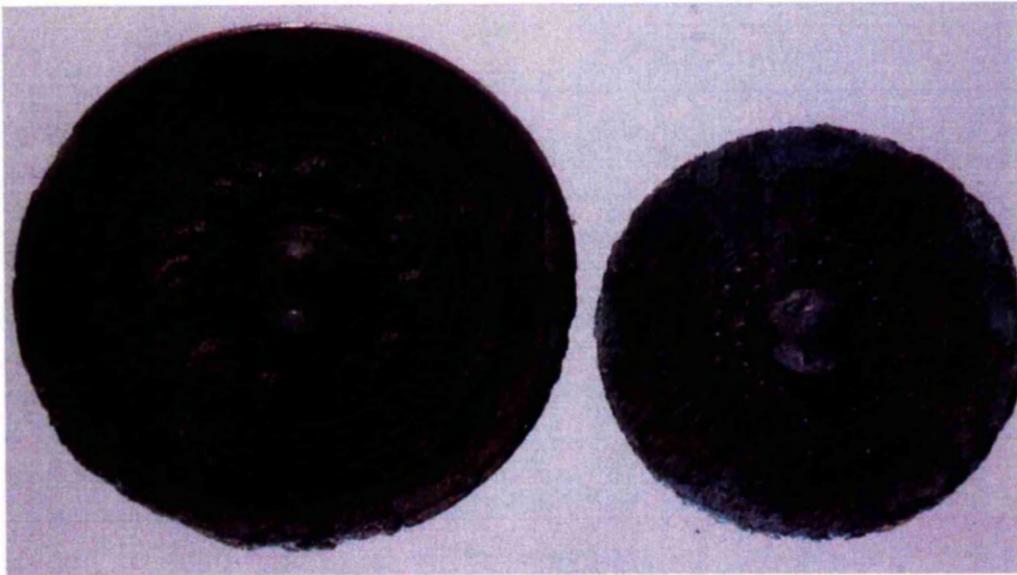


Fig. 2.30: Mirrors. Paekche kingdom (trad. 18 BC-AD 660), late fifth century AD. Bronze, d. (left mirror) 11.2cm. Chewölli, Tamyang, South Chölla province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1999: 91.)



Fig. 2.31: Mirror. Han (206 BC-AD 220) to Western Jin (265-316). Bronze, d. 9.5cm.

(After Kong and Liu 1992: 489.)



Fig. 2.32: Mirror. Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220), first century BC-first century AD. Bronze, d. 16.5cm. Grave no. 23, Taesöngdong, Kimhae, South Kyöngsang province.

(After Tökyö Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1992: 39.)

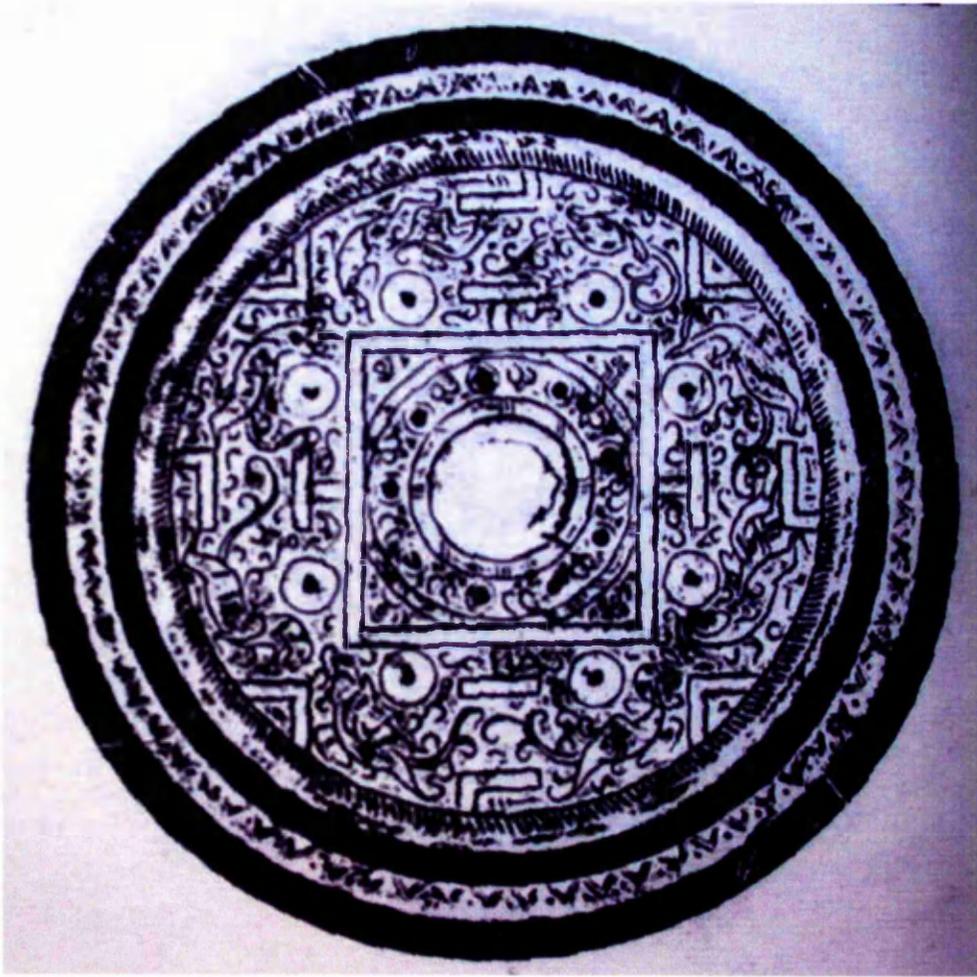


Fig. 2.33: Mirror. Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220). Bronze cast with *liubo* design, d. 16cm. Luoyang, Henan province.

(After Kong and Liu 1992: 285.)

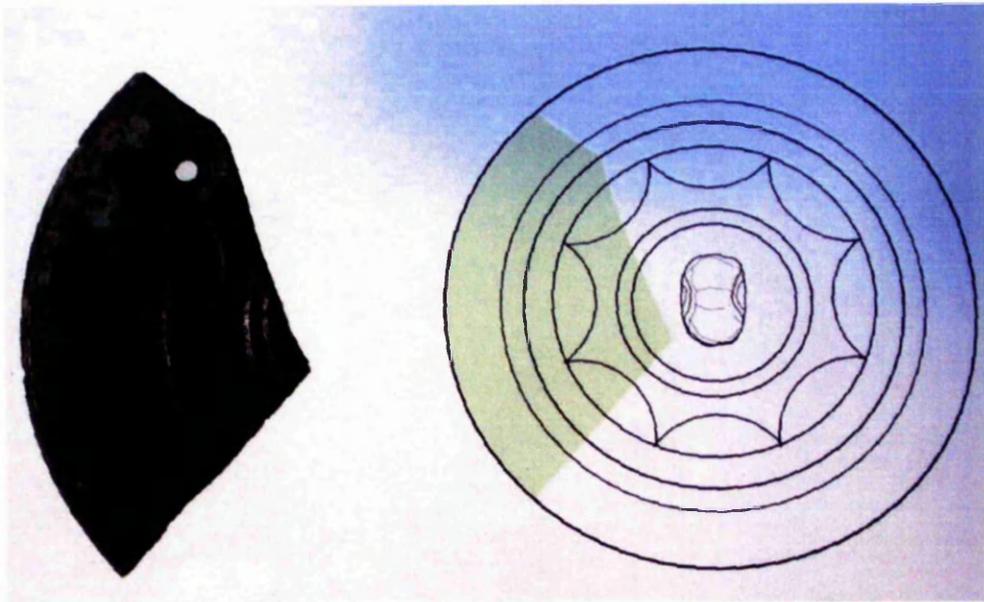


Fig. 2.34: Mirror fragment and reconstruction. Kaya federation (trad. 42-562), fourth century AD. Bronze. Grave no. 14, Taesŏngdong, Kimhae, South Kyŏngsang province.

(After Kungnip Kimhae pangmulgwan 2000: 80.)



Fig. 2.35: Mirror. Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220). Silvered bronze cast with the inscription: "May [the mirror be] cherished by your sons and grandsons for a long time", d. 16.5cm. Collection of Donald H. Graham, Jr, Honolulu.

(After Wong 1988: fig. 13.)

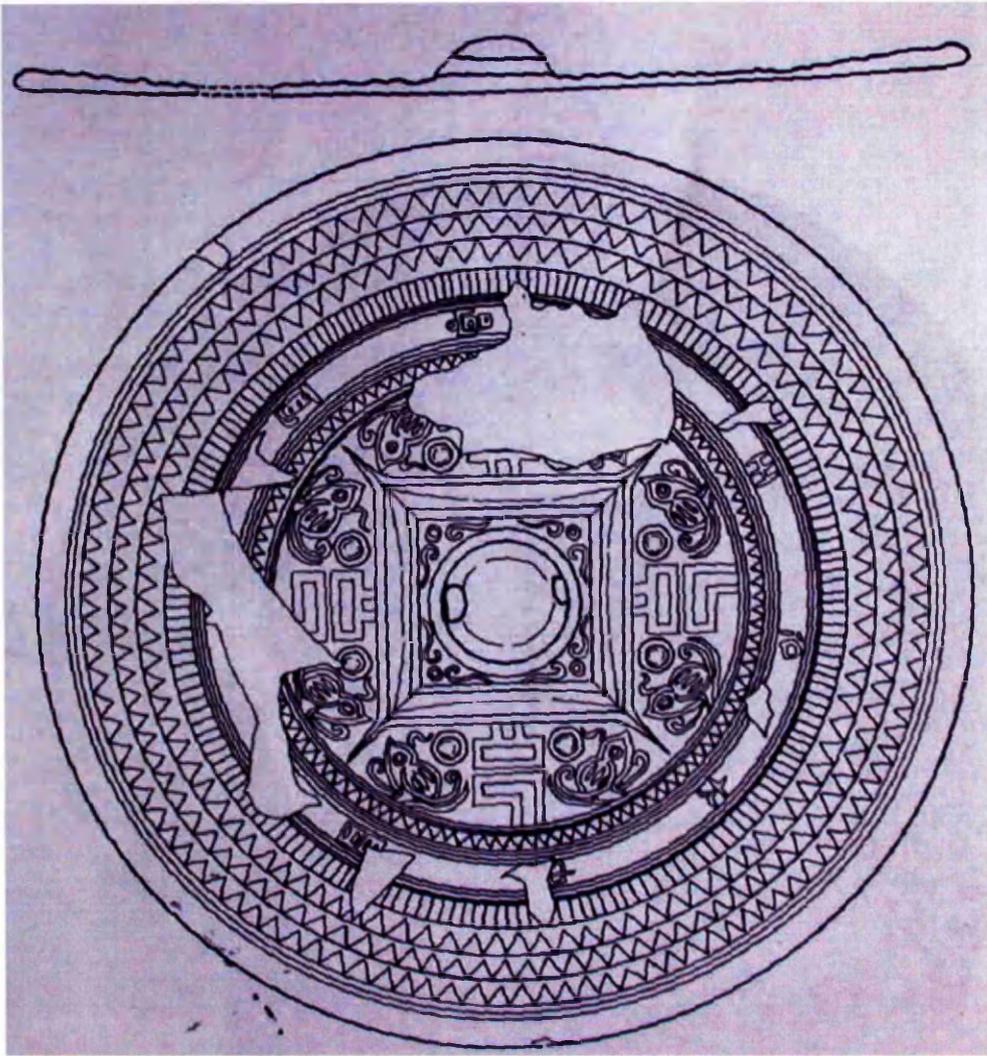


Fig. 2.36: Mirror. Silla kingdom (trad. 57 BC-668), fifth century AD. Bronze cast with *liubo* design, d. 15.5cm. South mound of Hwangnam Great Tomb, Kyōngju, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Munhwaje kwalliguk and Munhwajae yōn'guso 1994: plate 34.)

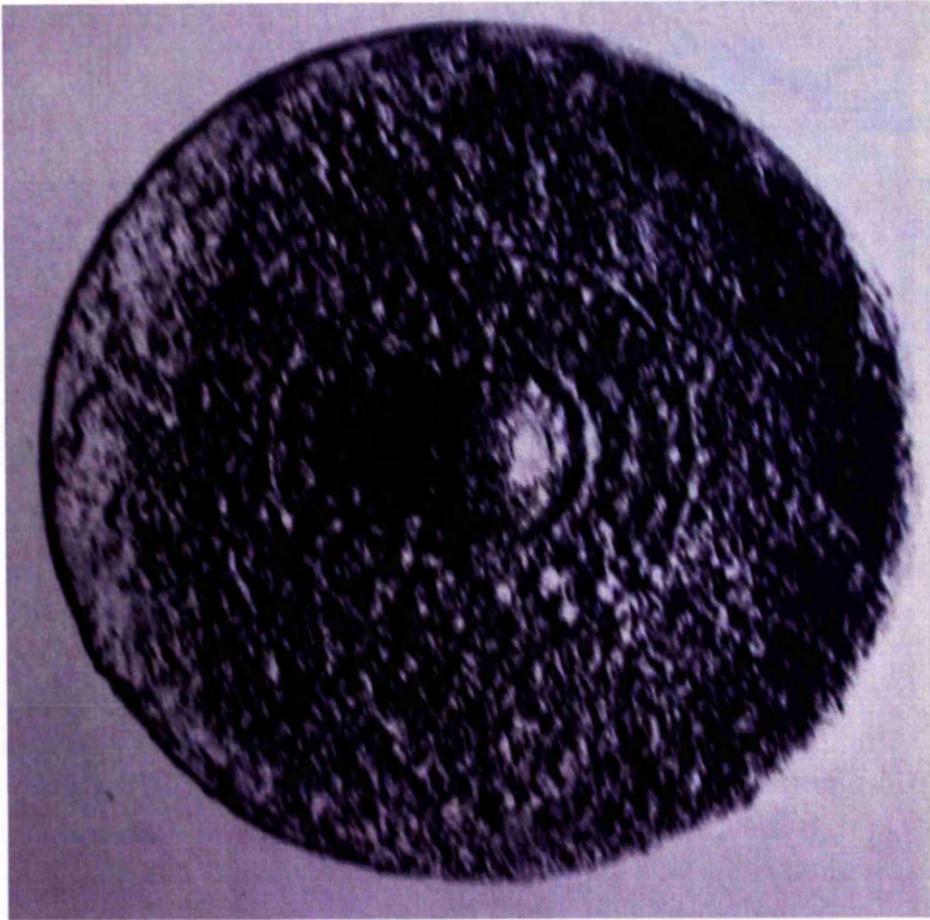


Fig. 2.37: Mirror. Silla kingdom (trad. 57 BC-668), sixth century AD. Bronze, d. 7cm. Gold Bell Tomb, Kyōngju, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Umehara 1973: fig. 60.)



Fig. 2.38: Mirror. Eastern Han dynasty (AD 25-220), first century AD. Bronze cast with nipples (circled in red), an immortal and auspicious animals, d. 16.3cm, wt 719gr. The Carter Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1995.304.

(After Chou 2000: 41.)

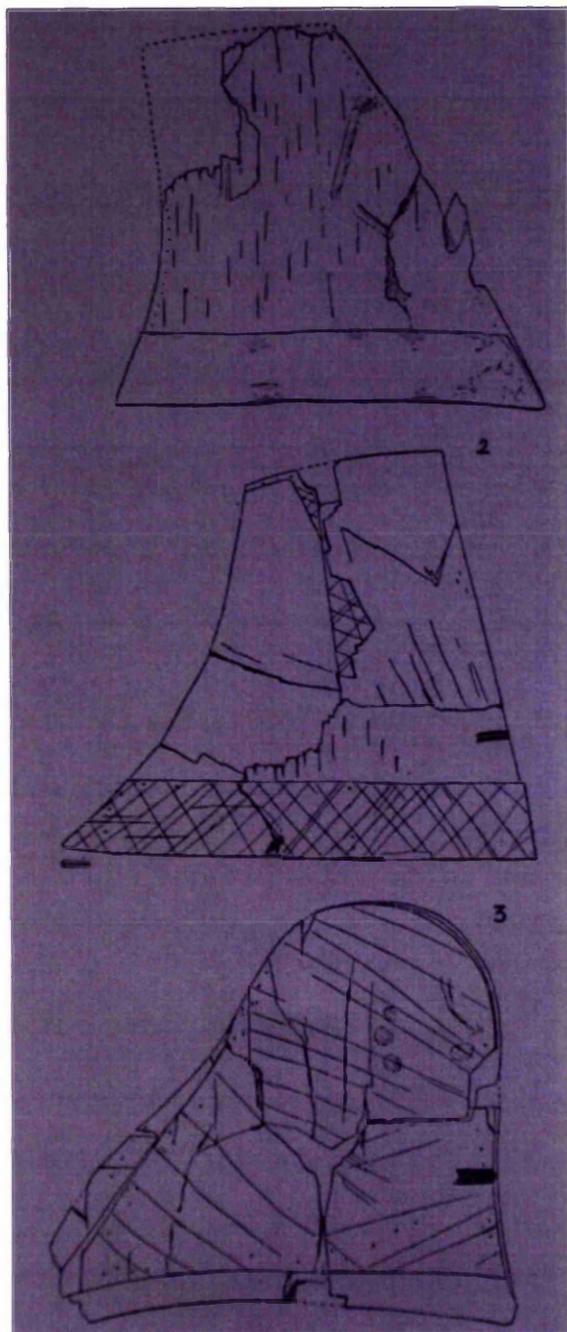


Fig. 2.39: Caps. Silla kingdom (trad. 57 BC-668), sixth century AD. Birch bark, l. 14-15.5cm. Gold Bell Tomb, Kyōngju, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Umehara 1973: 217.)



Fig. 2.40: Mirrors, Silla kingdom (trad. 57 BC-668), seventh century. Mirrors cast in circular shape with (a) plain surface, (b) saw tooth pattern, (c) *liubo* pattern, d. (a) 5.4cm, (b) 9cm, (c) 16.5cm. Hwangnyongsa temple, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991: 14.)

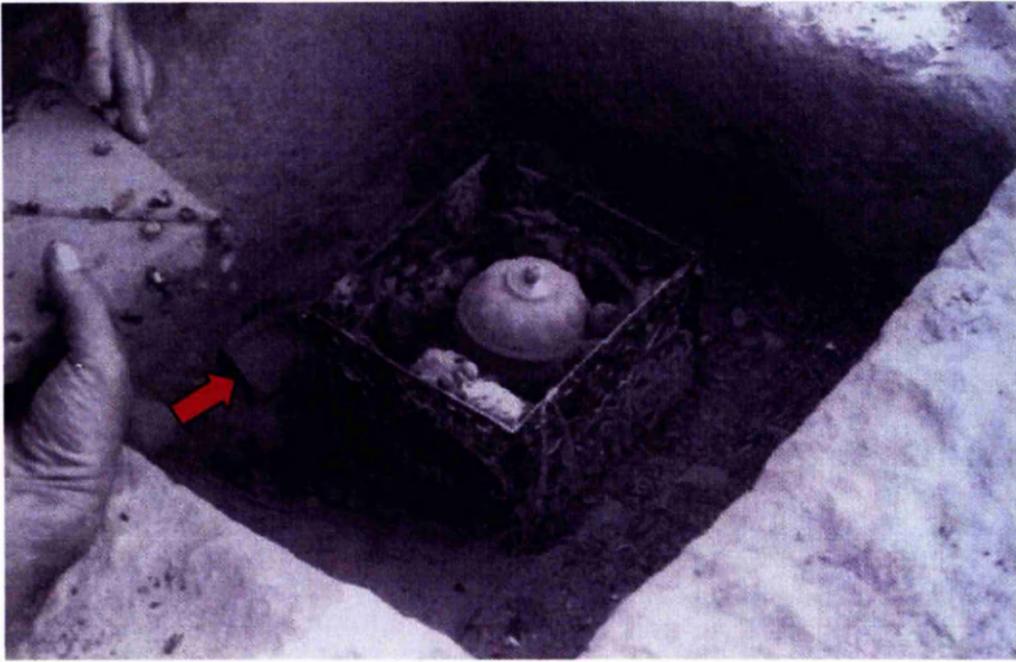


Fig. 2.41: Relic deposit. Unified Silla period (668-935), eighth century. Sōkkat'ap pagoda, Pulguksa temple, North Kyōngsang province. Red arrow points to mirror fragment.

(After Chōng Yōng-ho *et al.* 1997: 66.)



Fig. 2.42: Mirror fragment inside relic deposit. Unified Silla period (668-935), eighth century. Bronze, l. 8cm. Sökkat'ap pagoda, Pulguksa temple, North Kyöngsang province.

(After Chöng Yöng-ho *et al.* 1997: 66.)



Fig. 2.43: Mirror. Unified Silla period (668-935), eighth century. Bronze cast in circular shape, d. 8cm. Sökkat'ap pagoda, Pulguksa temple, North Kyöngsang province.

(After Yi Nan-yöng 1983: 33.)



Fig. 2.44: Reconstruction of the Anapchi pond complex. Unified Silla period (668-935), originally constructed by King Munmu (r. AD 661-680). Kyōngju, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1980: 27.)

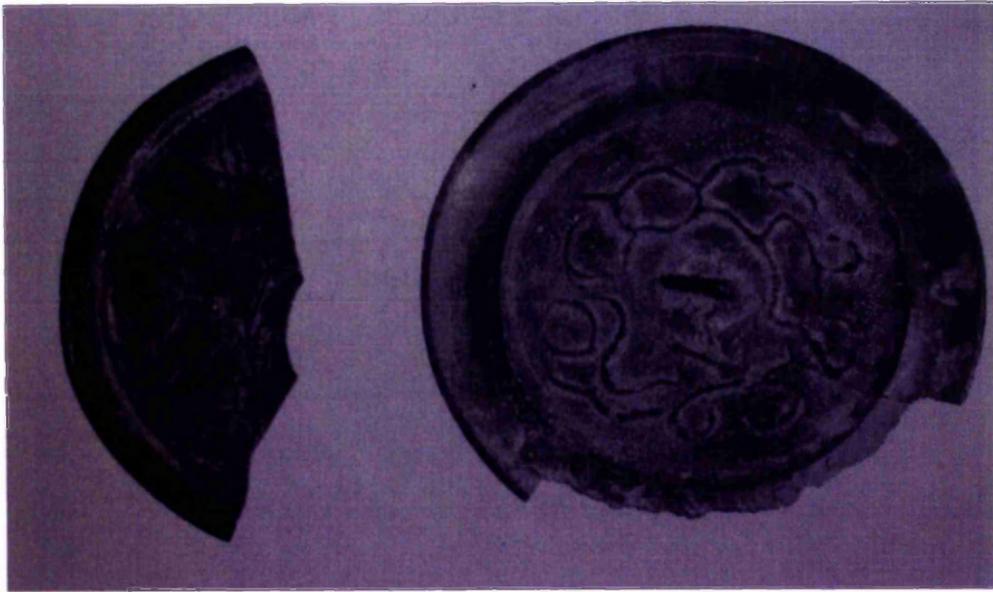


Fig. 2.45: Mirrors. Unified Silla period (668-935). Bronze, d. (right) 9cm, l. (left) 8.2cm. Anapchi pond, Kyōngju, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1980: 123.)



Fig. 2.46: Mirror. Unified Silla period (668-935), eighth to ninth century AD. Bronze with gold and silver foil set in black lacquer, d. 18.2cm, t. 0.5cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 58.)



Fig. 2.47: Mirror. Unified Silla period (668-935). Bronze with gold and silver foil set in black lacquer, d. 15.3cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 59.)



Fig. 2.48a: Mirror. Unified Silla period (668-935), eighth century. Bronze with mother-of-pearl, amber and blue stones set in lacquer, d. 18.6cm, t. 0.6cm. Reportedly from South Kyöngsang province. Private collection.

(After Kungnip minsok pangmulgwan 1989: 56.)

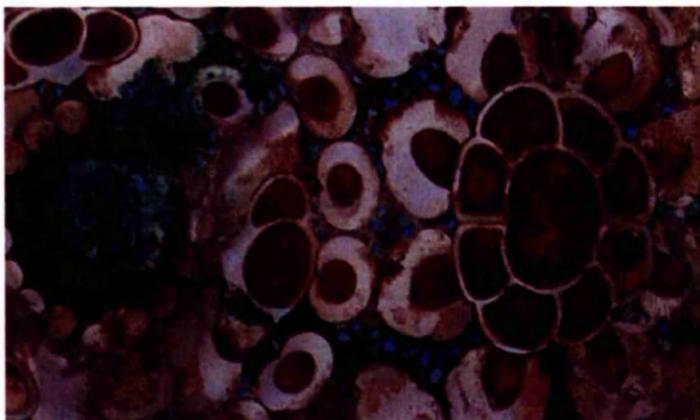


Fig. 2.48b: Mirror, detail of fig. 2.48a.

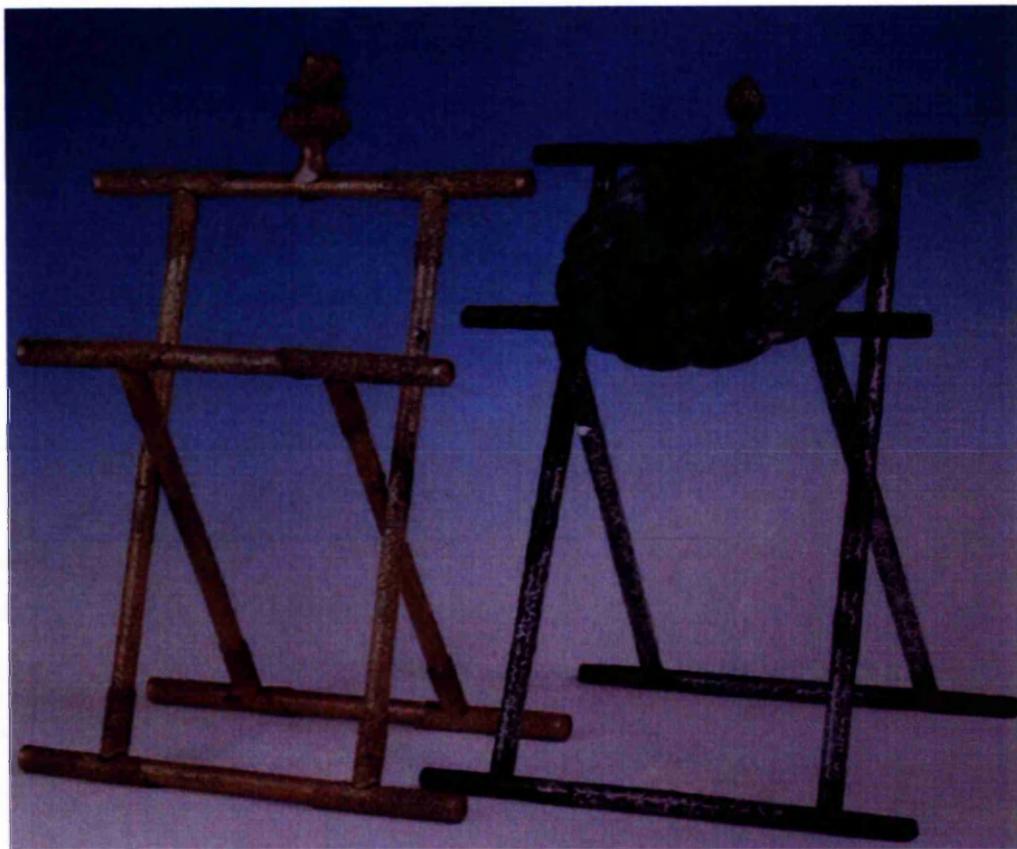


Fig. 3.1: Mirror stands with mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth to fourteenth century. (Left stand) gilt-bronze, (right stand) iron inlaid with silver wire, (mirror) bronze, h. (left stand) 56cm, (right stand) 54.8cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos (left stand) tŏk 5704, (right stand) tŏk 5393.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1993: 203.)

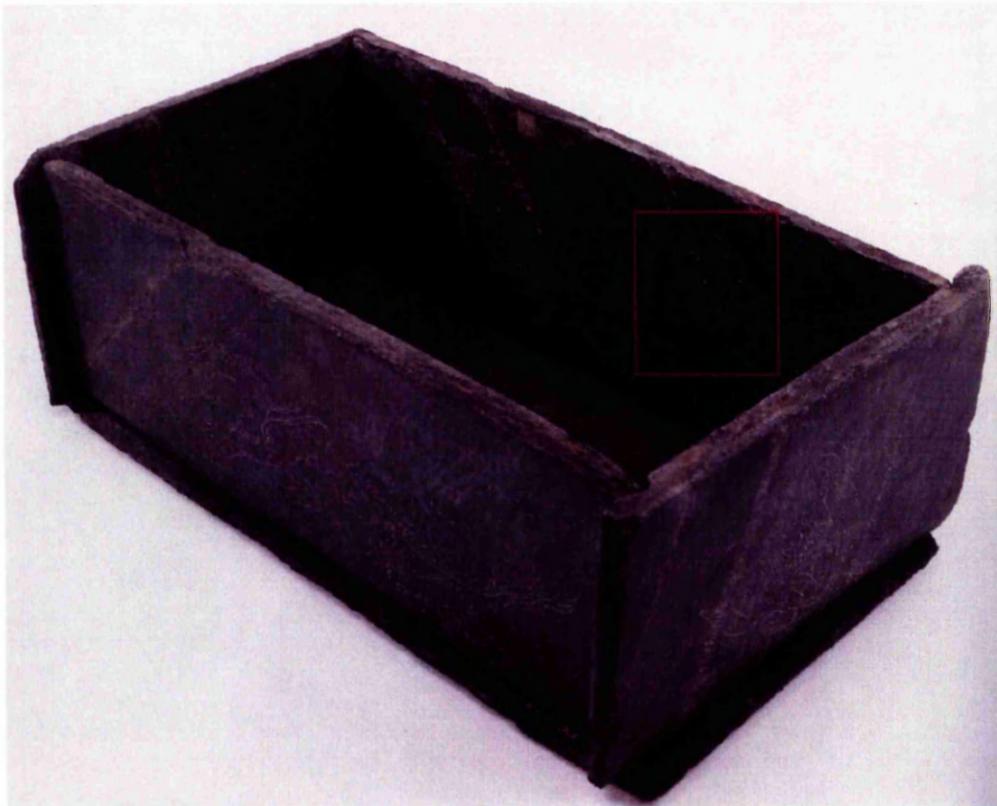


Fig. 3.2a: Coffin. Koryō dynasty (918-1392). Slate, carved with the Four Guardian Animals (exterior) and lotus and peony flowers (interior), l. 74.5cm, h. 39cm, w. 39cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. A. 117-1918.

(After McKillop 1992: 94.)

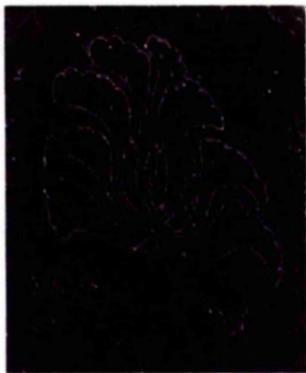


Fig. 3.2b: Peony flower, detail of coffin in fig. 3.2a.

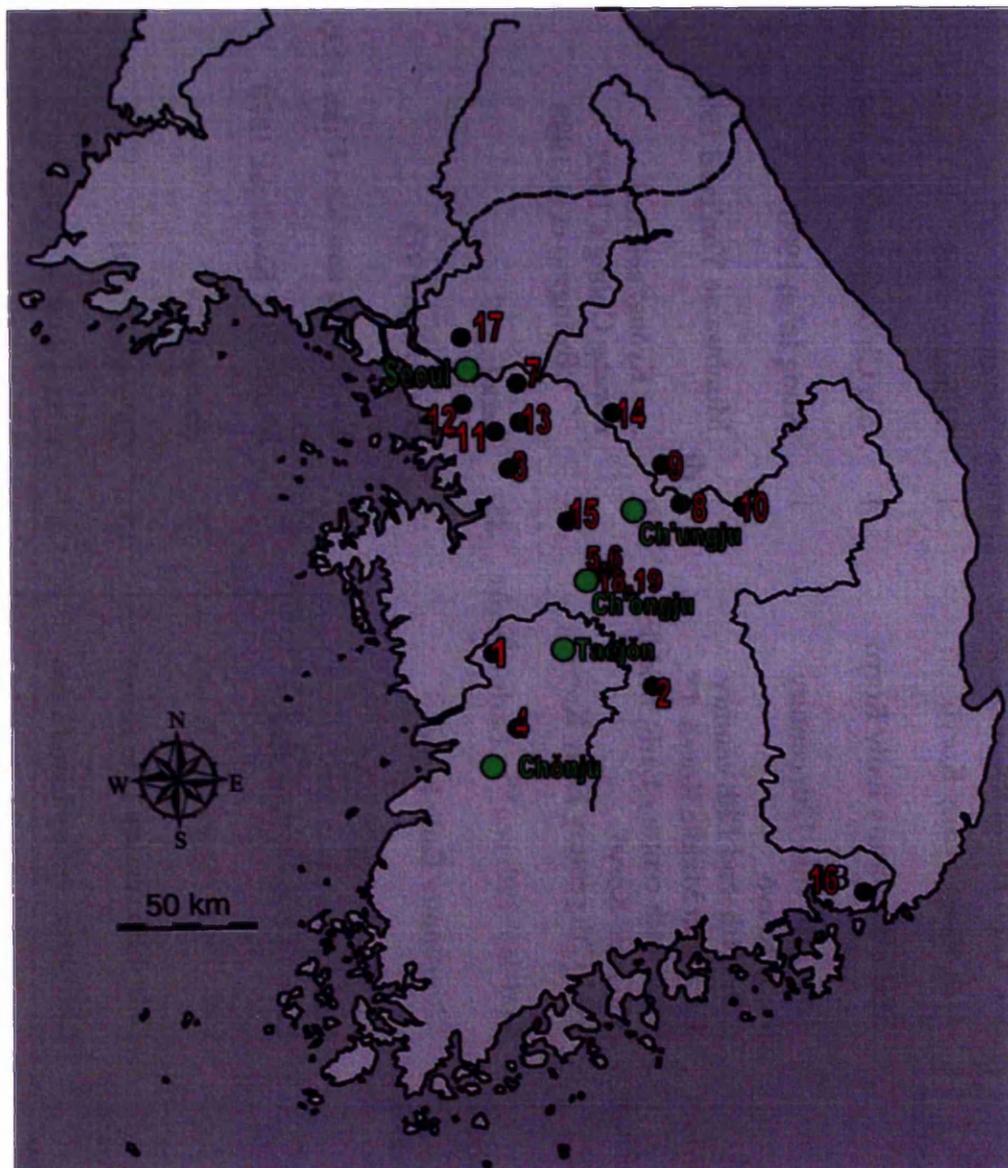


Fig. 3.3: Koryŏ dynasty tomb sites (918-1392). Site numbers correspond to those in table 3.1.

- 1: Tŭgyunni. 2: Chibongni. 3: Chwahangni. 4: Yudongni. 5: Kŭmch'ŏdong II-1. 6: Kŭmch'ŏdong II-2. 7: Ch'un'gungni. 8: Tanwŏldong. 9: Nuamni.
- 10: Hyŏn'gongni. 11: Songnari. 12: Kup'ori. 13: Panwŏlmyŏn. 14: Maeryongni.
- 15: Sŏngsŏngni. 16: Tŏksalli. 17: Ilsandong. 18: Yongjŏngdong II.
- 19: Kŭmch'ŏdong I.



Fig. 3.4a: Stone-lined tomb no. 1-2. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh century. Chibongni, Yŏngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Several pieces of ceramics and bronze spoon in the northern part of the grave. Mirror, iron scissors and bronze hairpin in the southern part (circled in red).

(After Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987: 20.)



Fig. 3.4b: Detail from interior of stone-lined tomb no. 1-2 in fig. 3.4a. Mirror (outlined in red) underneath iron scissors; bronze hairpin on the right.

(After Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987: 20.)

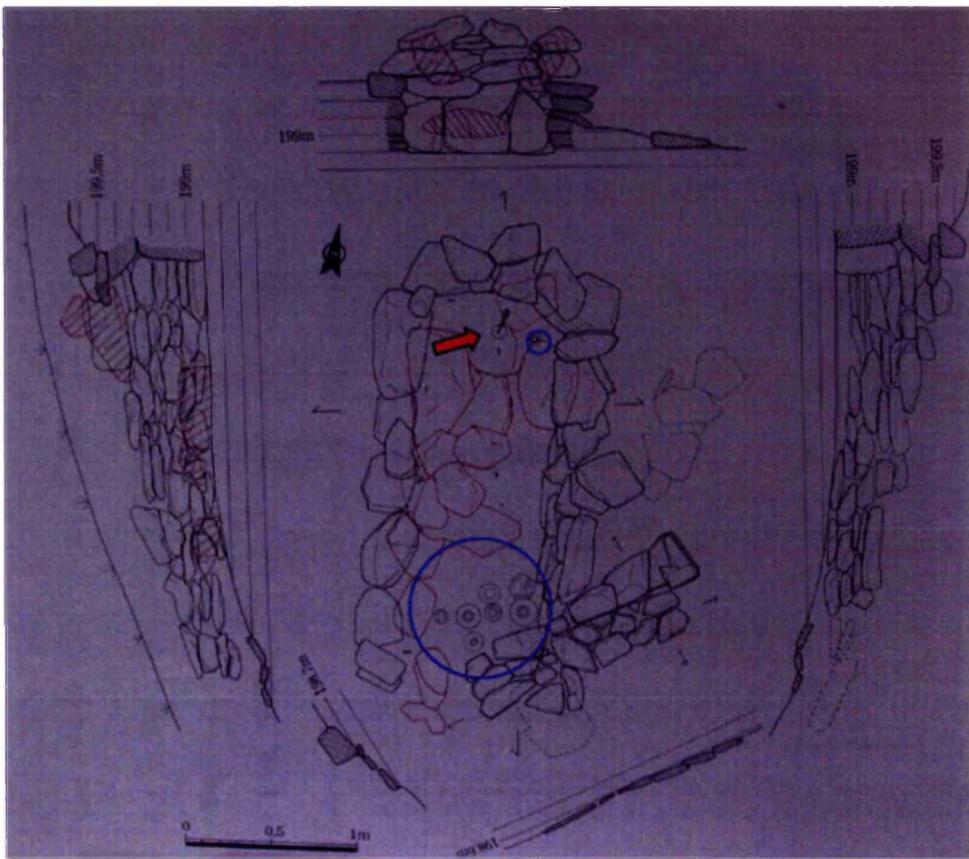


Fig. 3.5: Stone-lined tomb no. 9. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid-eleventh century. Chwahangni, Yongin'gun, Kyŏnggi province. Red arrow indicates bronze mirror alongside iron scissors. Seven pieces of ceramic in the southern part of the grave and one in the northern part (ceramics circled in blue).

(After Sin Chŏn-sik and Ŏm Ik-sŏng 1994: 74.)

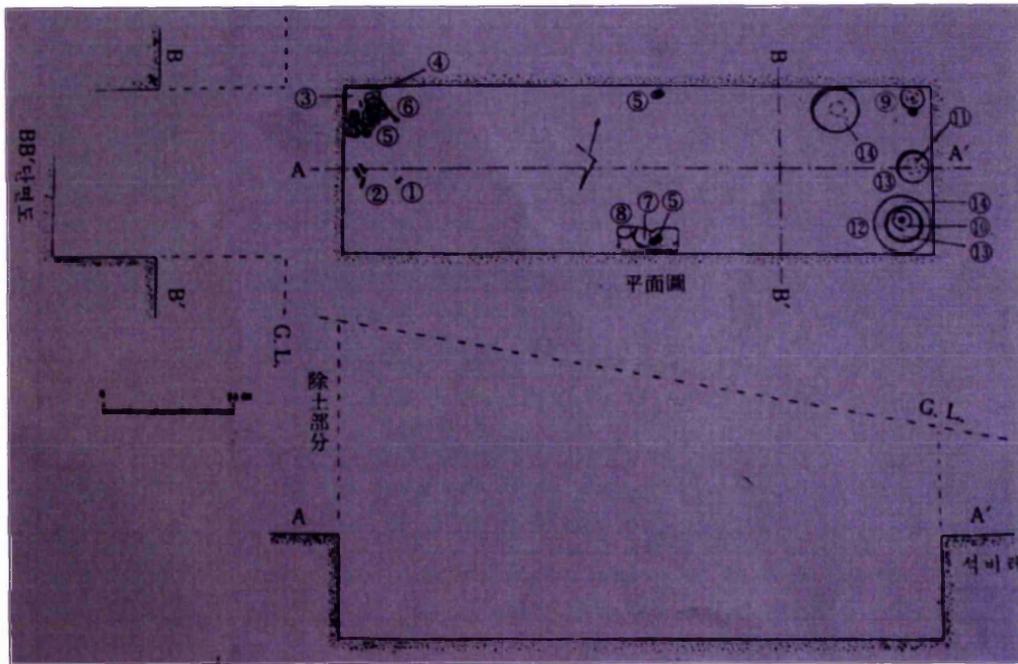


Fig. 3.6: Earthen pit tomb no. 1. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Yudongni, Mujugun, North Chŏlla province.  
 1: glass beads. 2: bronze and silver hair pins. 3: bronze mirror. 4: bronze seal. 5: bronze coins. 6: bronze spoon. 7: farming tool. 8: iron dagger and iron arrowheads. 9: celadon jar. 10: celadon bottle. 11: celadon jar. 12: celadon dish. 13: celadon dish. 14: celadon dish.

(After Kang In-gu 1980: 3.)

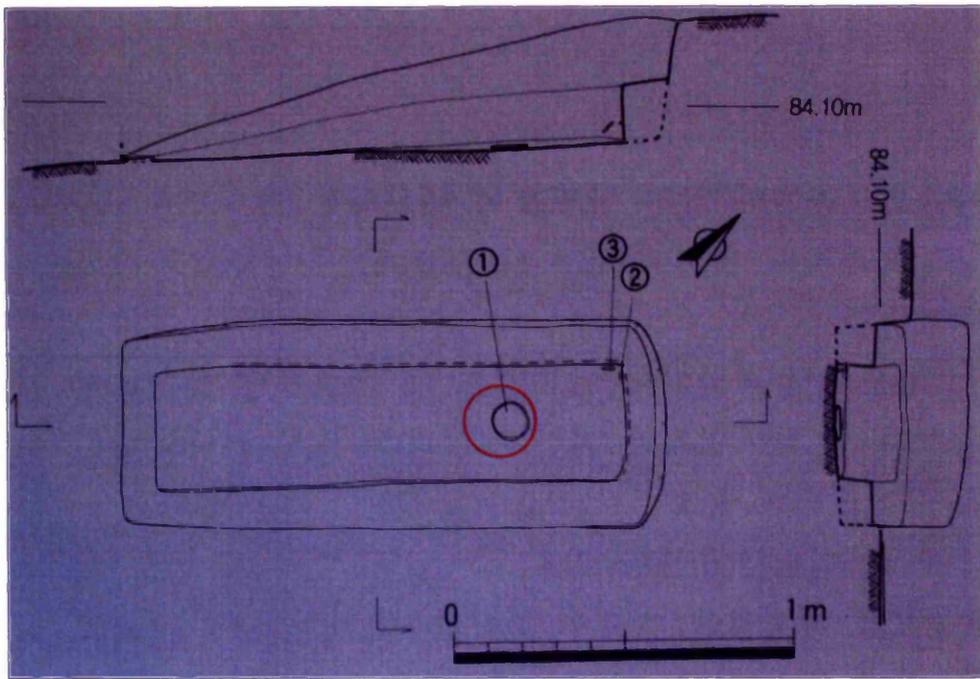


Fig. 3.7a: Earthen pit tomb no. 19. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze mirror (circled in red). 2-3: iron nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 49.)

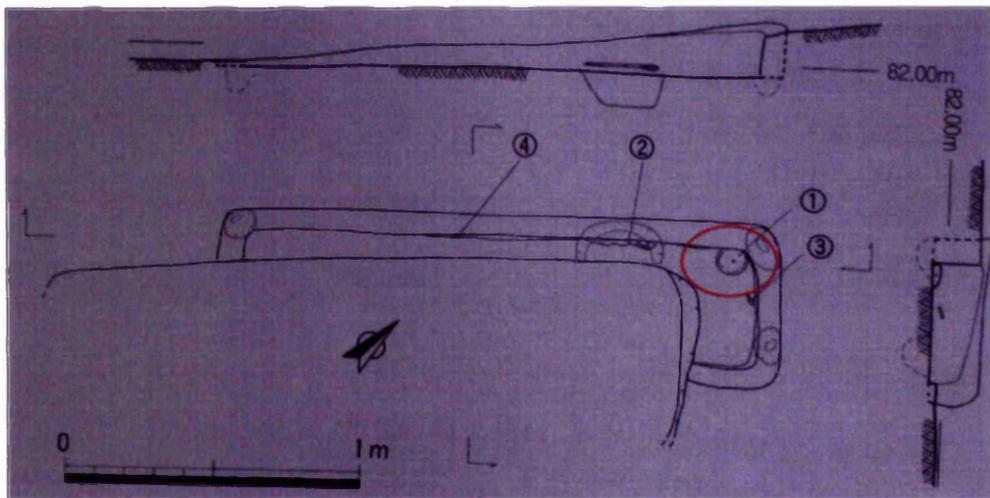


Fig. 3.7b: Earthen pit tomb no. 38. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze mirror (circled in red). 2: iron scissors. 3-4: iron nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 84.)

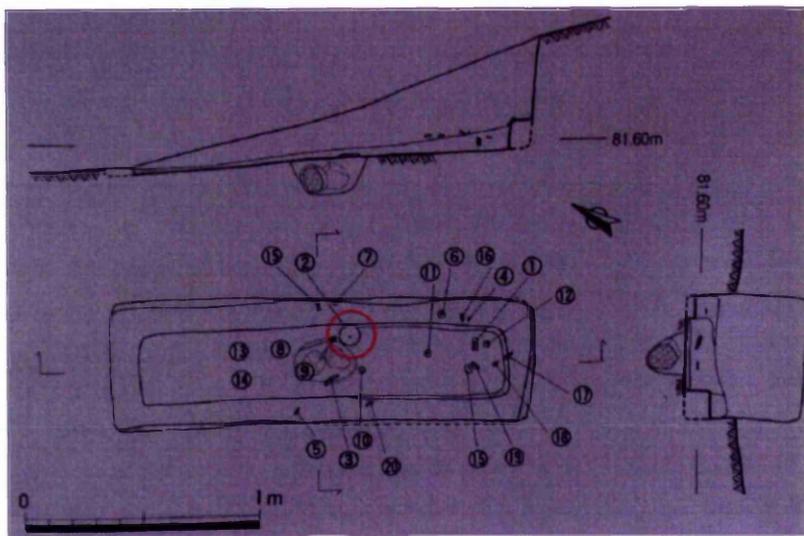


Fig. 3.7c: Earthen pit tomb no. 46. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze hairpin. 2: bronze mirror (circled in red). 3: bronze fragment. 4: wooden comb. 5-14: bronze coins. 15-21: iron nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 95.)

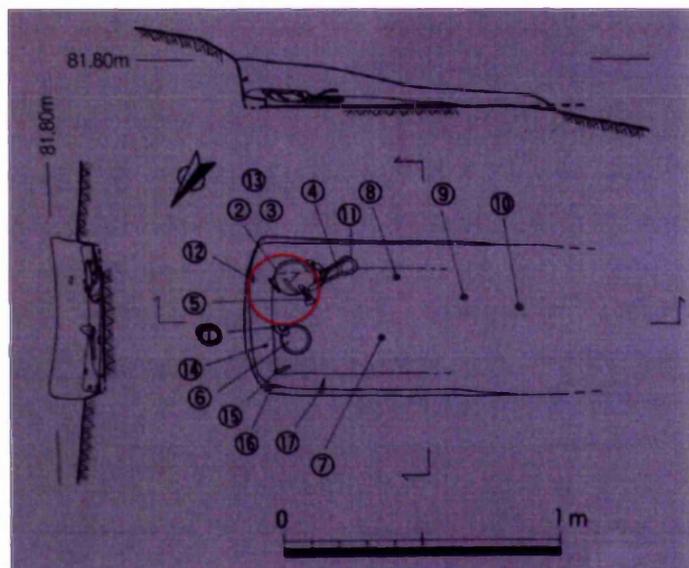


Fig. 3.7d: Earthen pit tomb no. 55. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: celadon vase. 2: circular bronze mirror (circled in red). 3: celadon jar. 4: bronze bowl. 5: bronze dish. 6: bronze spoon. 7: iron scissors. 8-11: bronze coins. 12: bronze hairpin. 13-18: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 114.)

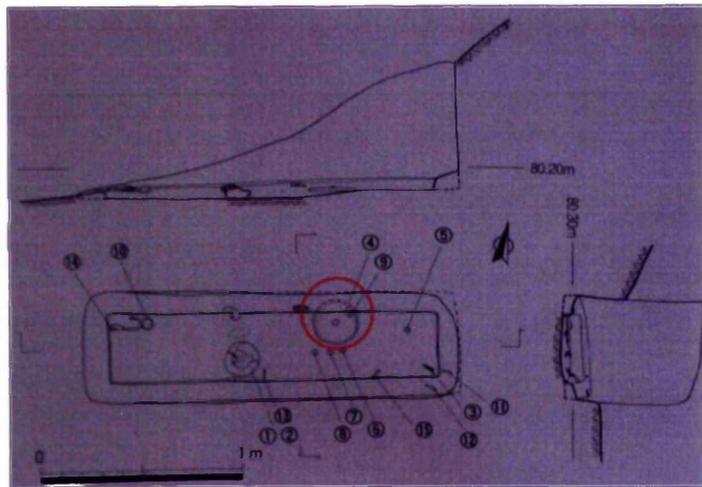


Fig. 3.7e: Earthen pit tomb no. 57. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze bowl. 2: bronze vessel. 3: silver hairpin. 4: bronze mirror (circled in red). 5-9: bronze coins. 10: iron scissors. 11-15: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 114.)

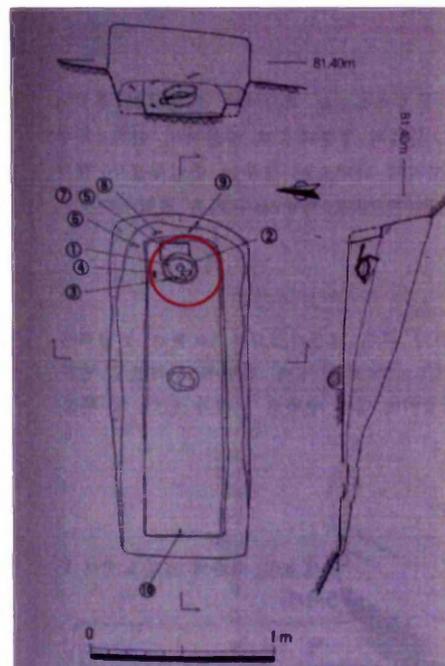


Fig. 3.7f: Earthen pit tomb no. 58. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: celadon bowl. 2: bronze bowl. 3: bronze spoon. 4: bronze hairpin. 5: bronze mirror (circled in red). 6-10: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 125.)

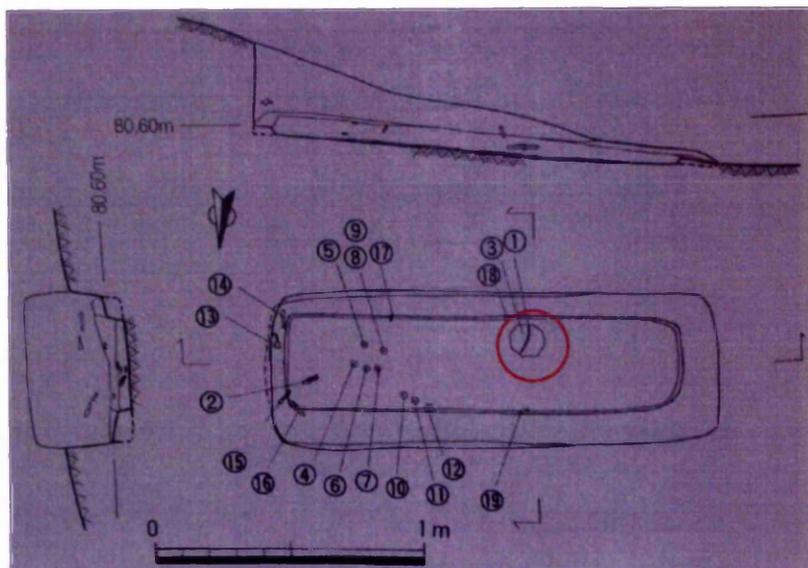


Fig. 3.7g: Earthen pit grave no. 62. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏn-dong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze spoon. 2: bronze hairpin. 3: bronze mirror (circled in red). 4-12: bronze coins. 13-19: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 132.)

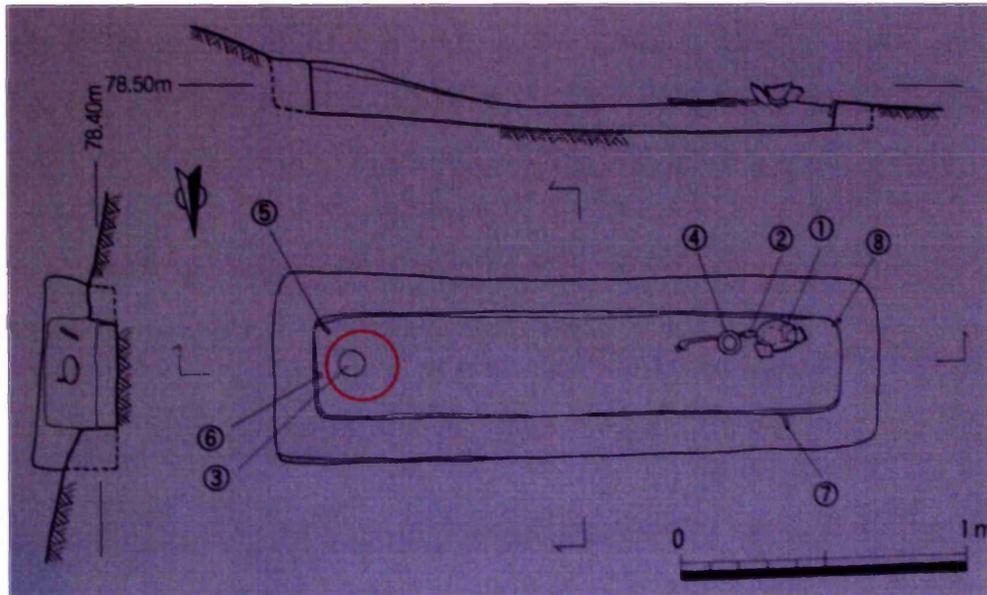


Fig. 3.7h: Earthen pit tomb no. 89. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: celadon bowl. 2: bronze spoon. 3: bronze mirror. 4: iron scissors. 5-8: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 183.)

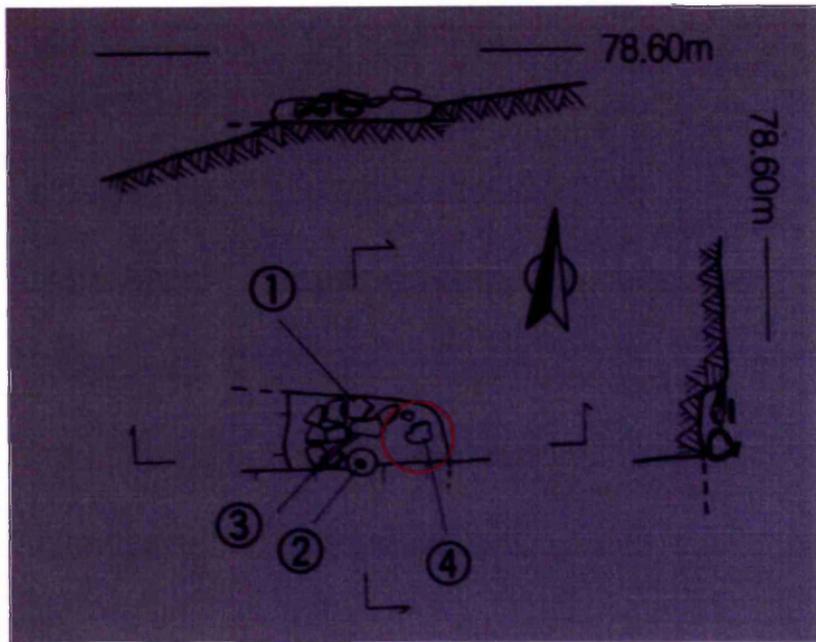


Fig. 3.7i: Earthen pit tomb no. 90. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: celadon bowl. 2: celadon jar. 3: bronze spoon. 4: bronze mirror (circled in red).

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 185.)

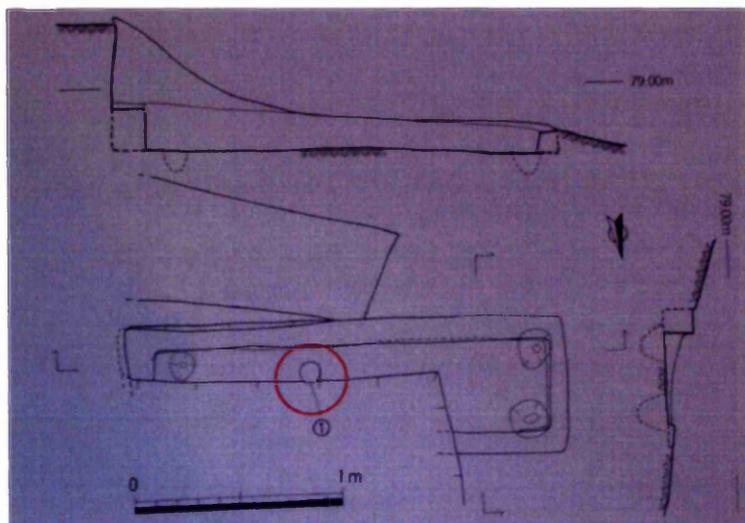


Fig. 3.7j: Earthen pit tomb no. 96. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze mirror (circled in red).

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 197.)

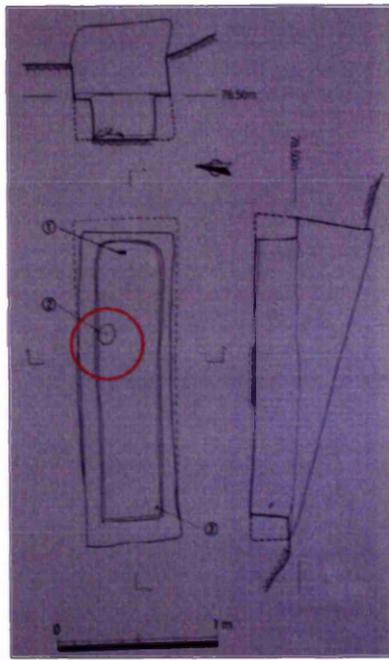


Fig. 3.7k: Earthen pit tomb no. 99. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze hairpin. 2: bronze mirror (circled in red). 3: coffin nail.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 202.)

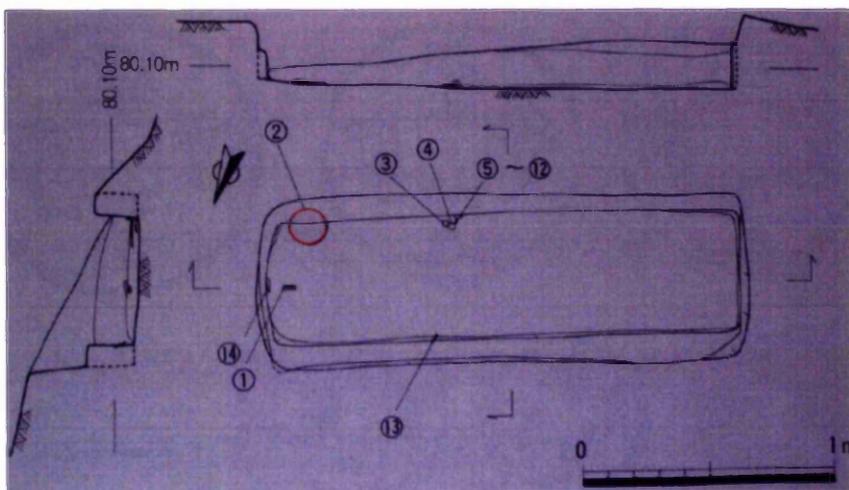


Fig. 3.7l: Earthen pit tomb no. 111. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze hairpin. 2: bronze mirror (circled in red). 3-4: coffin nails. 5-14: bronze coins.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 219.)

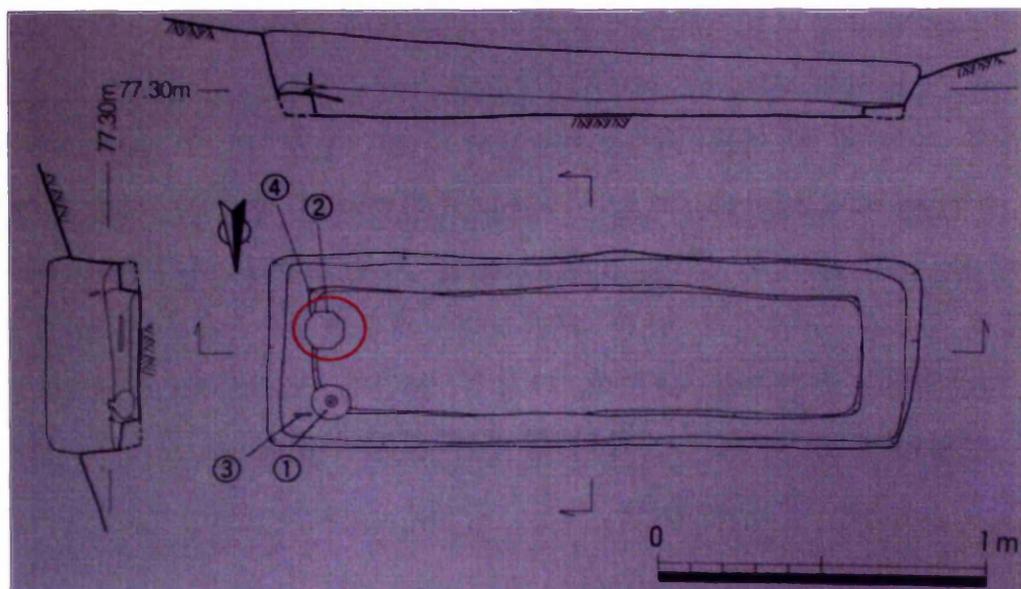


Fig. 3.7m: Earthen pit tomb no. 130. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: earthen ware jar. 2: bronze mirror (circled in red). 3-4: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 256.)

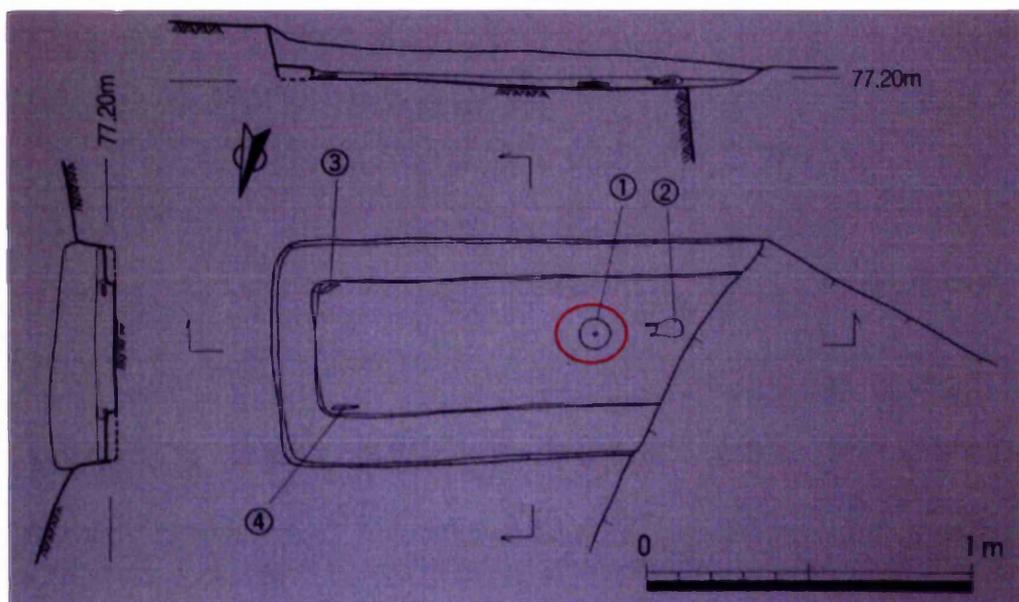


Fig. 3.7n: Earthen pit tomb no. 157. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze mirror (circled in red). 2: iron scissors. 3-4: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 296.)

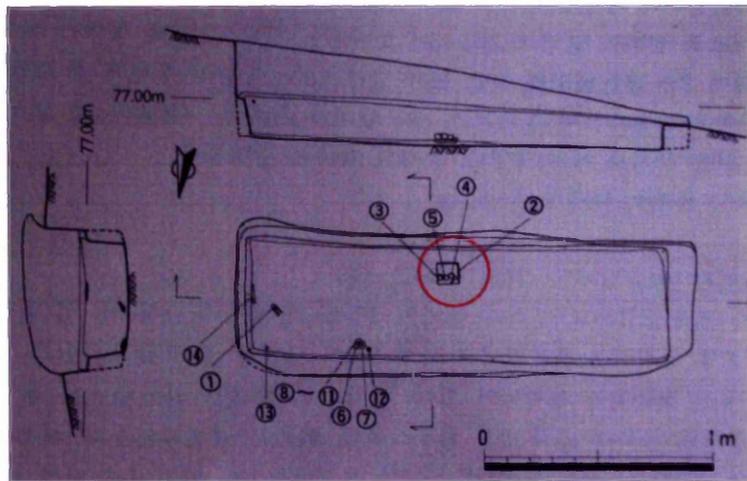


Fig. 3.7o: Earthen pit tomb no. 181. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: bronze hairpin. 2: bronze mirror (circled in red). 3: bronze bell. 4: bead. 5-10: bronze coins. 12-14: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 333.)

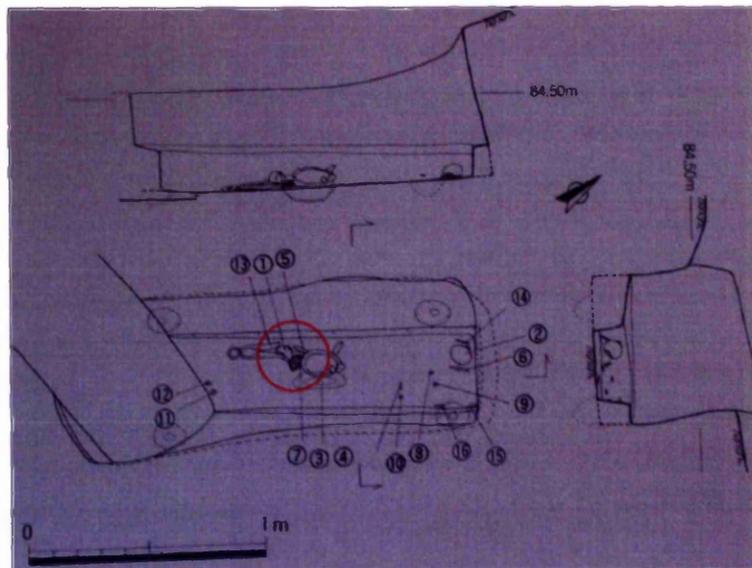


Fig. 3.7p: Earthen pit tomb no. 207. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1: celadon vessel. 2: black ware. 3: bronze bowl. 4: bronze dish. 5: bronze spoon. 6: bronze hairpin. 7: bronze mirror (circled in red). 8-12: bronze coins. 13: iron scissors. 14-17: coffin nails.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 372.)

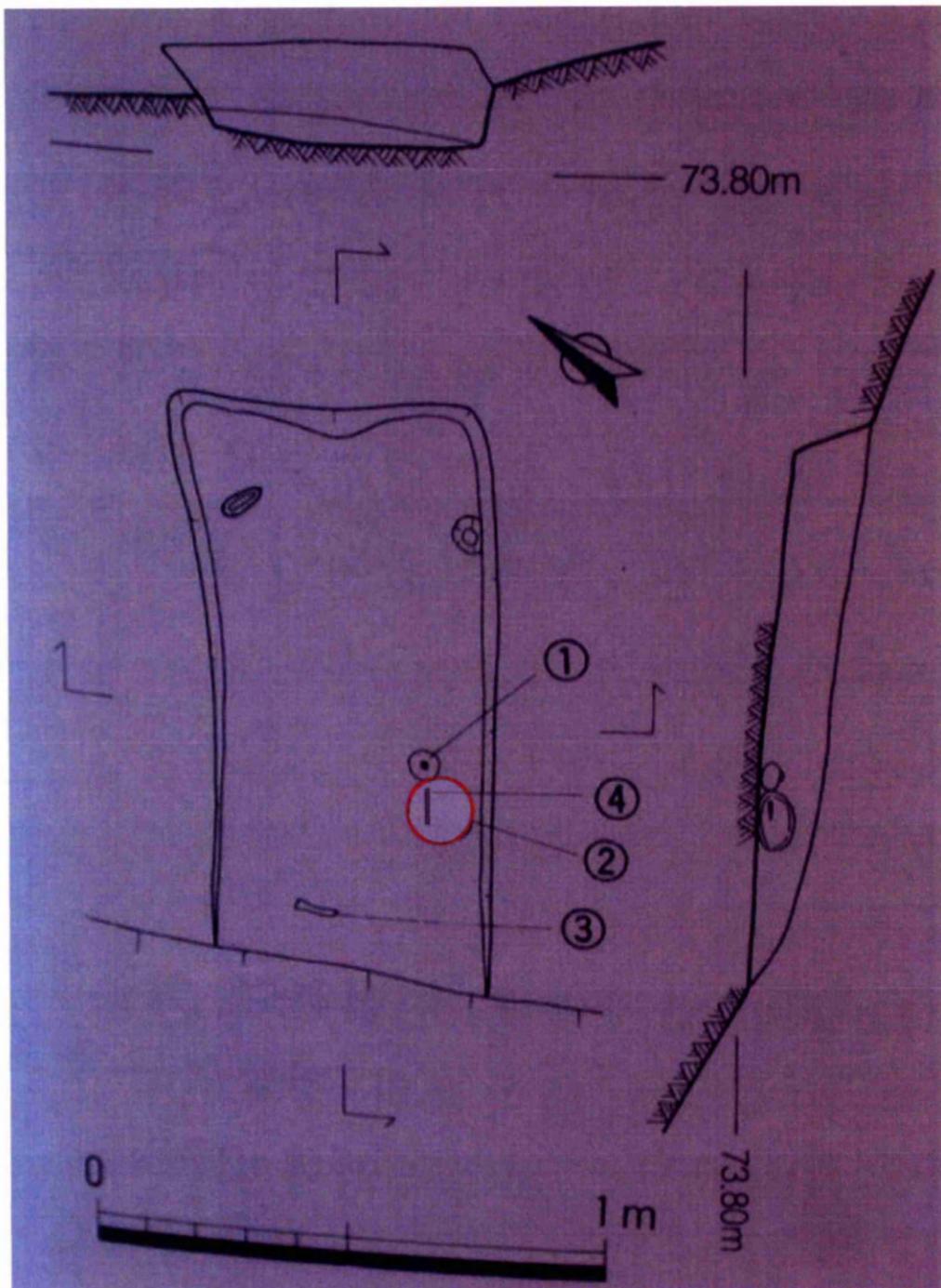


Fig. 3.8: Earthen pit grave no. 16. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. 1: celadon jar. 2: bronze mirror (circled in red). 3: iron scissors. 4: coffin nail.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 423.)

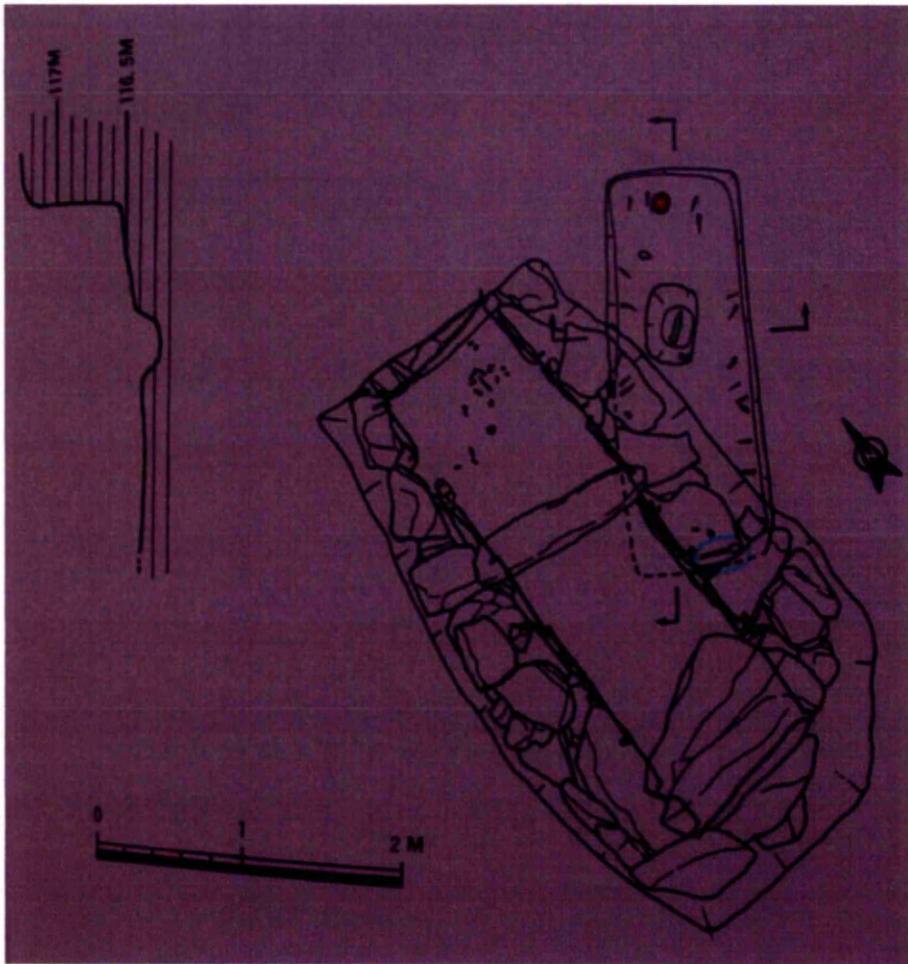


Fig. 3.9: Earthen pit tomb no. 23-1. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Mirror (highlighted in red) in the north-western part of the grave. Bronze spoon and two bronze chopsticks (circled in blue) in the opposite part. Iron dagger (highlighted in green) in the middle.

(After Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1992: 117.)



Fig. 3.10a: Stone-lined tomb no. 12. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. The exact location of the mirror is not stated in the excavation report, but it is possibly the disc-shaped object underneath the iron scissors (circled in red).

(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 12.)



Fig. 3.10b: Stone-lined tomb no. 21. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Mirror (highlighted in red) in the south-eastern part of the grave, next to iron scissors.

(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 14.)



Fig. 3.10c: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with beaded design, d. 12.7cm. Stone-lined tomb no. 8, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. It has not been possible to obtain a photograph or a plan of the grave itself.

(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)



Fig. 3.10d: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast in eight-lobed shape without decoration, d. 9.8cm. Stone-lined tomb no. 15, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. It has not been possible to obtain a photograph or a plan of the grave itself.

(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)



Fig. 3.10e: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with a motif of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.6cm. Stone-lined tomb no. 31, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. It has not been possible to obtain a photograph or a plan of the grave itself.

(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

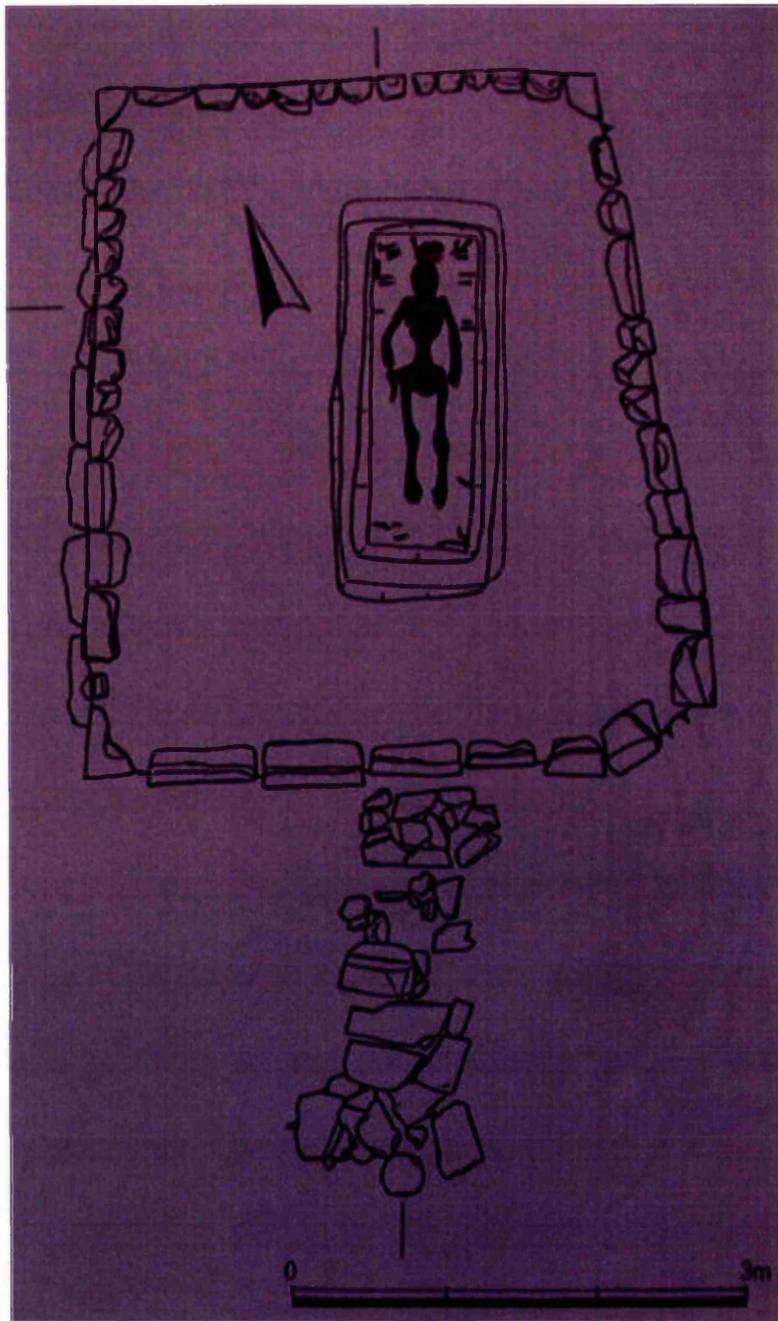


Fig. 3.11: Lime-coffin tomb no. 1. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late twelfth to thirteenth century. Songnari, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province. Mirror (highlighted in red) above the head of the deceased.

(After Yun Se-yŏng and Kim U-rim 1995: 22.)

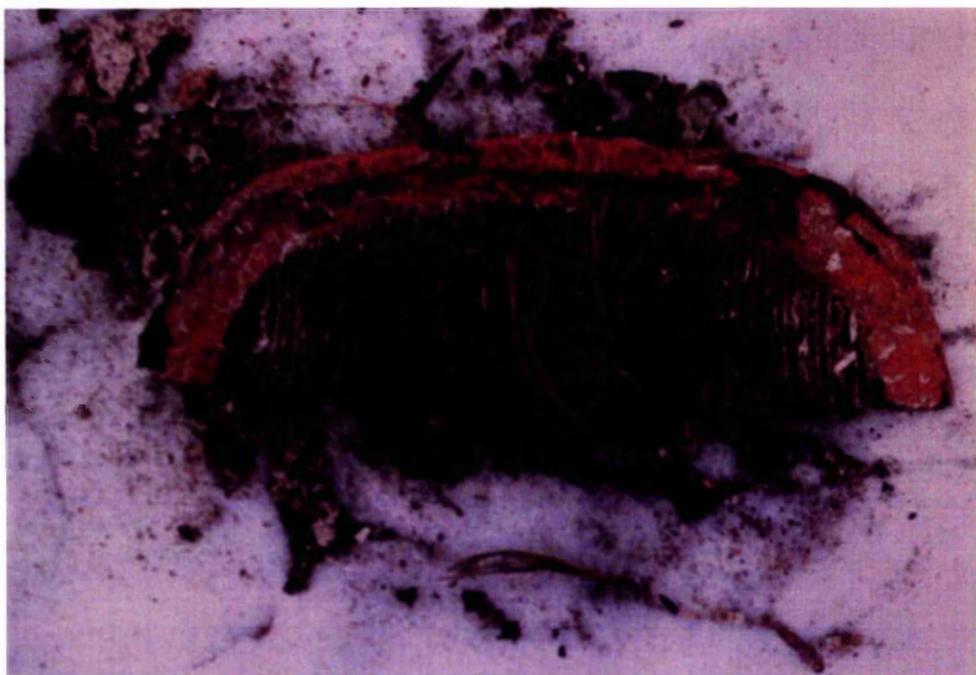


Fig. 3.12: Comb. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late twelfth to thirteenth century. Lacquer, l. 19cm, h. 7cm. Lime-coffin tomb no. 1, Songnari, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province. The comb was placed on top of a bronze mirror above the head of the deceased.

(After Yun Se-yŏng and Kim U-rim 1995: 25.)

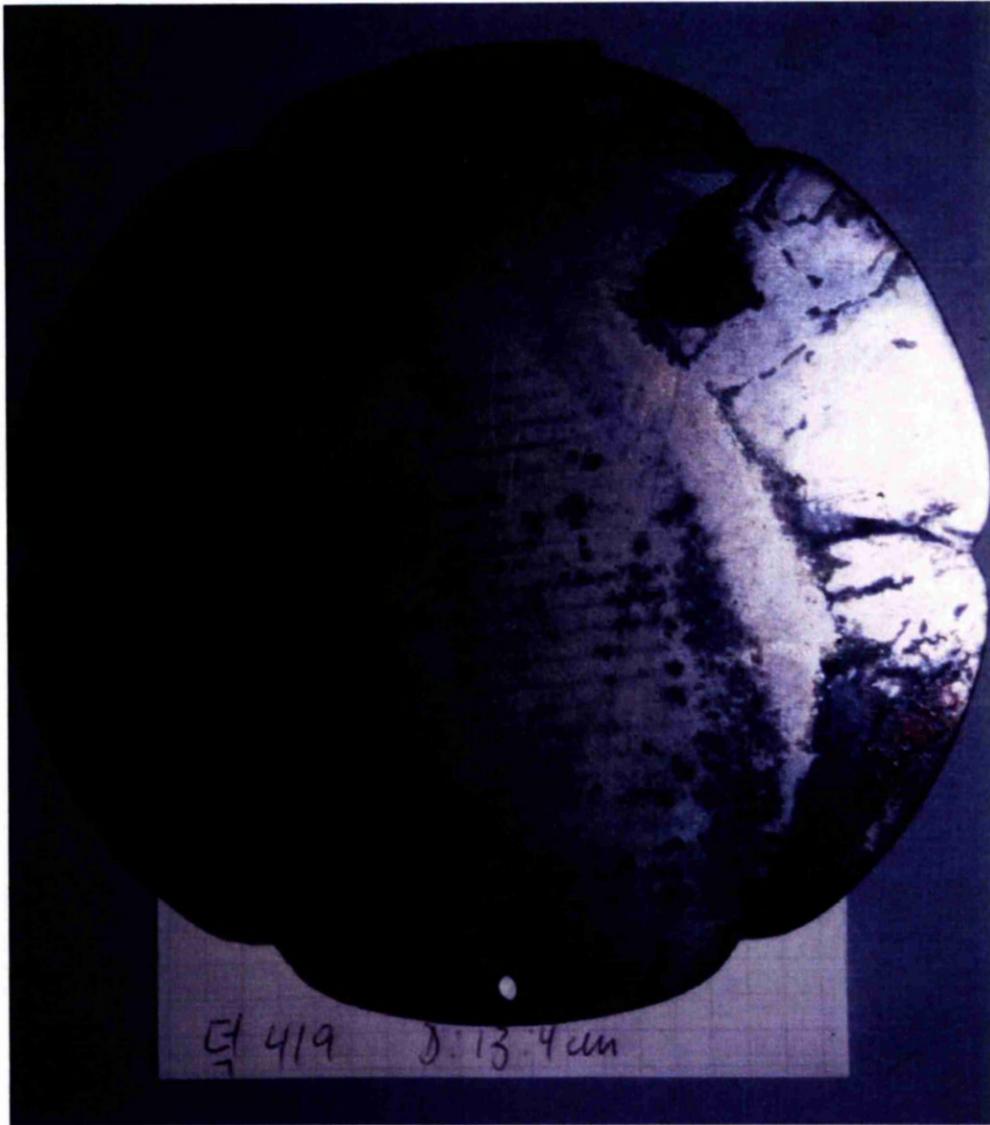


Fig. 3.13: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast in lobed shape with imprint of comb on reflective surface, d. 13.4cm. Ch'ŏngju National Museum, tŏk 419.

(Author's photograph.)



Fig. 3.14: Symbols of the zodiac and constellations surrounding lotus flower with mirror in the centre. Liao dynasty (AD 907-1125), AD 1113. Detail of wall painting. Tomb M2, Xiabali, Xuanhua, Hebei province.

(After Zhangjiakou 1990: colour plate 3.)

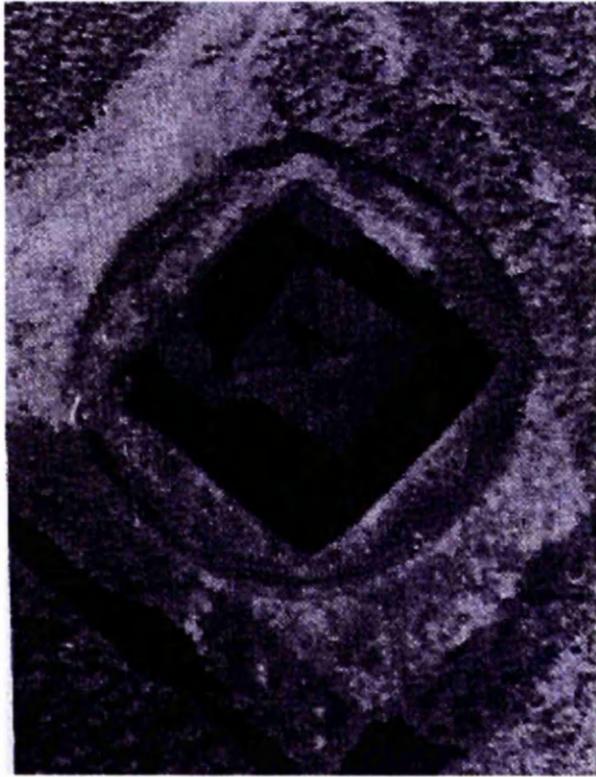


Fig. 3.15: Relic deposit. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), tenth century. Western five-storey stone pagoda, Kwangju, South Chŏlla province.

(After Chin Hong-sŏp 1962: 5.)



Fig. 3.16: Shrine and bowl with relic. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), tenth century. Gilt bronze and silver with figures of the Four Heavenly Guardians, h. (shrine) 15.7cm, h. (bowl) 2.5cm. Western five-storey stone pagoda, Kwangju, South Chŏlla province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991: 68.)

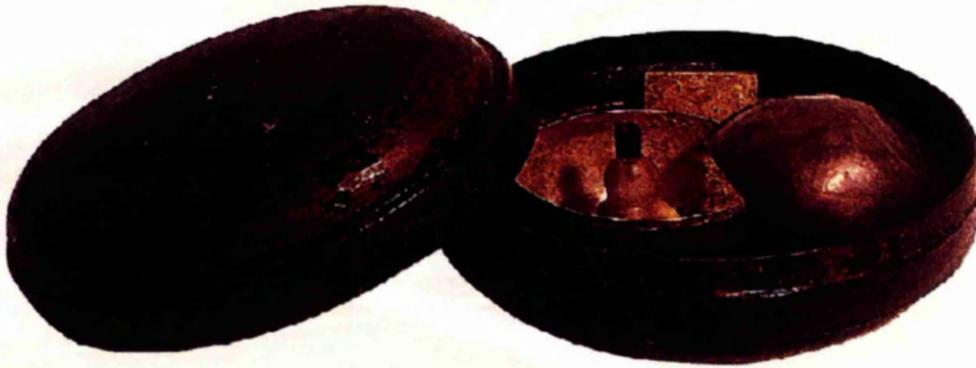


Fig. 3.17: Relics. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze, silver, gilt bronze and crystal, d. (outer case) 18.3cm, h. 11.6cm. Nine-storey octagonal stone pagoda, Wŏlchŏngsa, Kangwŏn province.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991: 72.)

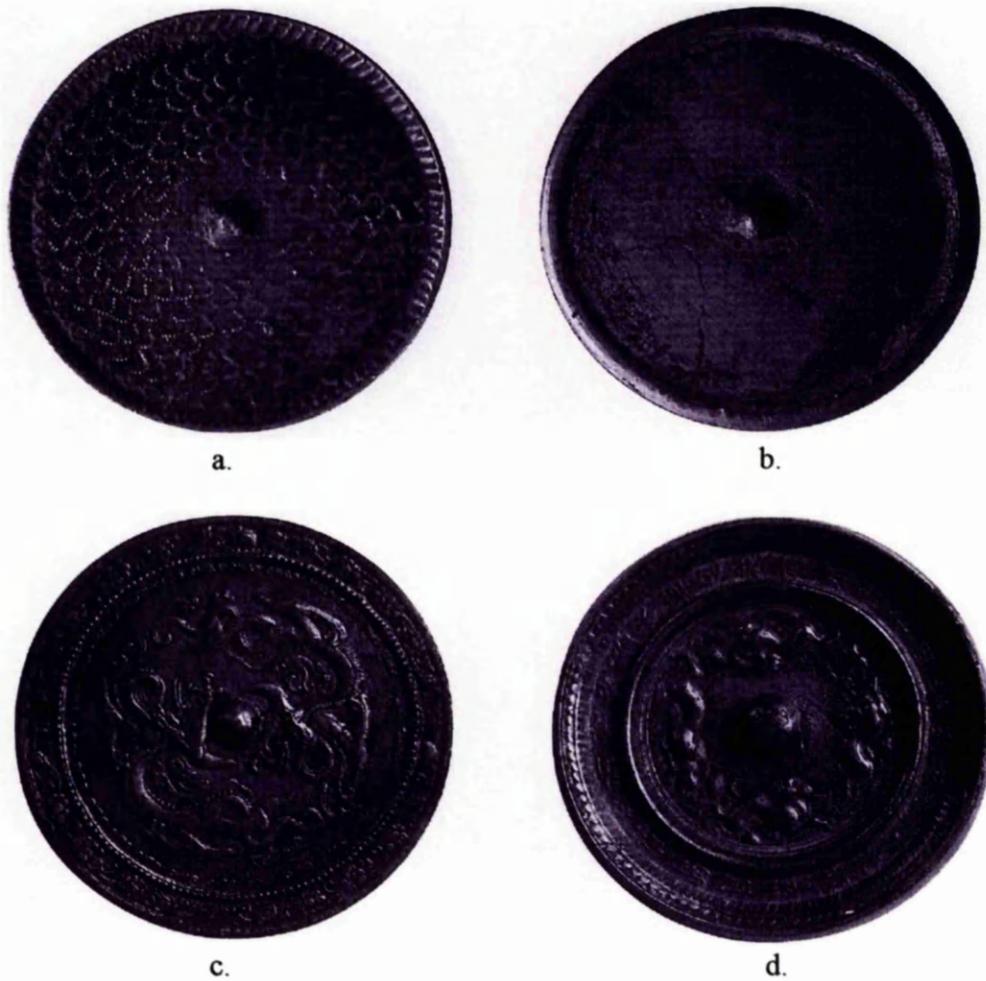


Fig. 3.18: Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with (a) wave design, (b) no design, (c) dragon design and (d) mythical animals design, d. (a) 11.6cm, (b) 11.6cm, (c) 11.9cm, (d) 9.5cm. Nine-storey octagonal stone pagoda, Wŏlchŏngsa, Kangwŏn province.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 364-365.)

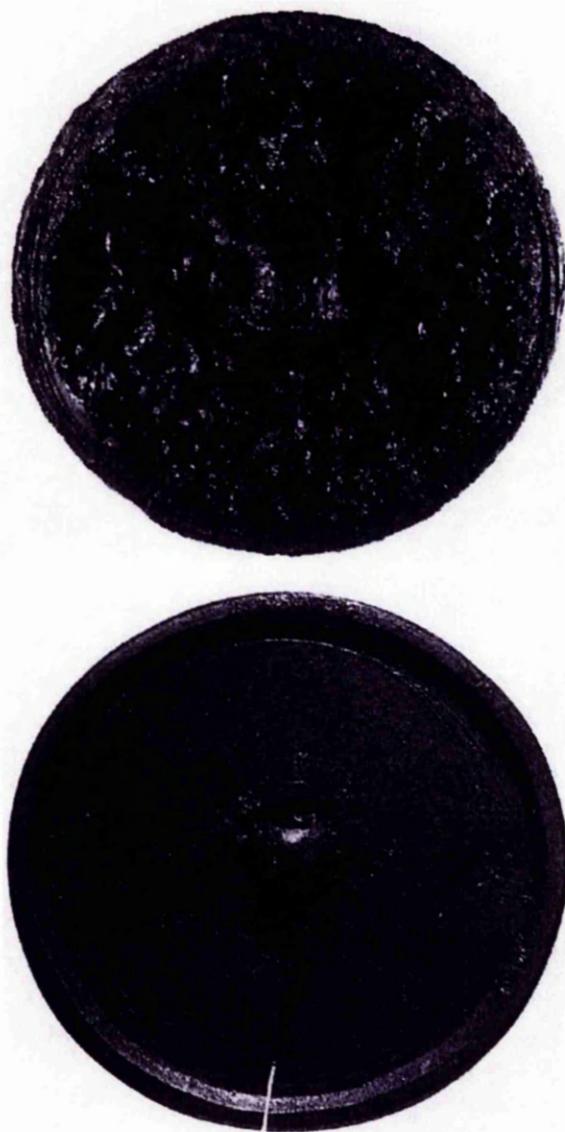


Fig. 3.19: Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with (top) 'animal and grapevine' design and (bottom) no design, d. (top) 6.9cm, (bottom) 7.9cm. Five-storey stone pagoda, Naegyeri, South Chŏlla province.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 111-112.)

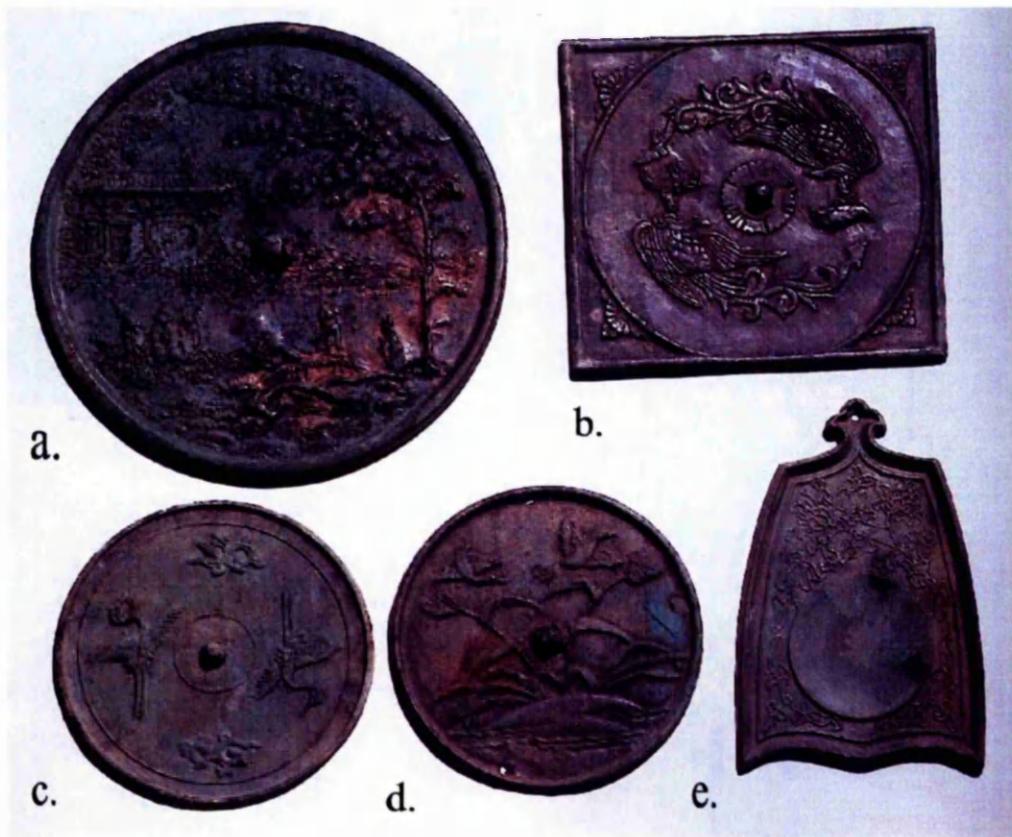


Fig. 4.1: Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decorations of (a) the goddess Chang E visiting the moon palace, (b) phoenixes, (c) cranes and cloud scrolls, (d) ducks in flight above reeds and (e) with floral scrolls and a plain concave disk, d. (a) 21.5cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1993: 92.)



Fig. 4.2: Mirror. Koryō dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of ducks and floral sprays and a cartouche with an inscription stating that it was made in Koryō by the master craftsman Kūm Hyō, d. 22.7cm, wt 1.425kg. Collection of Senoku Hakkokan, Kyoto.

(After Senoku Hakkokan 1990: 68.)

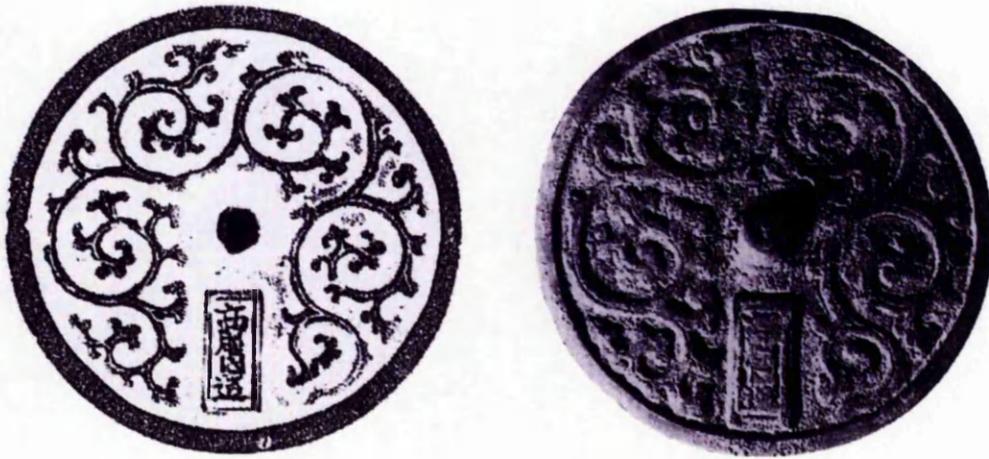


Fig. 4.3: Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with scrolls and cartouches with the inscription "Made in Koryŏ", d. (left) 9.7cm, (right) 9.7cm. Reportedly from Kaesŏng, National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos tŏk (left) 3407, (right) 89.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 295.)

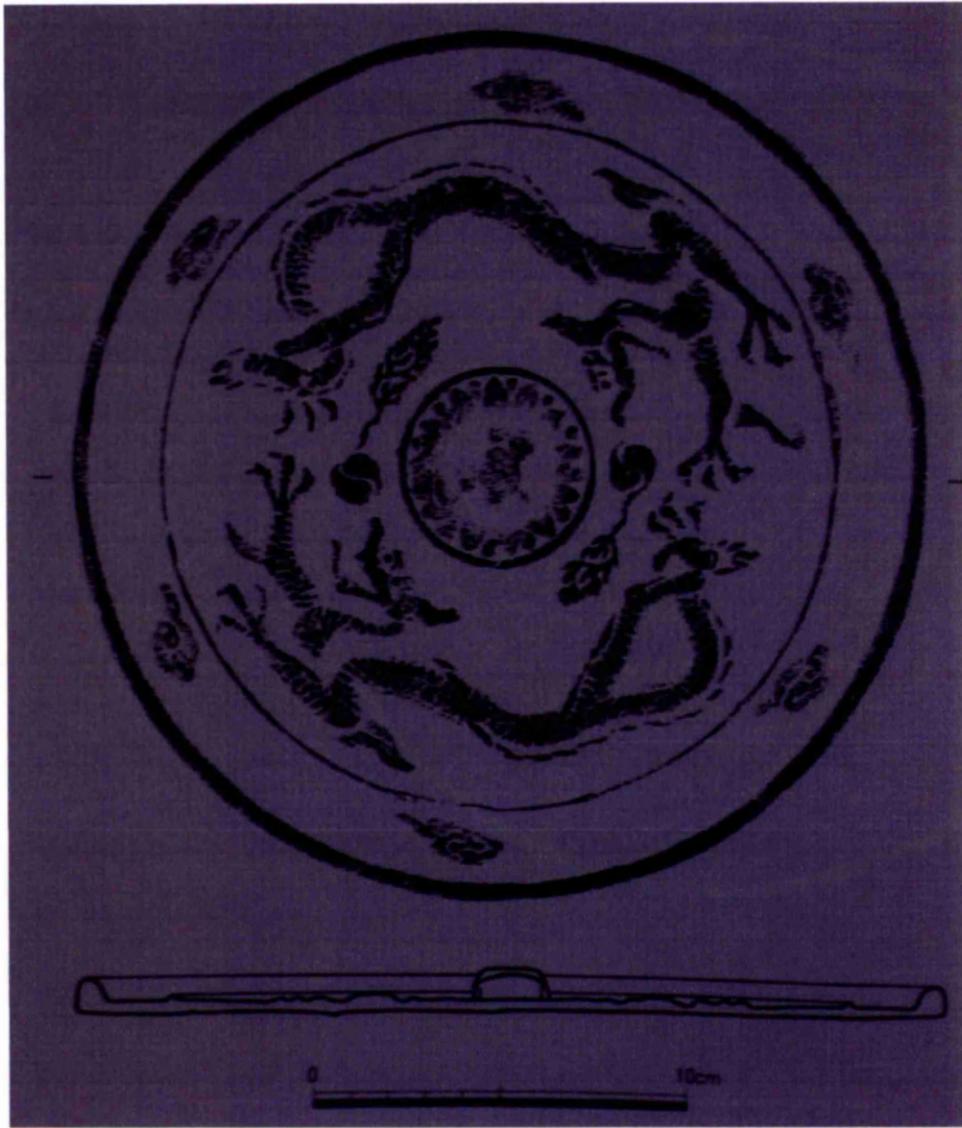


Fig. 4.4: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 23cm. Tomb no. 57, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 122.)



Fig. 4.5: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 26cm. wt 1.9kg. Private collection.

(After Gana at'ŭ kongyegwan 2000: 3.)



Fig. 4.6: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 26cm. wt 1.45kg. Private collection.

(After Gana at'ŭ kongyegwan 2000: 3.)



Fig. 4.7: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh century. Bronze cast with decoration of two dragons chasing flaming pearls, d. 22.8cm. Stone chamber tomb, Nyŏngjongni, P'anmun'gun, Kaesŏng.

(Photograph supplied by anonymous North Korean sources via the North East Asia and Pacific Department, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, May 2000.)

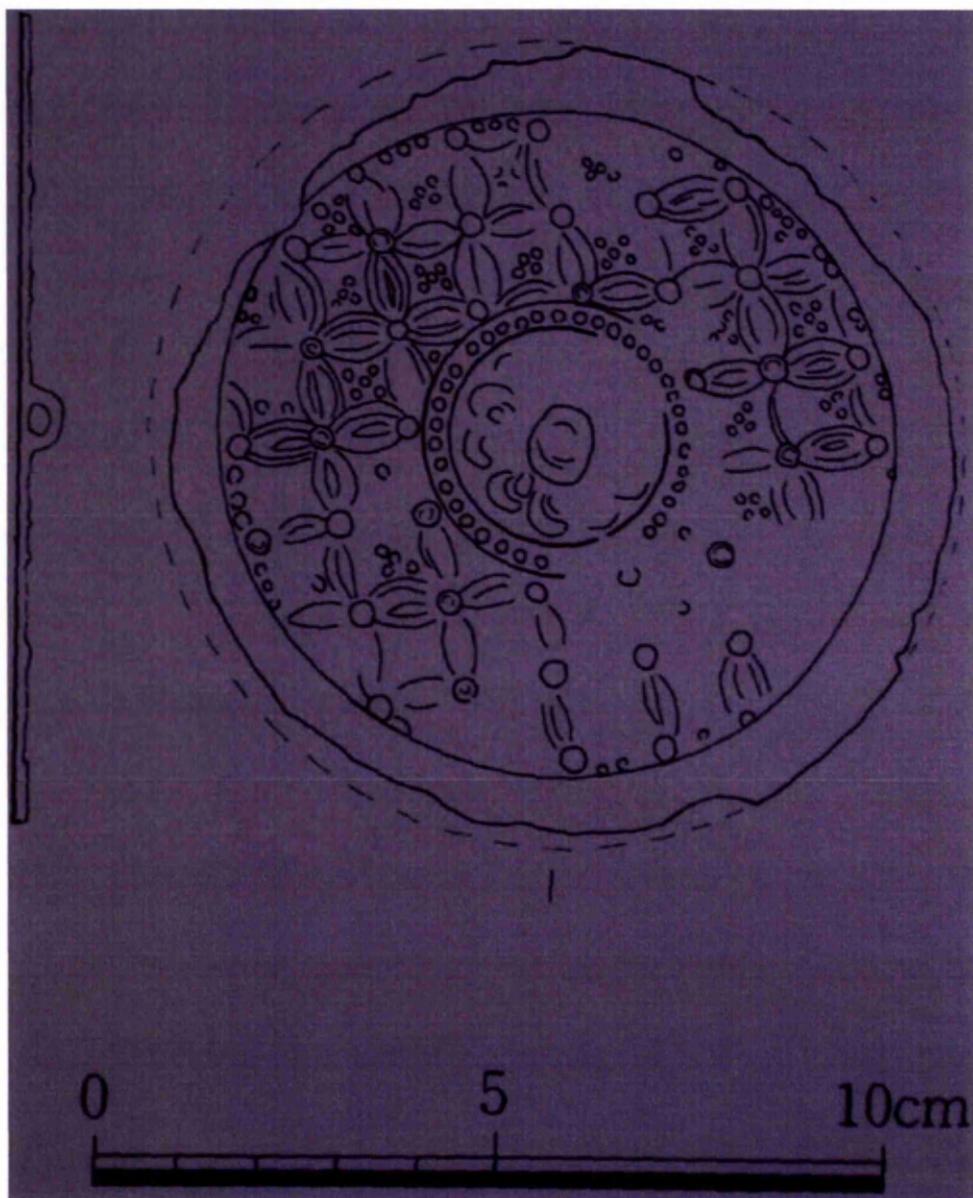


Fig. 4.8: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid-eleventh century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, d. 10.4cm. Tomb no. 7, Chwahangni, Yongin'gun, Kyŏnggi province.

(After Sin Ch'ŏn-sik and Ŏm Ik-sŏng 1994: 81.)

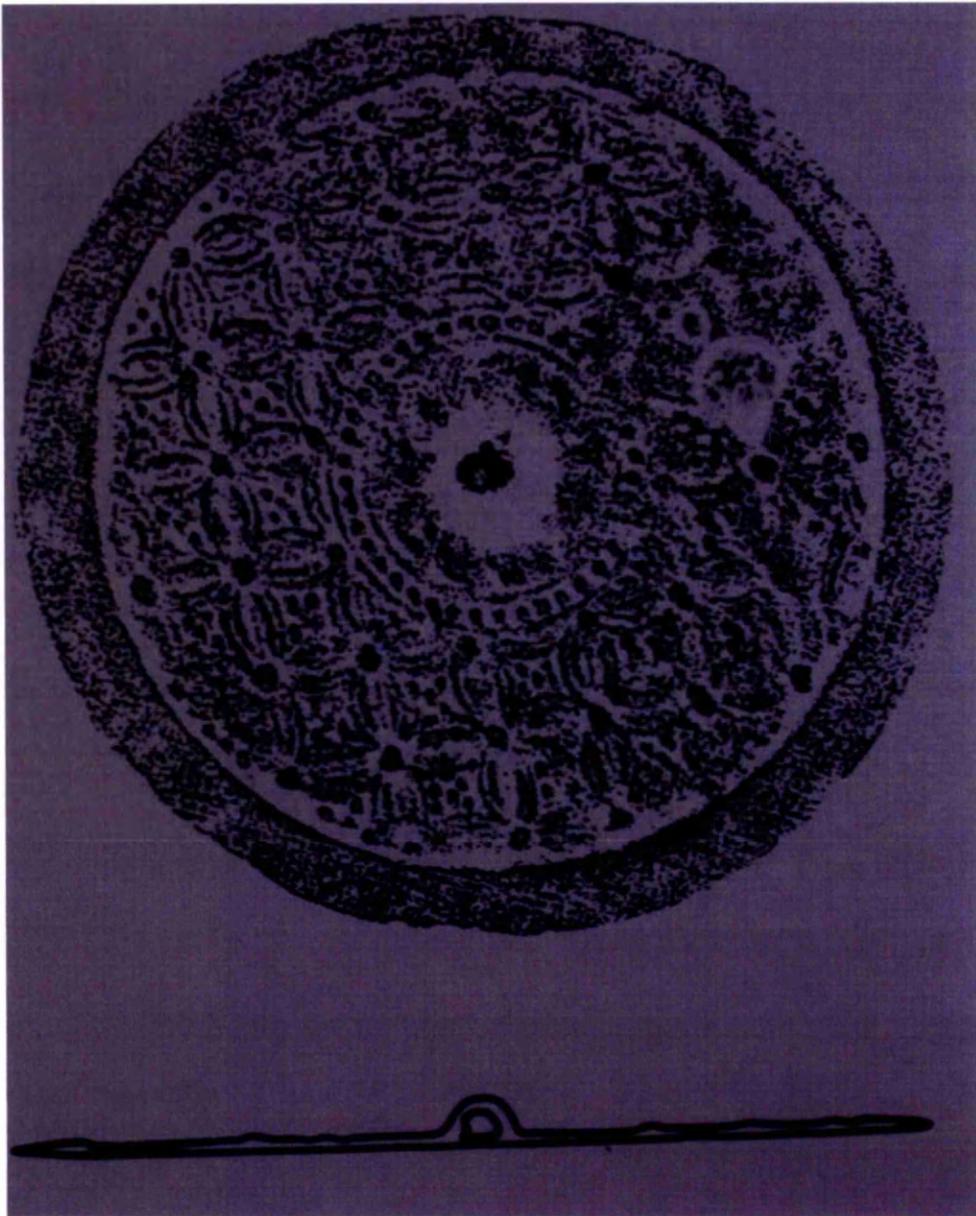


Fig. 4.9: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, d. 10.8cm. Tomb no. 19, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: viii.)

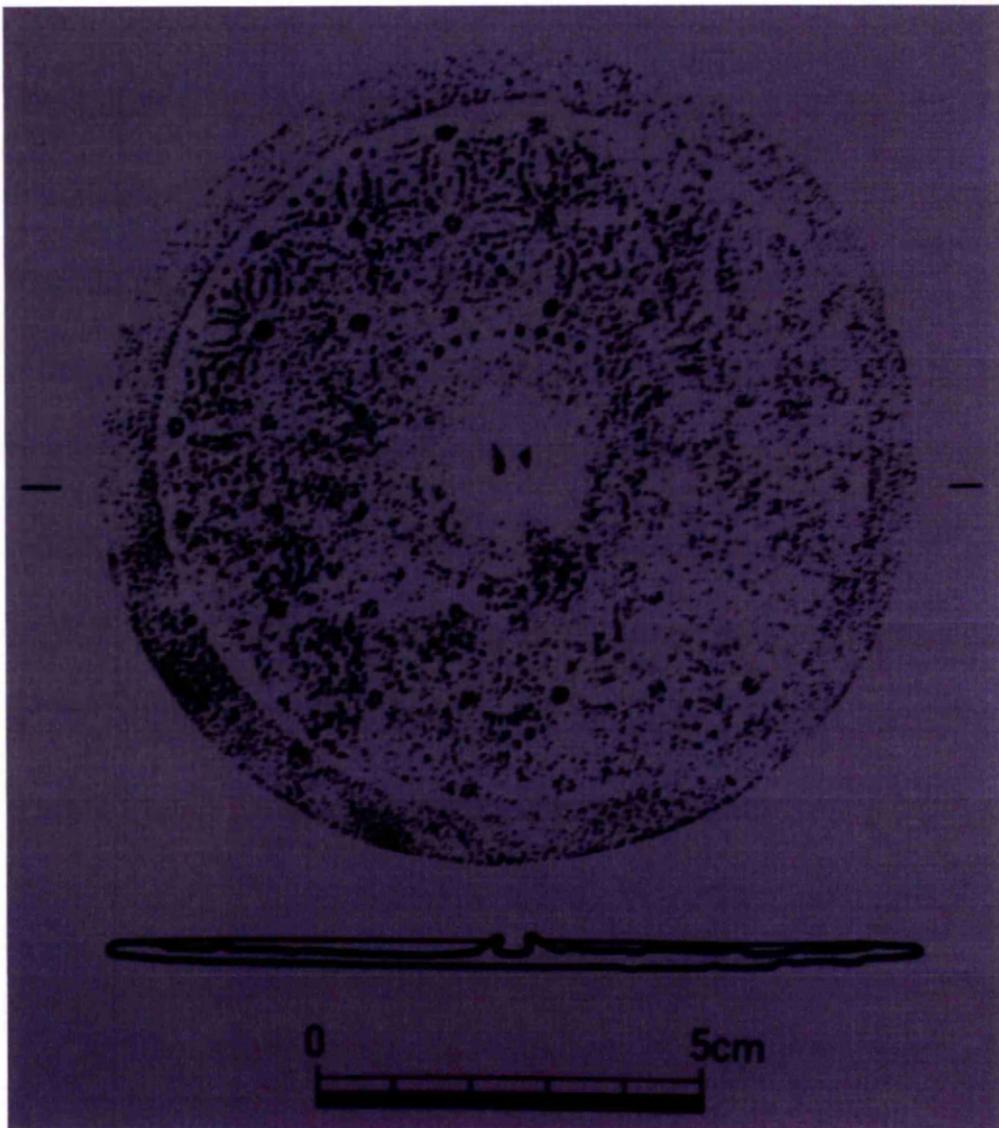


Fig. 4.10: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, d. 10.4cm. Tomb no. 55, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 114.)

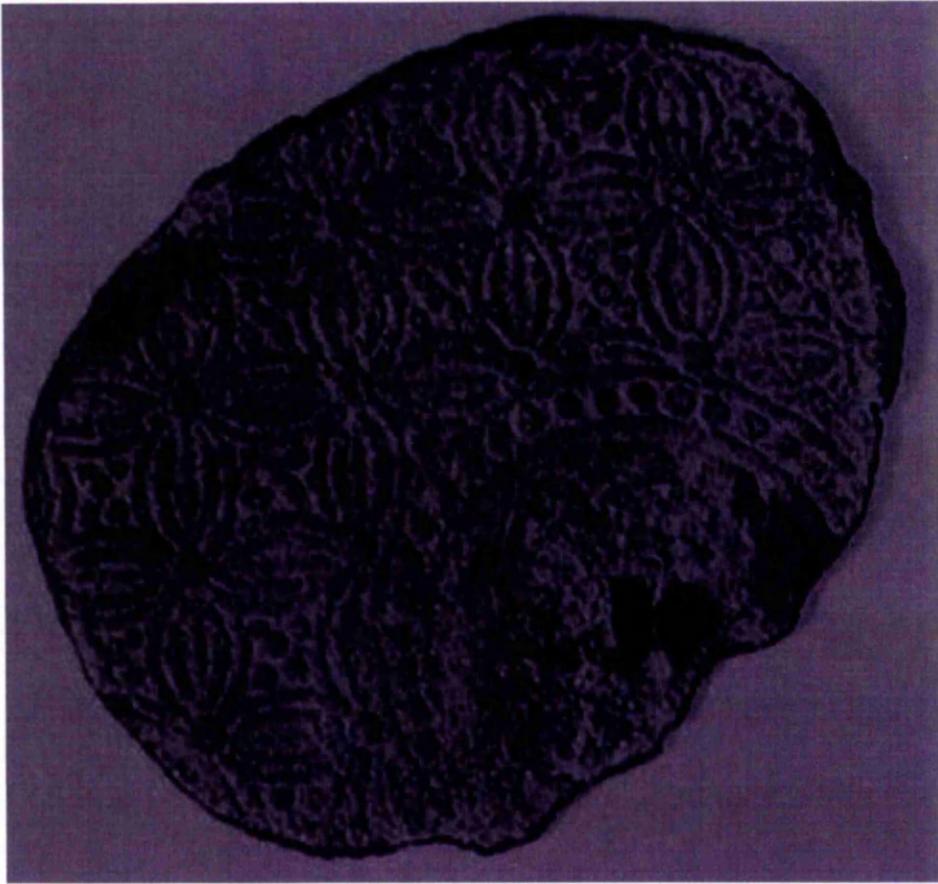


Fig. 4.11: Mirror fragment. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *ch'ilbo* design, t. 0.1-0.2cm. Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 291.)

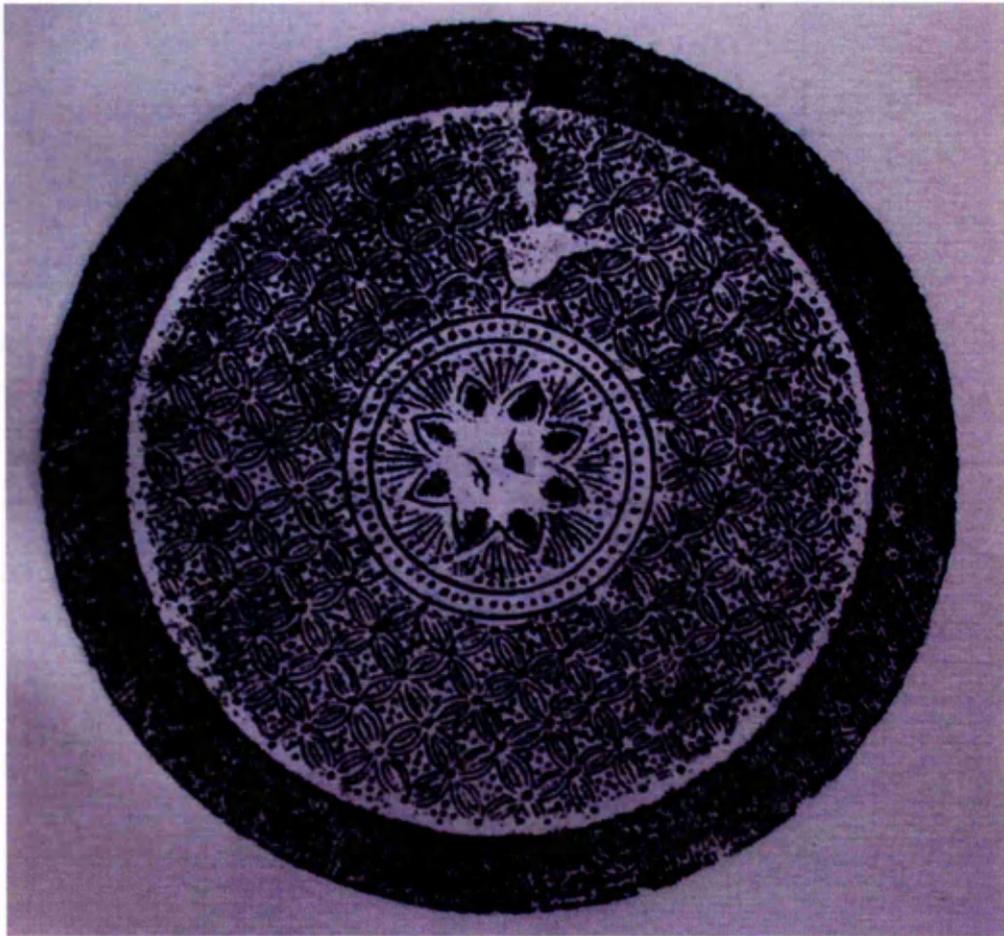


Fig. 4.12: Mirror. Song dynasty (960-1279). Bronze cast with 'chained-coin-pattern'.

(After Kong and Liu 1992: 686.)



Fig. 4.13: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late twelfth to thirteenth century. Bronze cast with scalloped rim and four-character inscription, d. 16.2cm. Tomb no. 1, Songnari, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province.

(After Yun Se-yŏng and Kim U-rim 1995: iv.)



Fig. 4.14: Mirror. Jin dynasty (1115-1234). Bronze cast with scalloped rim and four-character inscription, d. 16.5cm. Jiujiang City Museum, Jiangxi province.

(After Wu 1993: 68.)



Fig. 4.15: Mirror. Western Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 9). Bronze cast with fowl design and four-character inscription, d. 11cm. Kyoto National Museum.

(After Kyôto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 164.)

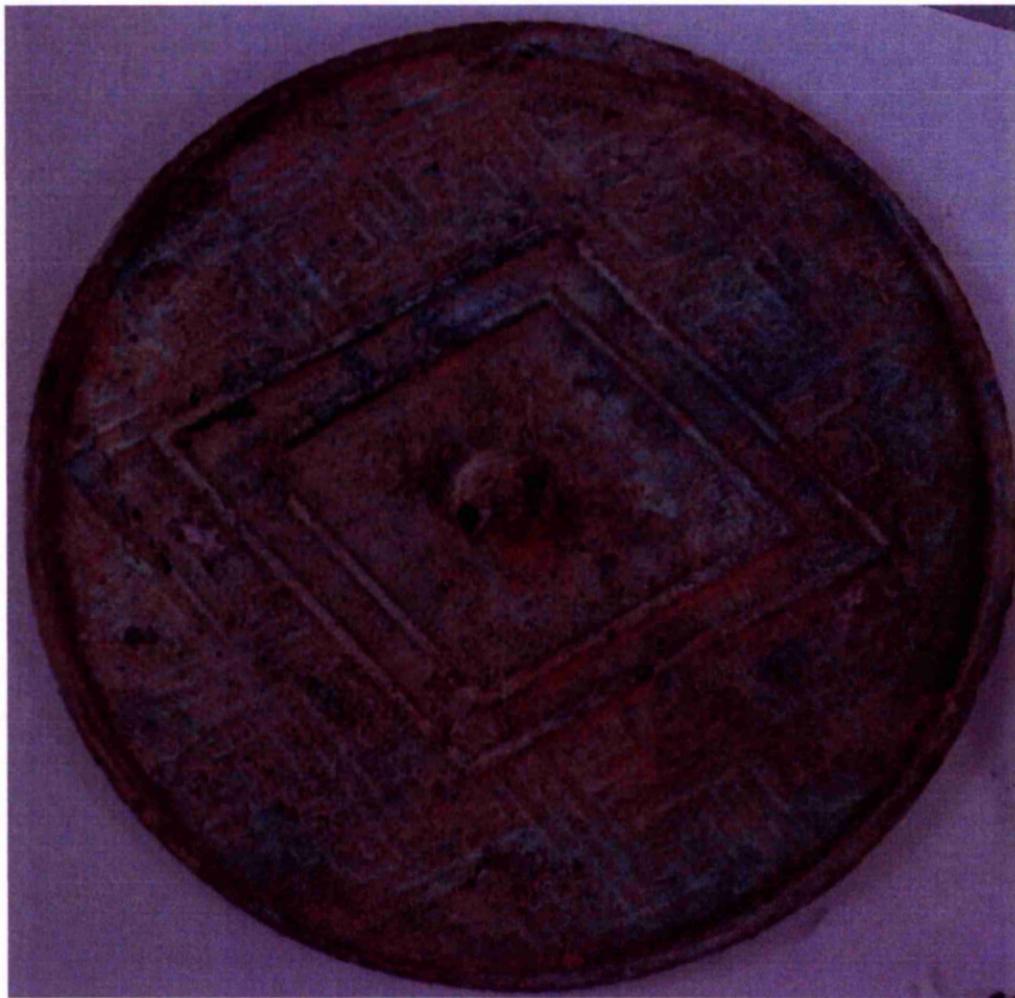


Fig. 4.16: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with diamond and weave pattern. Tomb no. 27, Chŏngjiri, Nonsan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 2000: fig. 67.)

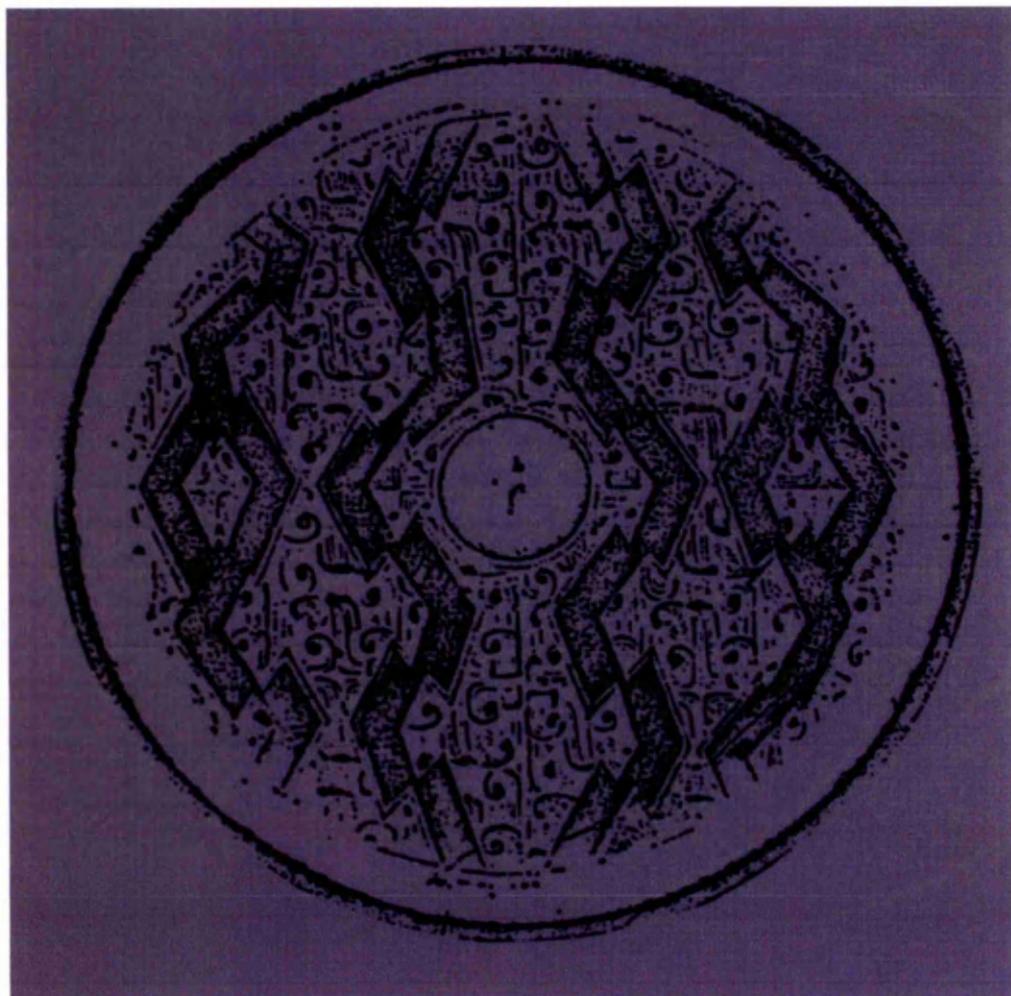


Fig. 4.17: Mirror. Warring States period (475-221 BC), circa third century BC. Bronze cast with geometric design, d. 13cm. Tomb no. M29, Heshanzhen, Yiyang, Hunan province.

(After Hunan 1985: 106.)

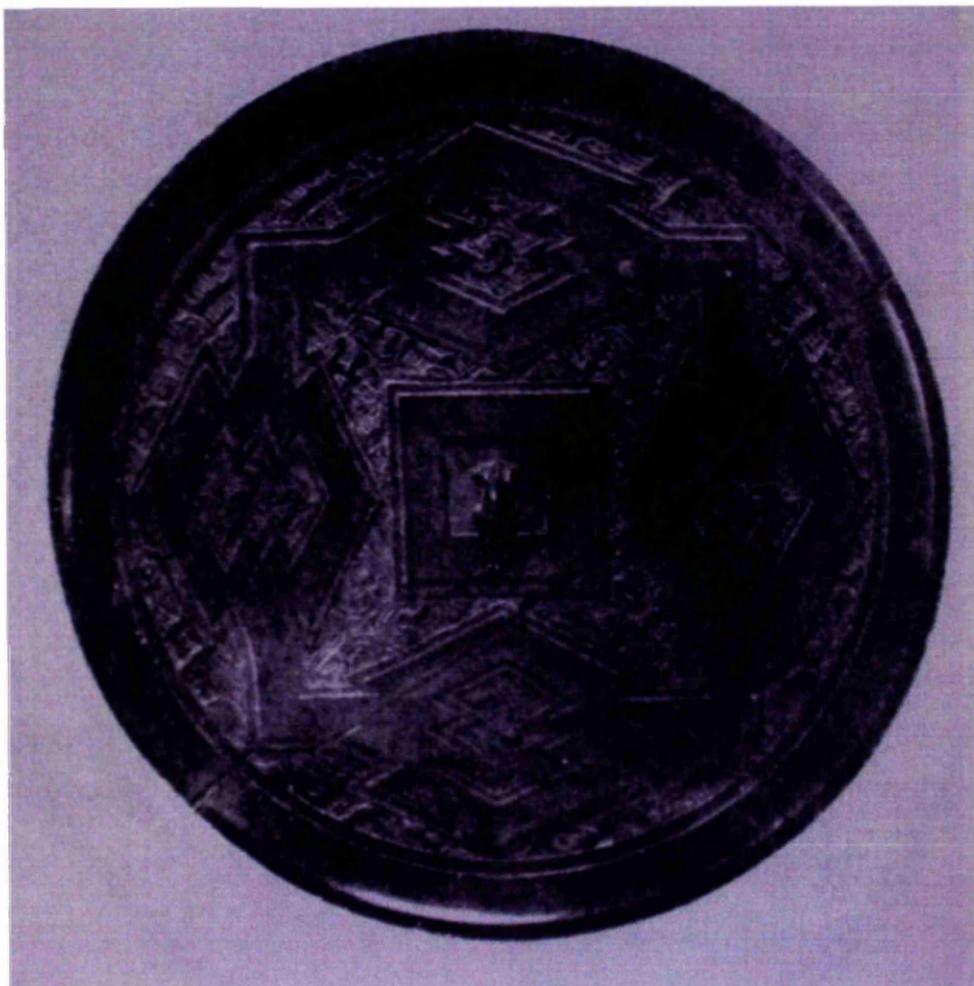


Fig. 4.18: Mirror. Warring States period (475-221 BC), circa third century BC. Bronze cast with geometric design, d. 12.3cm. Nanmenguangchang, Yiyang, Hunan province.

(After O'Donoghue 1990: 176.)



Fig. 4.19: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of animals and grapevine. Tomb no. 14, Chŏngjiri, Nonsan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 2000: fig. 67.)



Fig. 4.20: Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906). Bronze cast with decoration of animals and grapevine, d. 10.8cm, t. (rim) 1.1cm. Excavated at Liaocheng, Shandong province.

(After Liu and Sun 1986: 88.)



Fig. 4.21: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of scrolling grapevines. Reportedly from a Koryŏ tomb, National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. 249.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 65.)

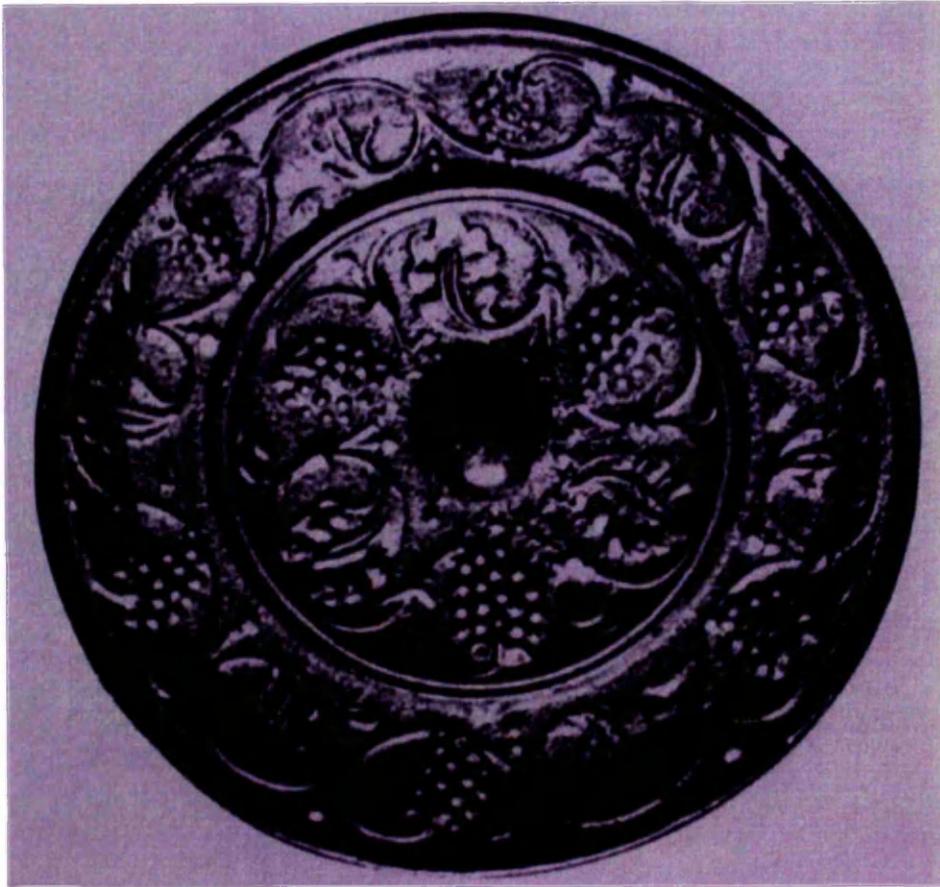


Fig. 4.22: Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906), seventh century. Bronze cast with decoration of scrolling grapevines, d. 4.9cm, wt 61gr. The Carter Collection of Chinese Bronze Mirrors, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1999.218.

(After Chou 2000: 65.)

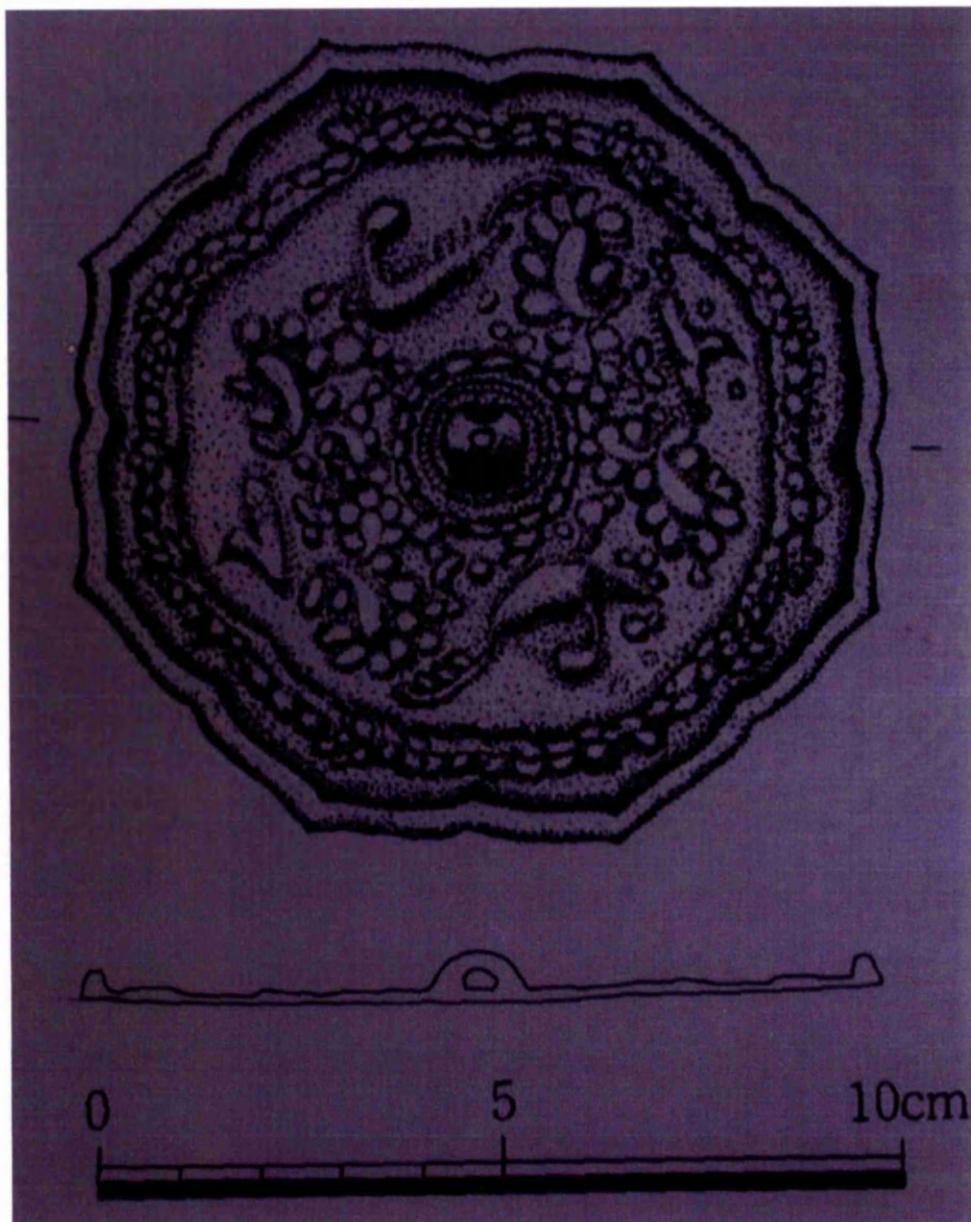


Fig. 4.23: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid-eleventh century. Bronze cast with bracketed rim and decoration of birds amongst floral scrolls, d. 10.2cm. Tomb no. 9, Chwahangni Yongin'gun, Kyŏnggi province.

(After Sin Ch'ŏn-sik and Ŏm Ik-sŏng 1994: 81.)

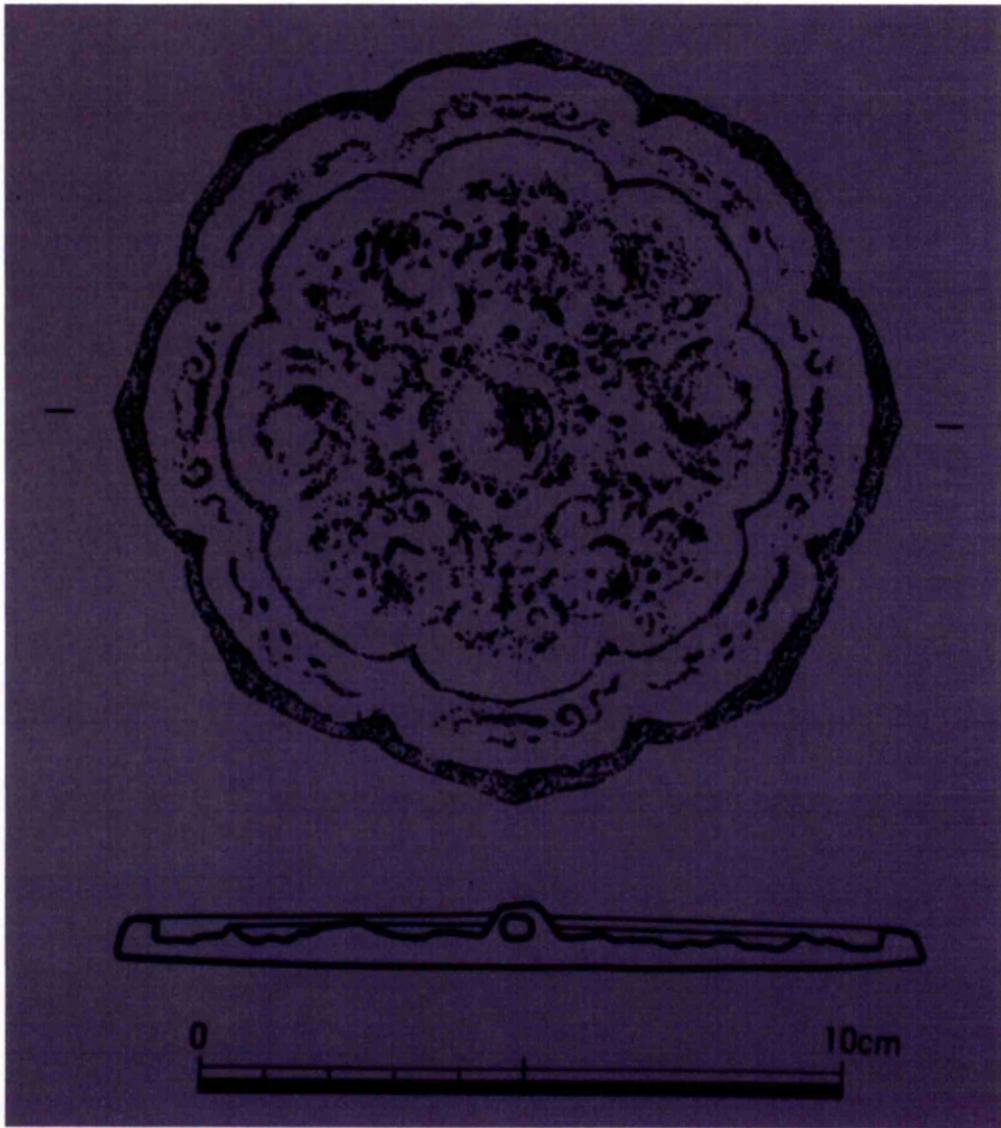


Fig. 4.24: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with bracketed rim and decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.5cm. Tomb no. 62, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 134.)

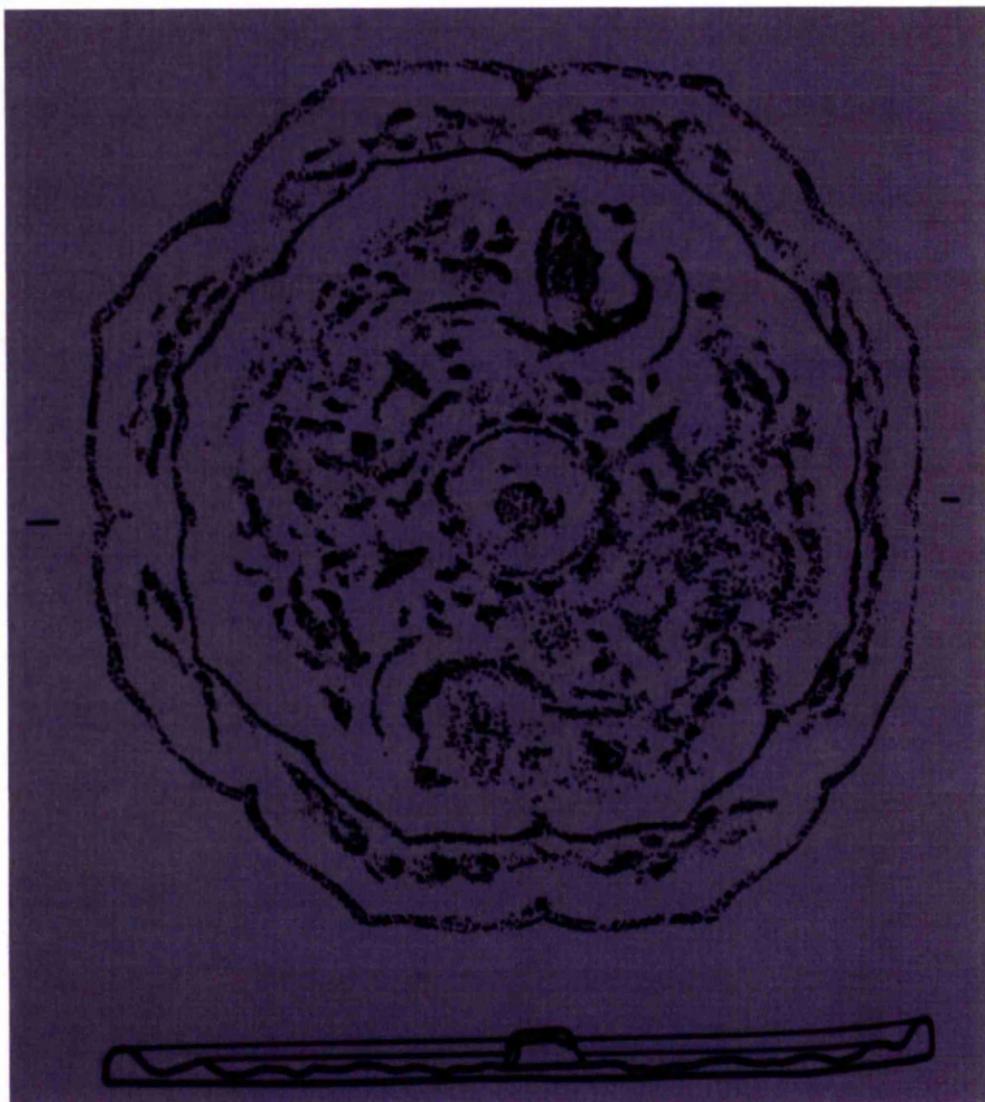


Fig. 4.25: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.1cm. Tomb no. 99, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 202.)

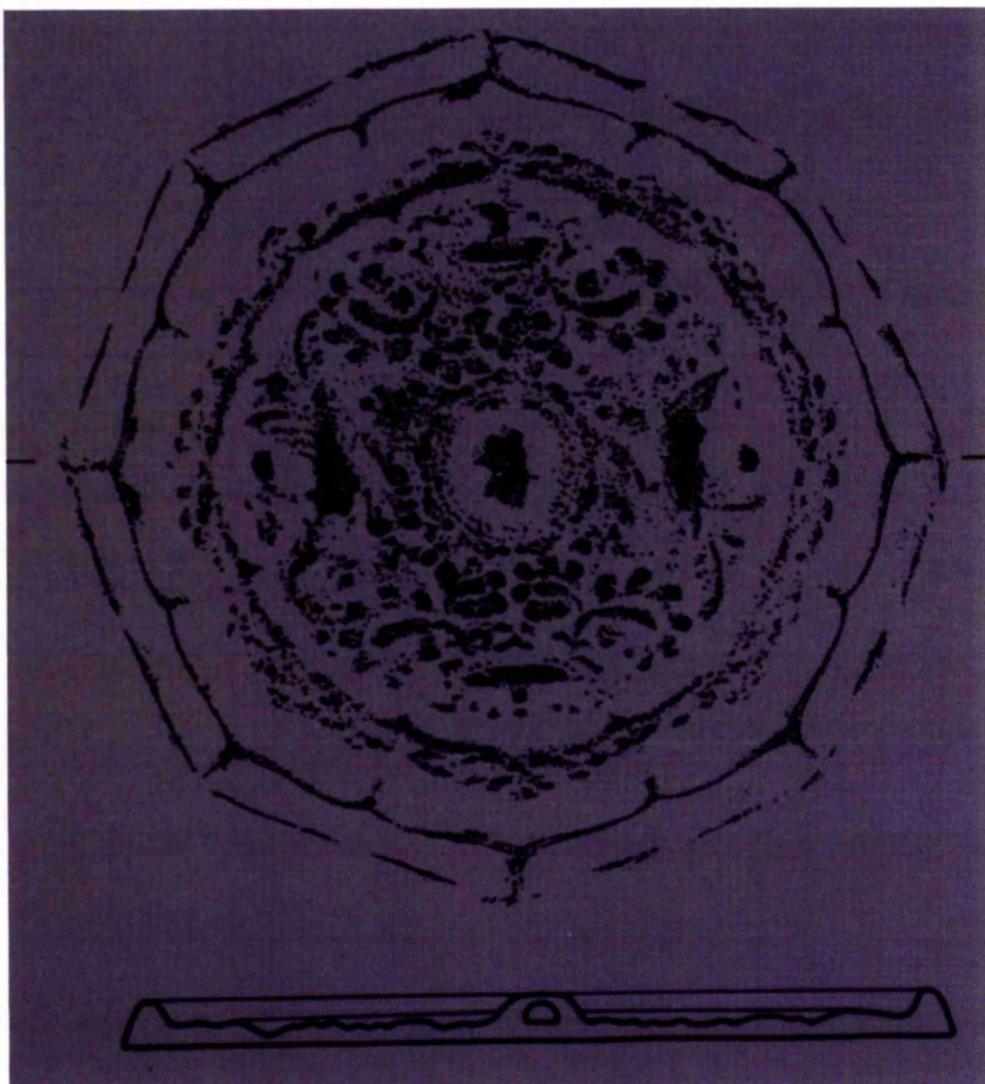


Fig. 4.26: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 11.5cm. Tomb no. 130, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 256.)



Fig. 4.27: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 8.4cm. Tomb no. 207, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: viii.)



Fig. 4.28: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 12.6cm. Tomb no. 31, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

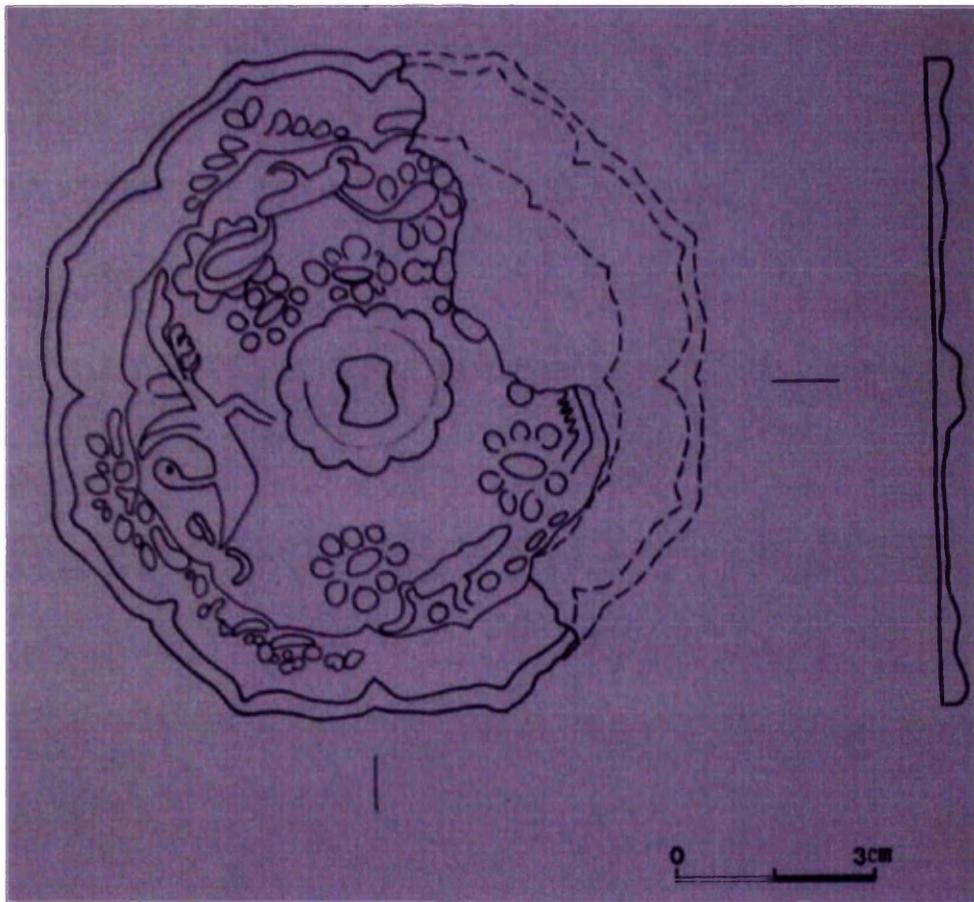


Fig. 4.29: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), early twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 10cm, t. 0.5cm. Tomb no. 1-24, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: fig. 33.)

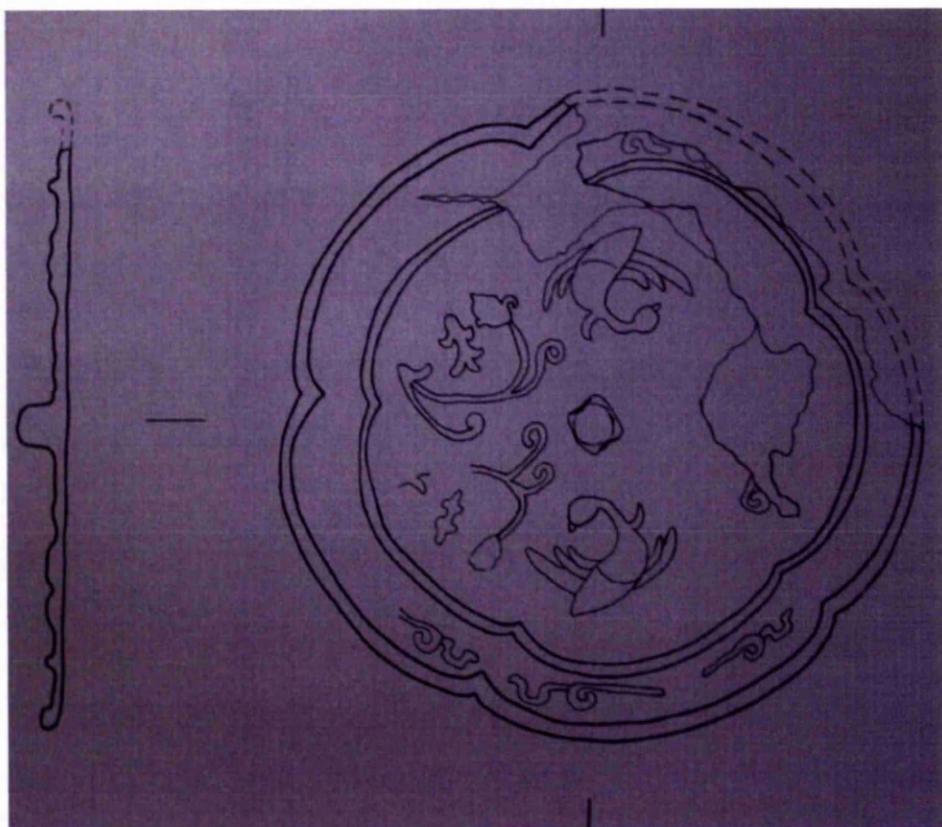


Fig. 4.30: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), early twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds and floral sprays, d. 10.5cm. Tomb no. 2-59, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: fig. 130.)

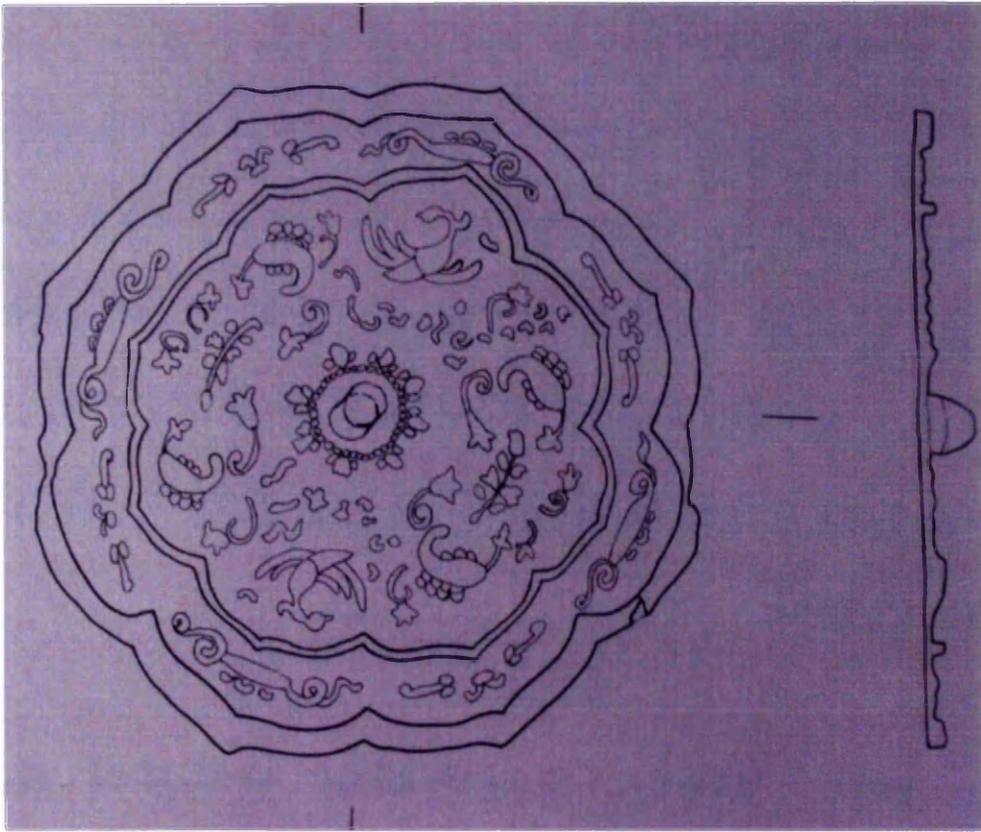


Fig. 4.31: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), early twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of birds among floral scrolls, d. 11.8cm, t. 0.5cm. Unknown tomb, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: 211.)

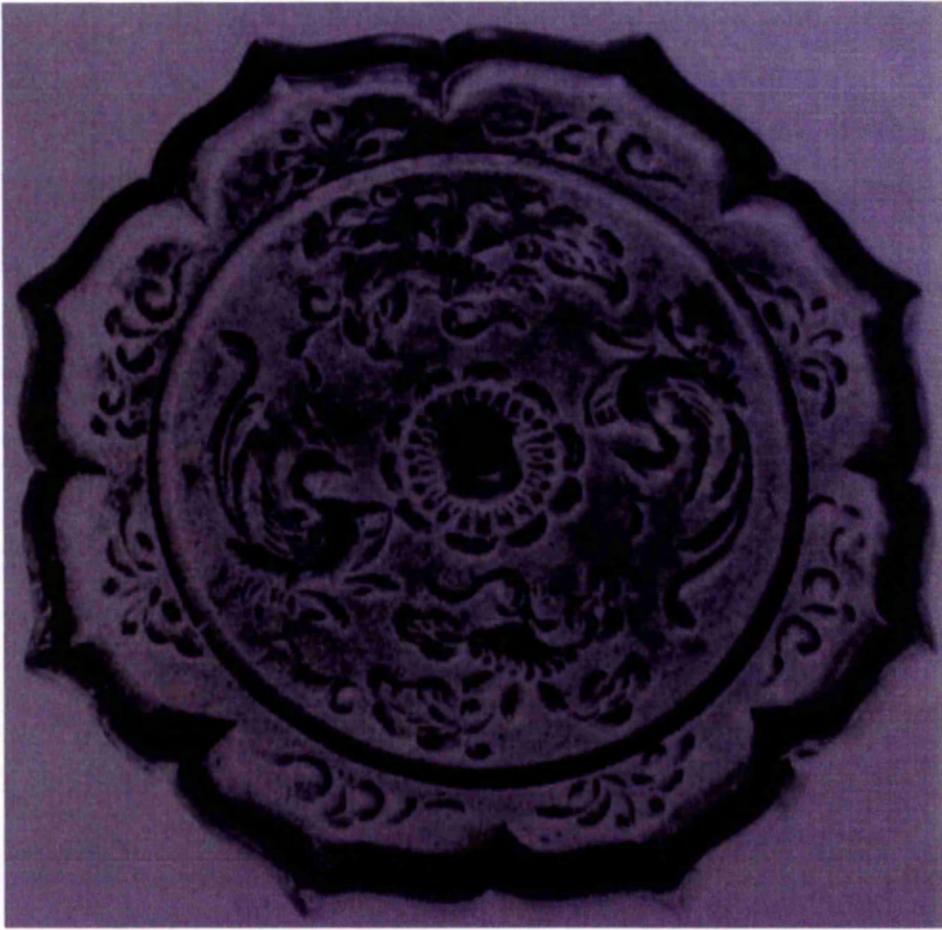


Fig. 4.32: Mirror. Heian period (794-1185), ninth to tenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two phoenixes on either side of the knob. Tado shrine, Kuwana, Mie prefecture.

(After Kubô 1999: 20.)

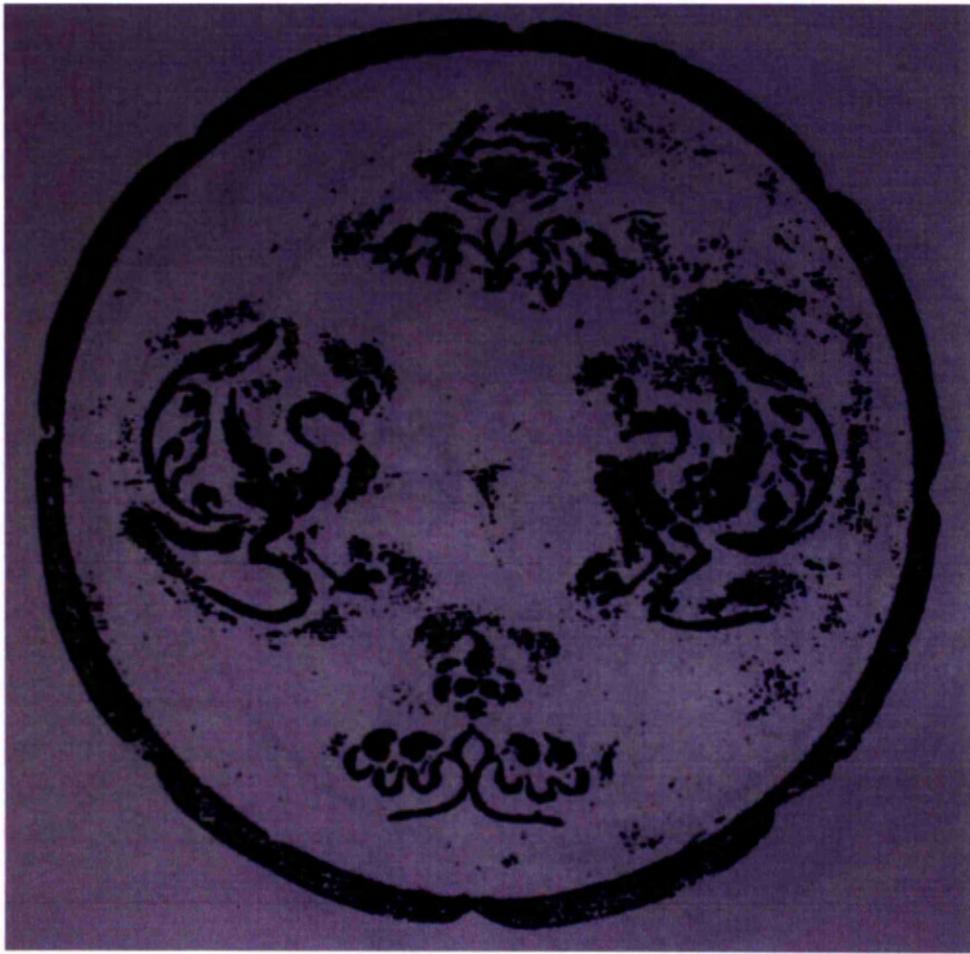


Fig. 4.33: Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906). Bronze cast with decoration of two phoenixes facing each other and flowers above and below the knob.

(After Kong and Liu 1992: 582.)

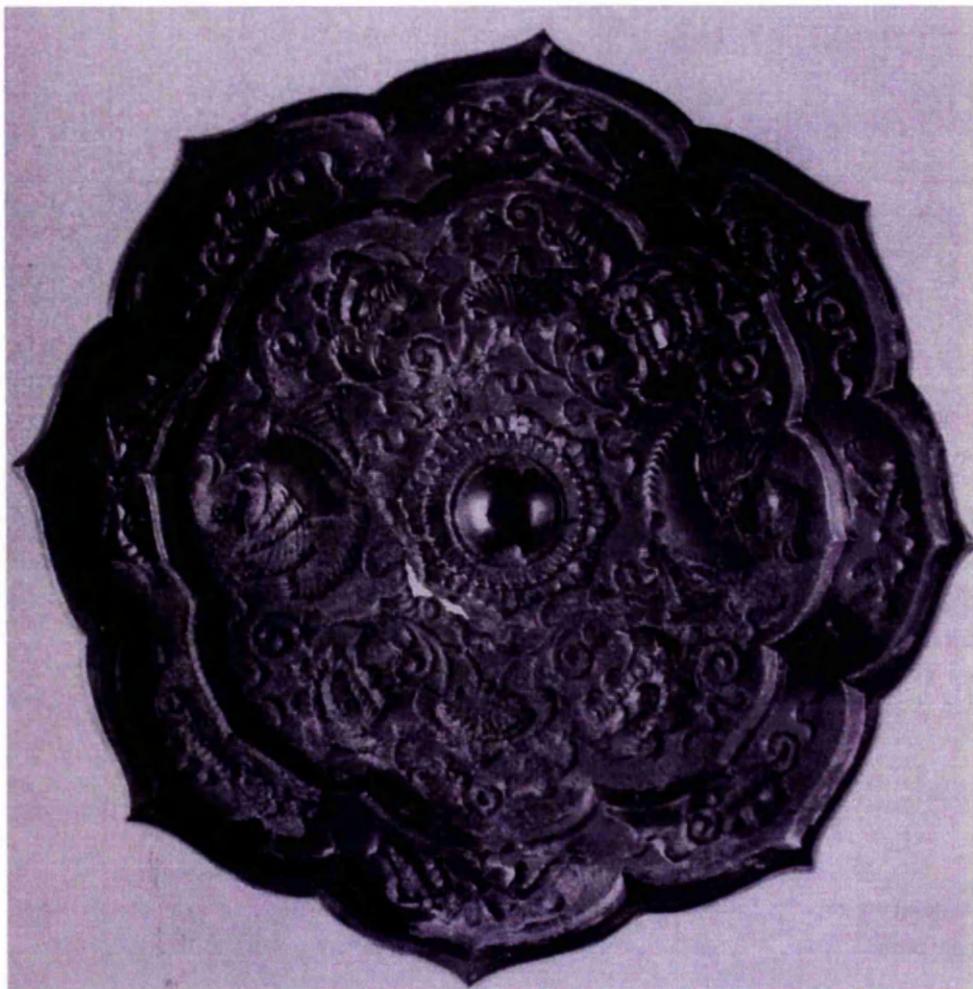


Fig. 4.34: Mirror. Kamakura period (1185-1336), twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two mandarin ducks on either side of the knob. Sekihôji temple, Kyoto.

(After Kubô 1999: 21.)

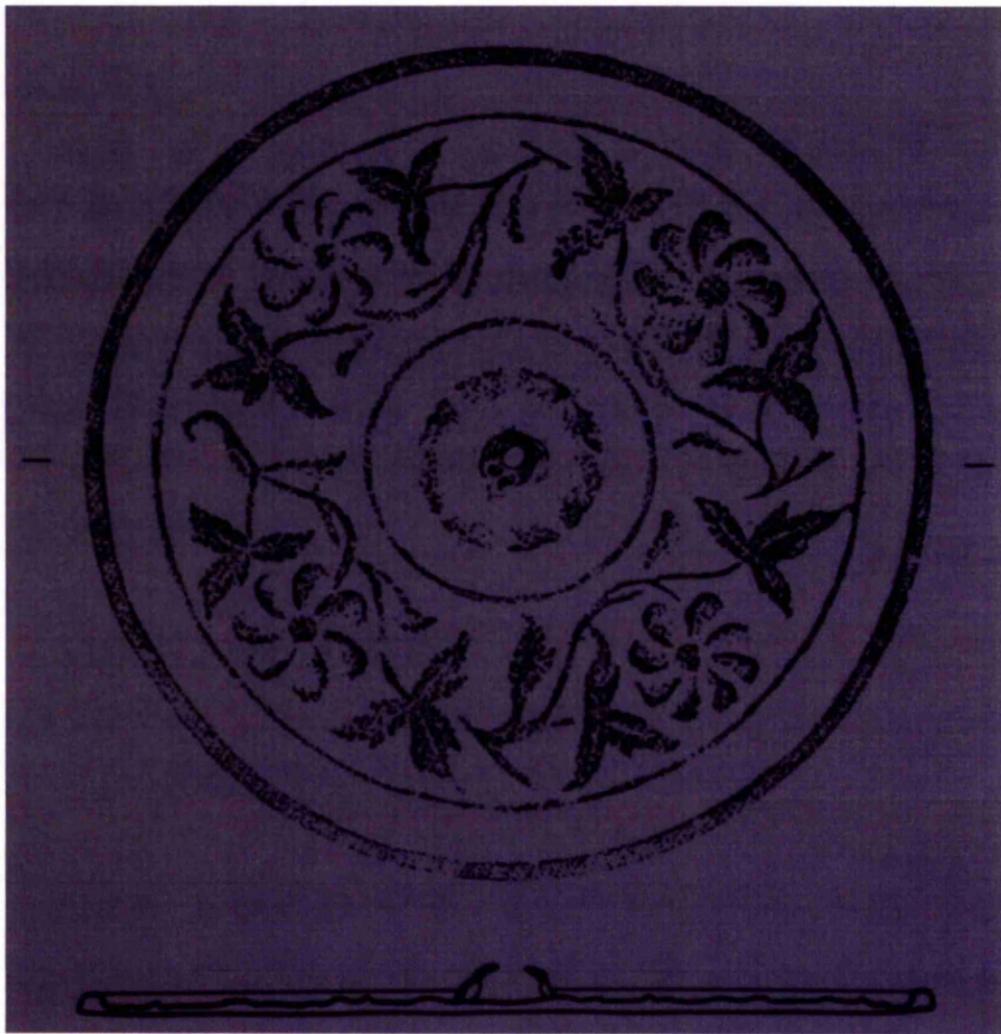


Fig. 4.35: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with floral scroll, d. 14.3cm. Tomb no. 111, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 220.)

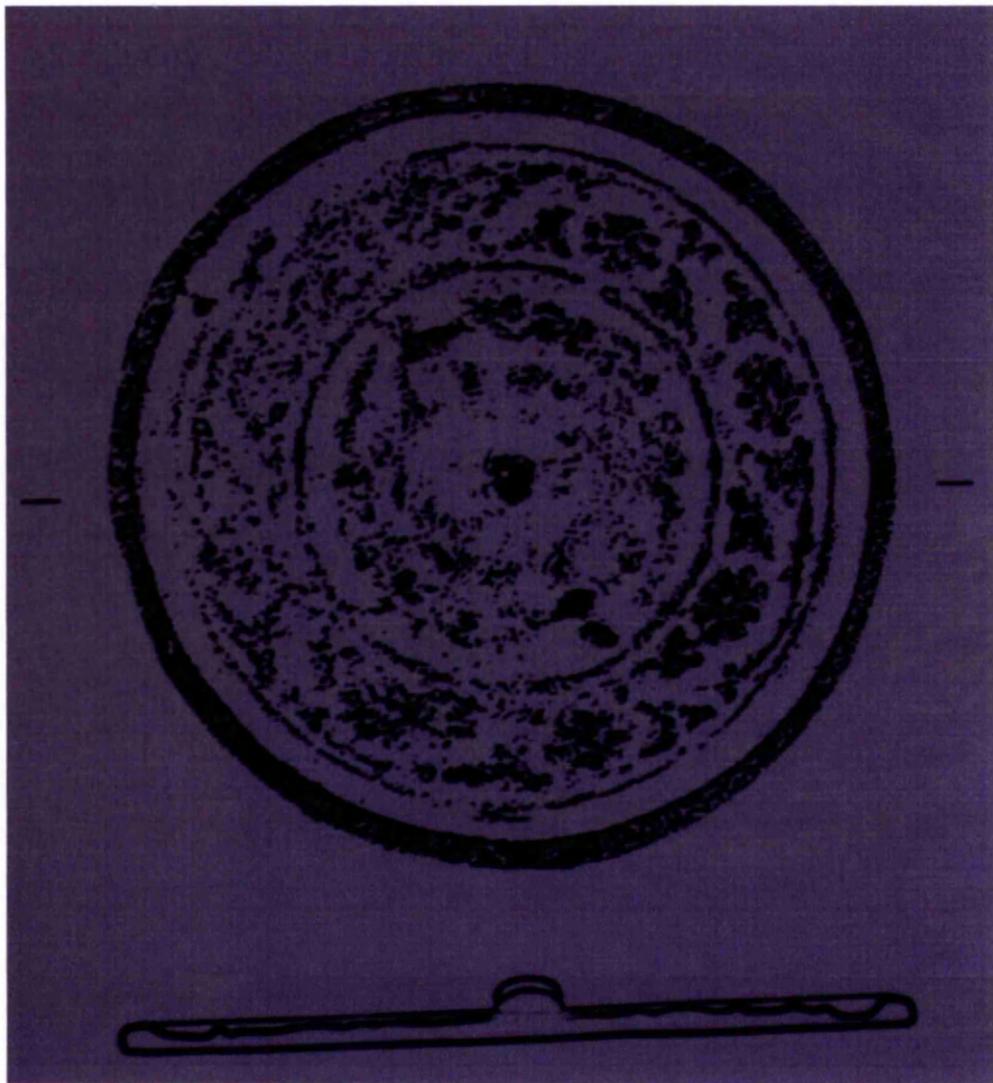


Fig. 4.36: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *posanghwa* design, d. 9.7cm. Tomb no. 89, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 183.)

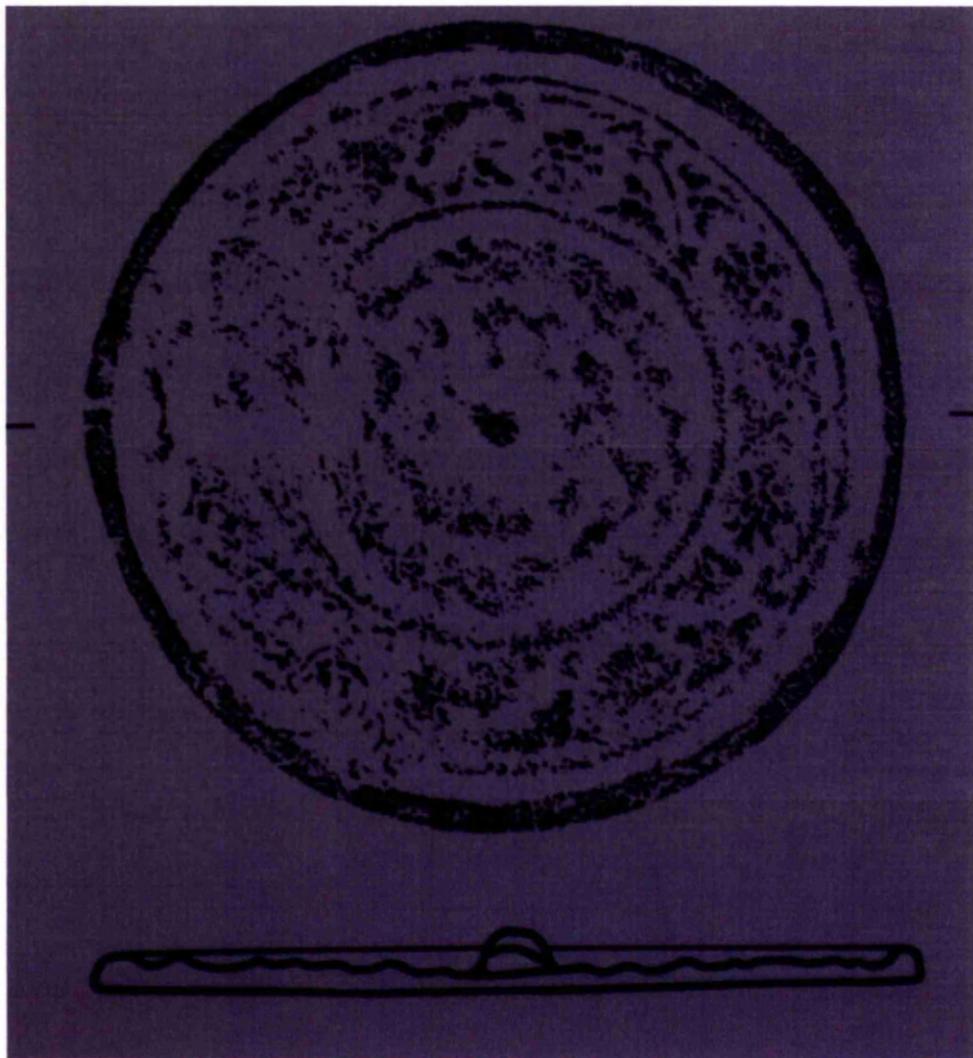


Fig. 4.37: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with *posanghwa* design, d. 10cm. Tomb no. 157, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 296.)

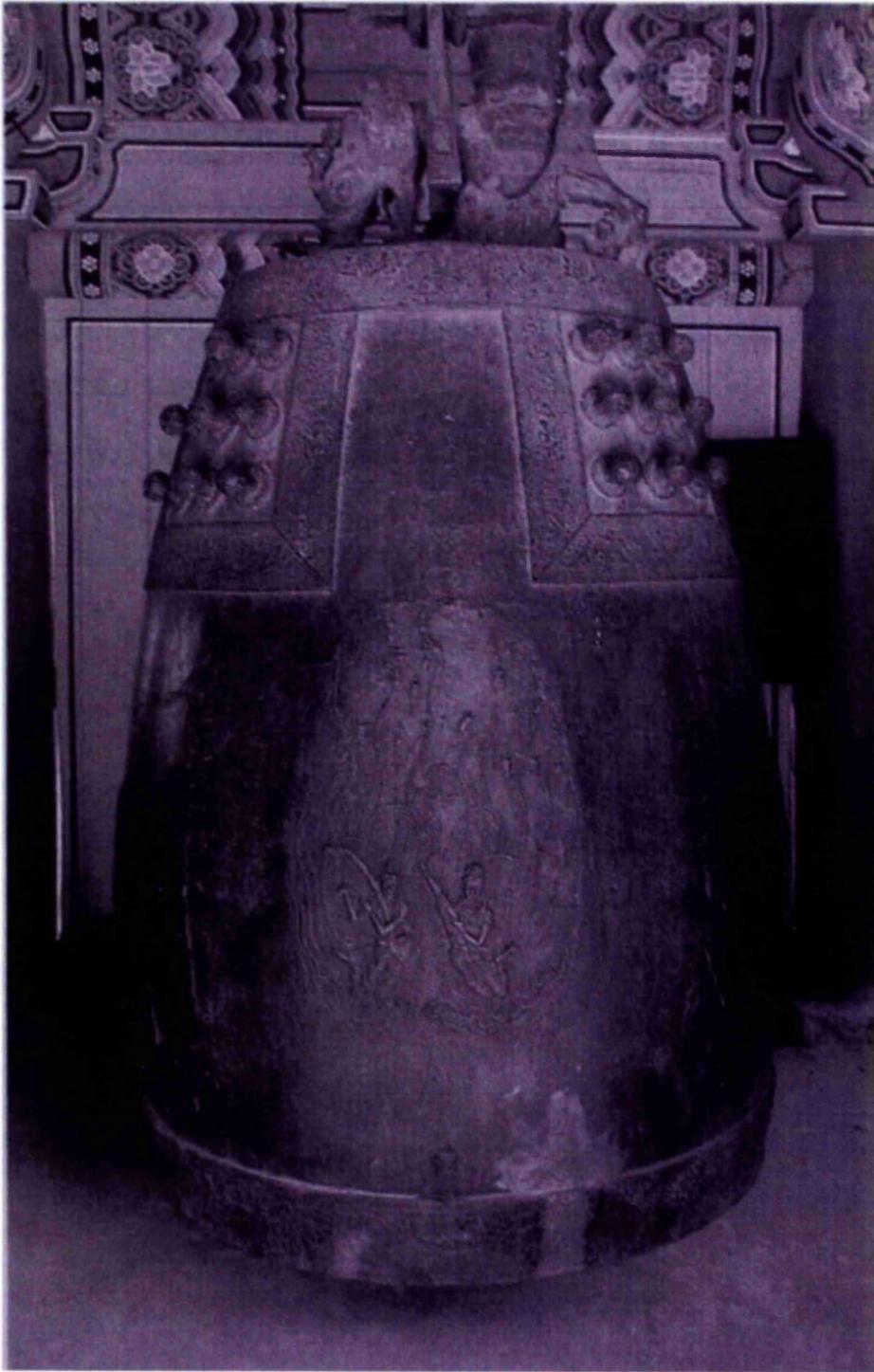


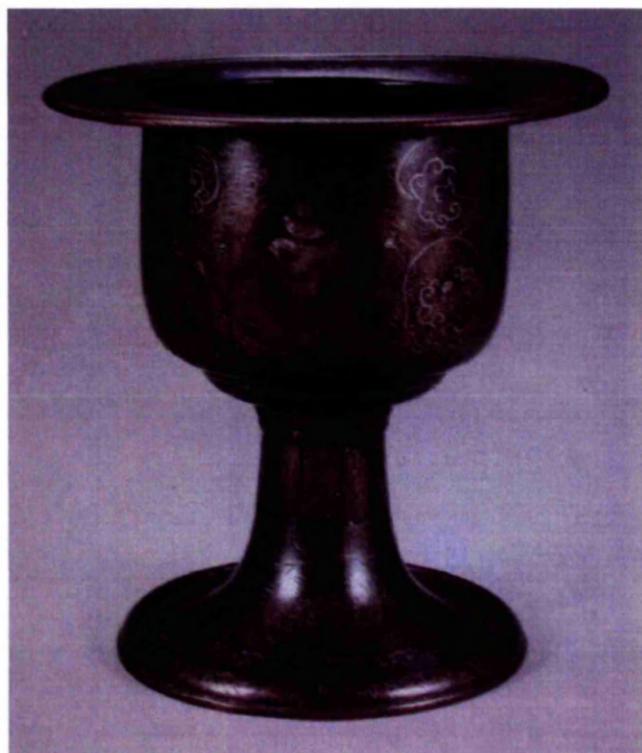
Fig. 4.38: Temple bell. Unified Silla period (668-935), dated 725. Bronze, h. 167cm. Sangwŏnsa temple, Kangwŏn province.

(After Kungnip Kyŏngju pangmulgwan 1999: 182.)



Fig. 4.39: Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Earthenware with *posanghwa* design, d. 16.1cm. Kamūsa temple, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Kungnip Kyōngju pangmulgwan 2000: 127.)



a: Incense burner.



b: Rim.

Fig. 4.40: Incense burner. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze inlaid with silver wire, h. 23.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1997: 42.)



Fig. 4.41: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with *posanghwa* design, d. 21cm. Reportedly from Kaesŏng, National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tŏk 3681.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 225.)

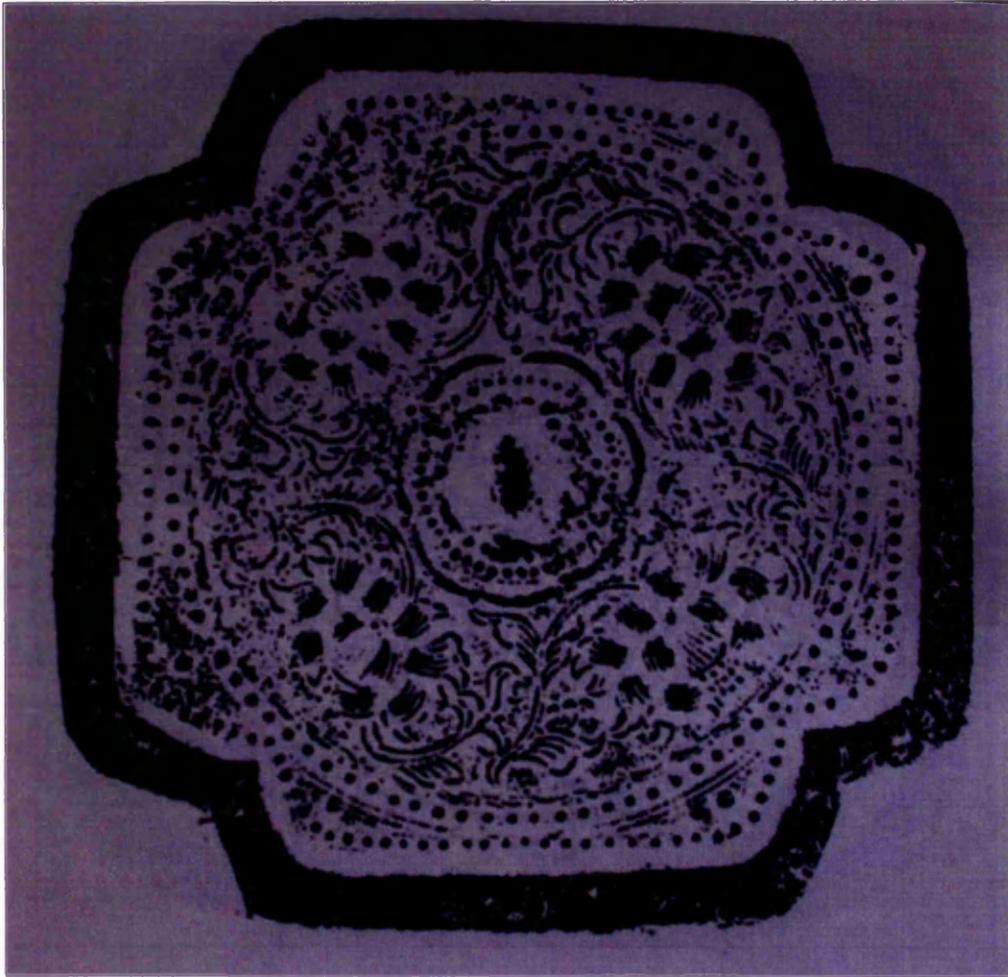


Fig. 4.42: Mirror. Song dynasty (960-1279). Bronze cast with peony scrolls, d. 15.6cm. Henan province.

(After Kong and Liu 1992: 668.)



Fig. 4.43: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of two cranes, d. 13.4cm. Tomb no. 16, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Remnants of the fabric in which the mirror was covered are visible.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 423.)



Fig. 4.44: *Maebyŏng*. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late thirteenth to early fourteenth century. Celadon stoneware with inlaid decoration of cranes and clouds, h. 29.2cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 27.119.11.

(After Smith 1998: pl. 18.)

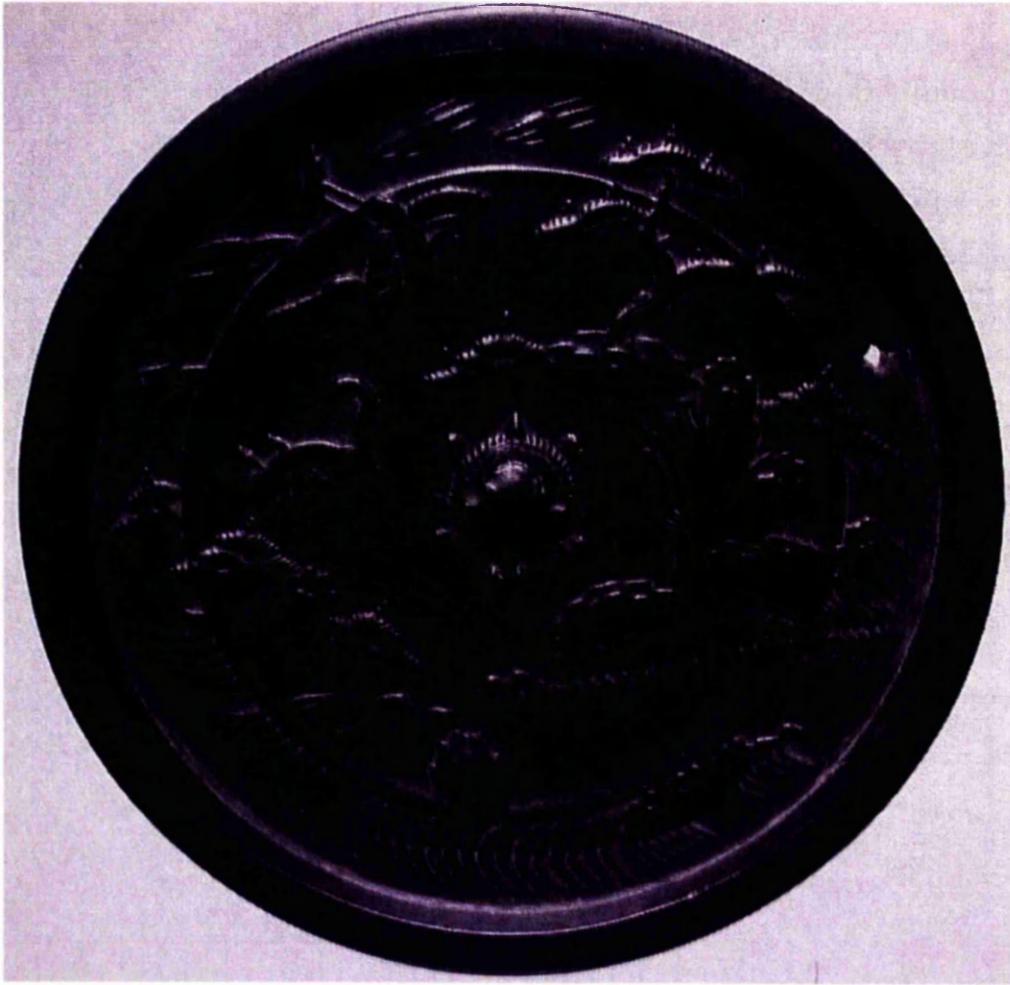


Fig. 4.45: Mirror. Kamakura period (1185-1336), thirteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of cranes in a landscape setting, d. 11.5cm. Kyoto National Museum.

(After Kyôto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 218.)

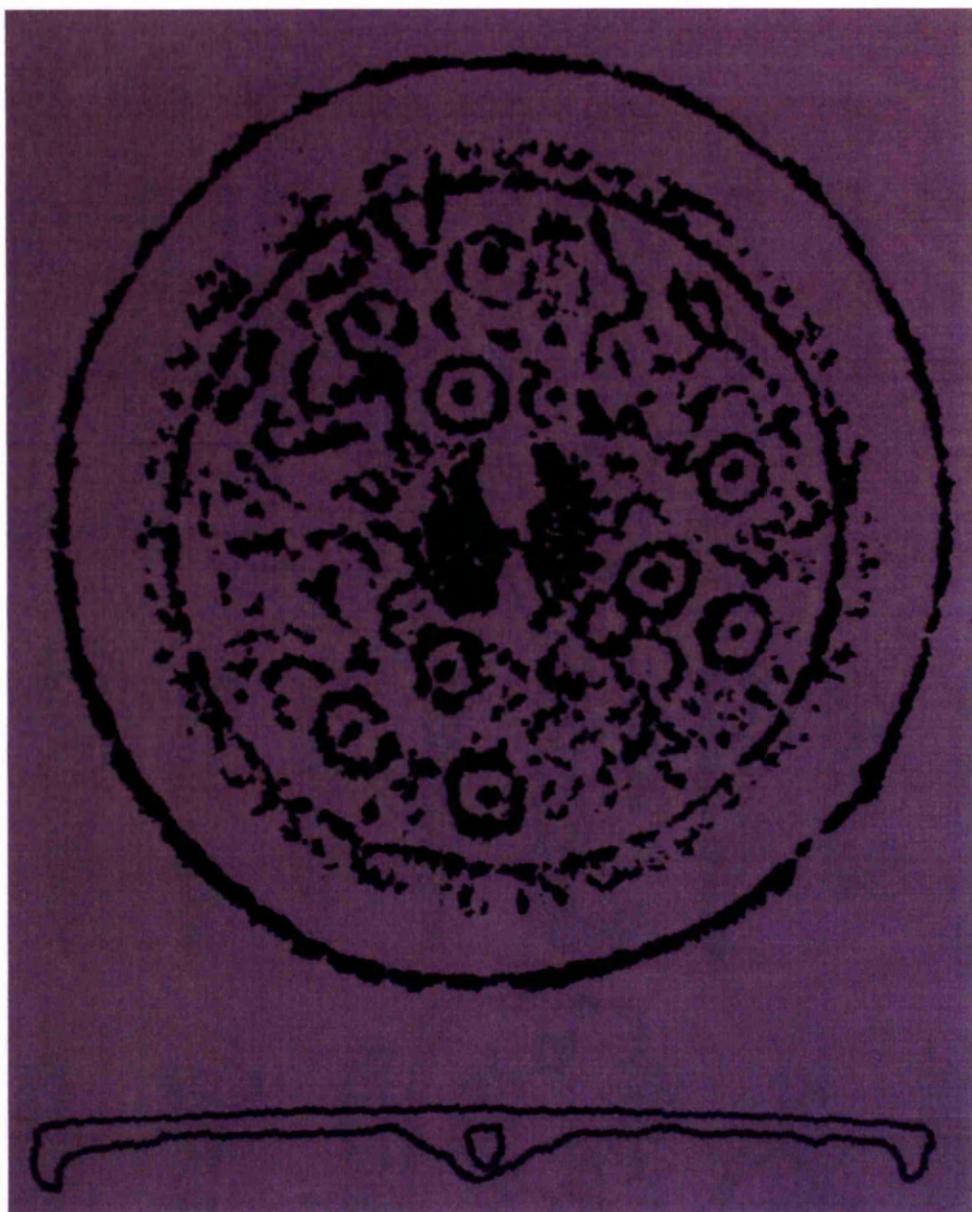


Fig. 4.46: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums, d. 11cm. Tomb no. 23-1, Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1992: 118.)

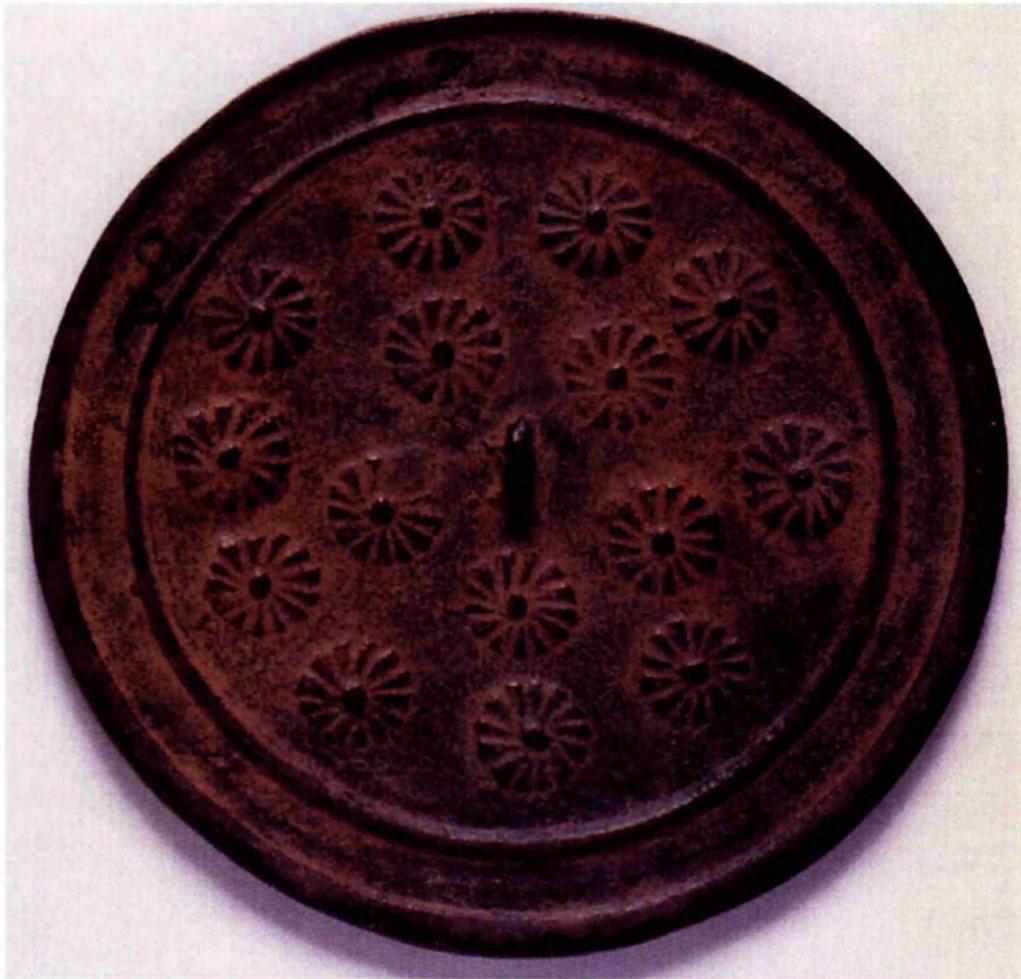


Fig. 4.47: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums, d. 11cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. FE. 229-1974.

(After McKillop 1992: 105.)



Fig. 4.48: Mirror. Heian period (794-1185), twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums and flying sparrows, d. 11.2cm. Kyoto National Museum.

(After Kyôto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 208.)



Fig. 4.49: Mirror. Kamakura period (1185-1336), thirteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of chrysanthemums and sparrows on a hedge, d. 11.7cm. Kyoto National Museum.

(After Kyôto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1988: 214.)



Fig. 4.50: Covered box. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth century. Celadon stoneware incised with decoration of chrysanthemums, d. 8.8cm. Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka.

(After Ôsaka Shiritsu Tôyô Tôji Bijutsukan 1992: 55.)



Fig. 4.51: Jar with two handles. Koryō dynasty (918-1392), twelfth century. Celadon stoneware with inlaid decoration of chrysanthemum scrolls, h. 21.4cm. Museum of Oriental Ceramics, Osaka.

(After Ōsaka Shiritsu Tōyō Tōji Bijutsukan 1992: 82.)

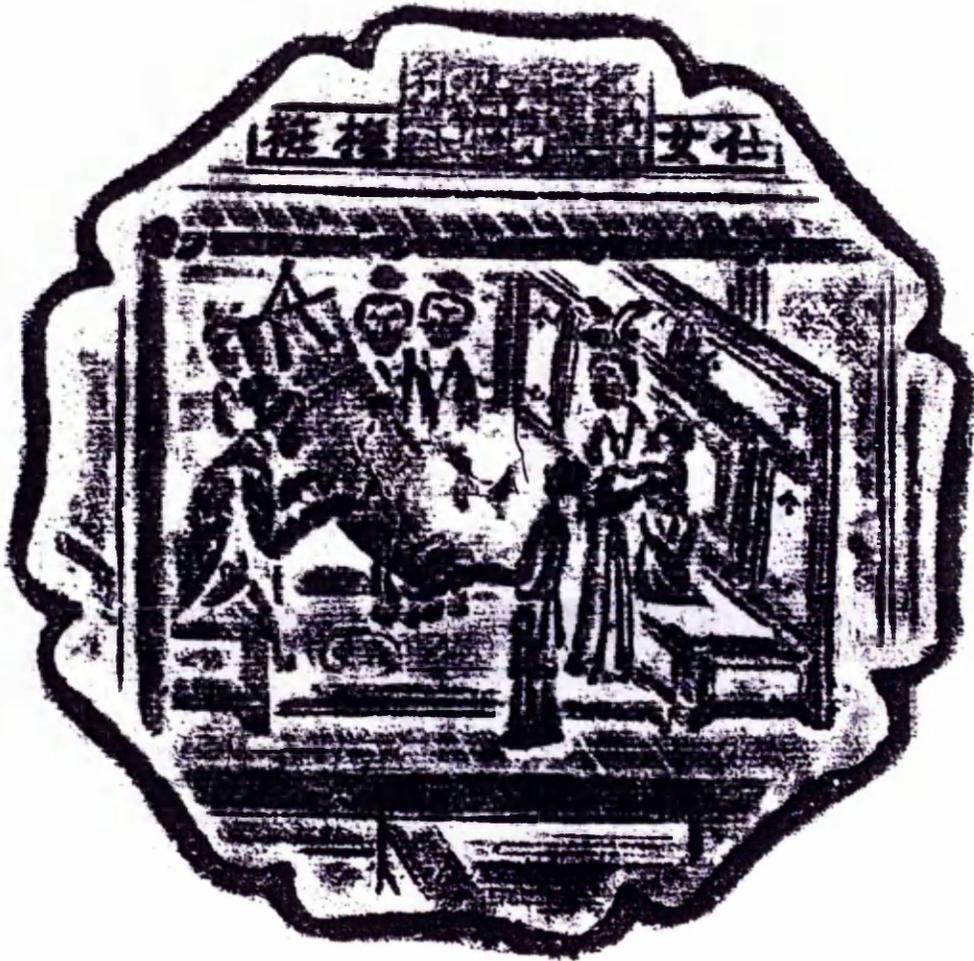


Fig. 4.52: Mirror. Late Song (960-1279)-early Yuan dynasty (1279-1368).  
Bronze cast with decoration of women admiring a painting.

(After Zhou 1986: 129.)



Fig. 4.53: Mirror. Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). Bronze cast with scalloped edge and decoration of scholar viewing a painting assisted by two boys, d. 18.8cm, w. 0.8cm.

(After Cheng and Cheng 1989: fig. 128.)



Fig. 4.54: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of birds above pond, w. 15cm, wt 293gr. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, inv. no. B83 B3.

(Author's photograph.)



Fig. 4.55: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with children holding lotus flowers, d. 9.4cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tŏk 1923.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 198.)

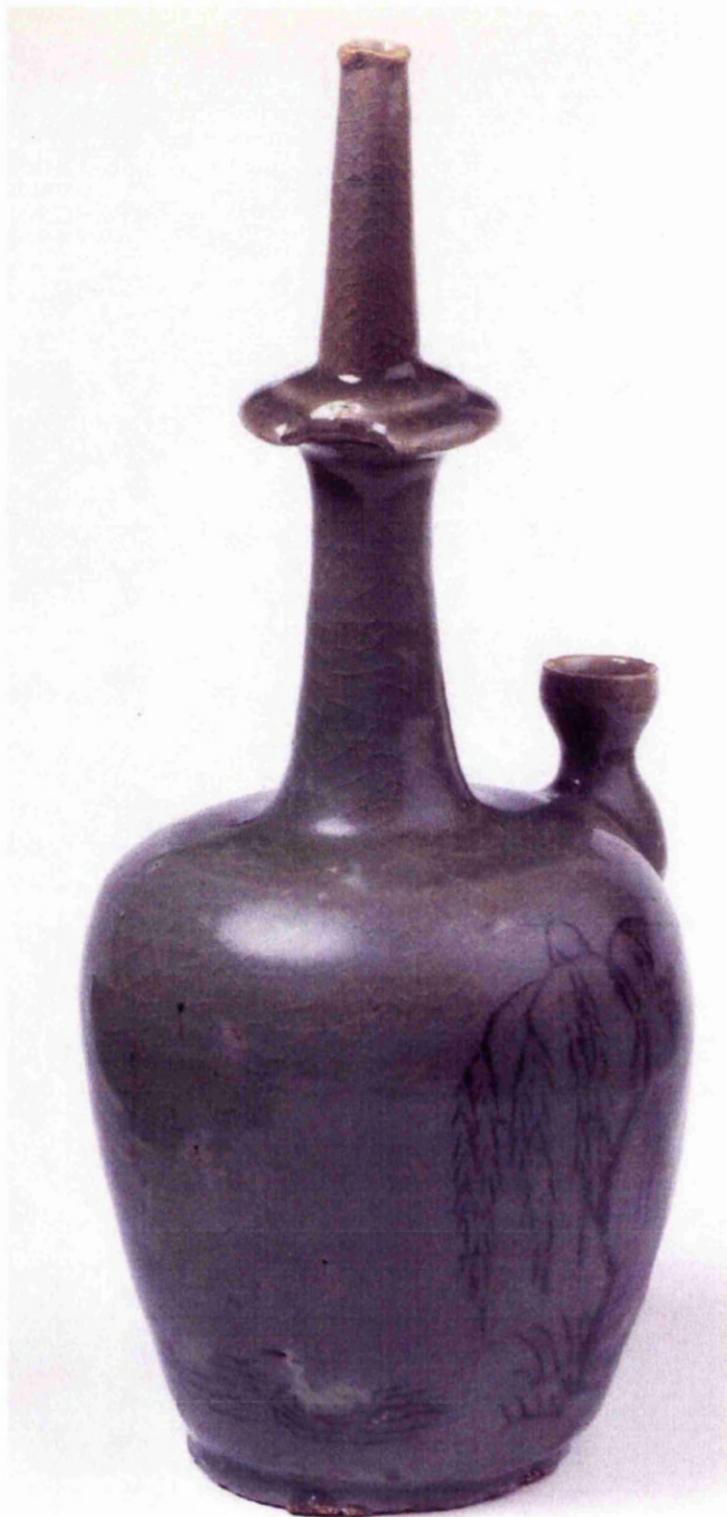


Fig. 4.56: *Kundika*. Koryō dynasty (918-1392), mid-twelfth century. Celadon stoneware with inlaid decoration of ducks and willow trees, h. 35.5 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. C. 743-1909.

(After McKillop 1992: 53.)



Fig. 4.57a: *Kundika*. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth century. Bronze with inlaid silver wire decoration of birds, plants and grasses, h. 35cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

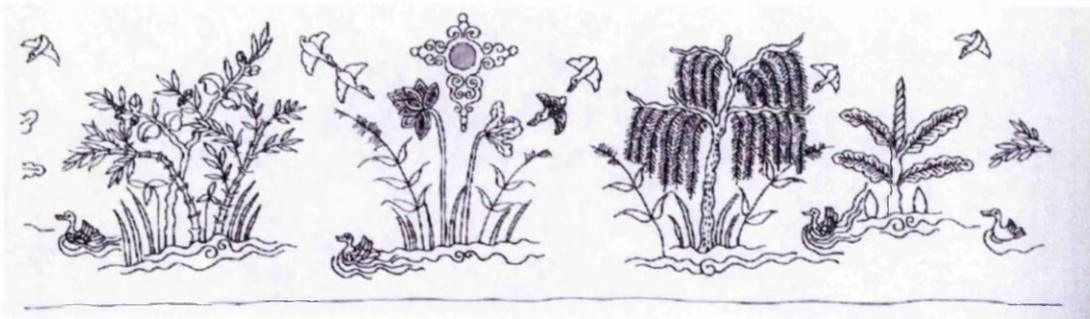


Fig. 4.57b: Design inlaid on the kundika in fig. 4.57a.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1997: 31.)

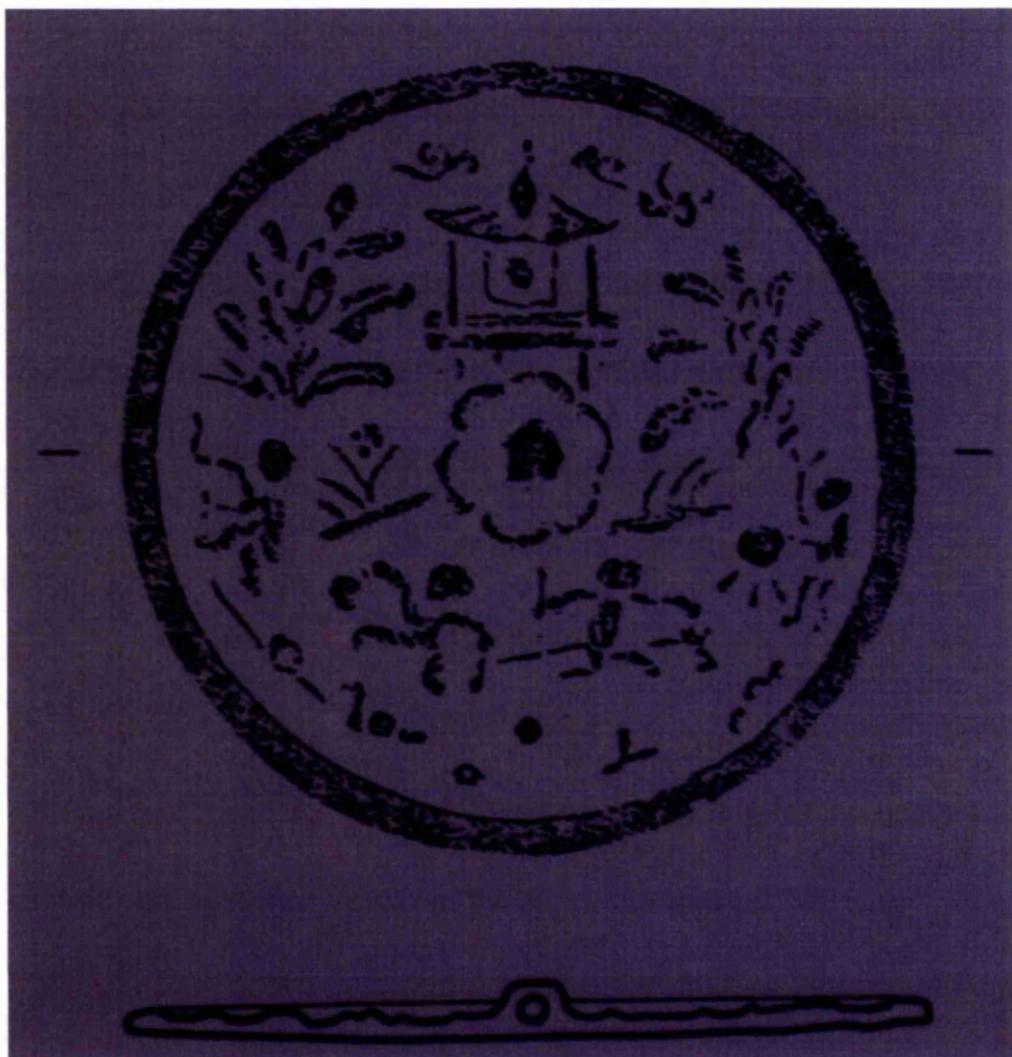


Fig. 4.58: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of children in a garden setting, d. 10.1cm. Tomb no. 38, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 84.)



Fig. 4.59: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of children playing in a garden setting, d. 10.3cm, wt 136.98gr. Seoul National University Museum, inv. no. yŏk 44.

(Author's photograph.)



Fig. 4.60: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of children playing in a fenced garden with rocks and a banana plant, d. 26.04cm, wt 1.8733kg. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, inv. no. B60 B580.

(Photograph supplied by Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.)



Fig. 4.61: Mirror. Yuan dynasty (1279-1368). Bronze cast with decoration of children playing in a garden, d. 15.3cm. Excavated in Jilin province.

(After Duan 1998: 70.)

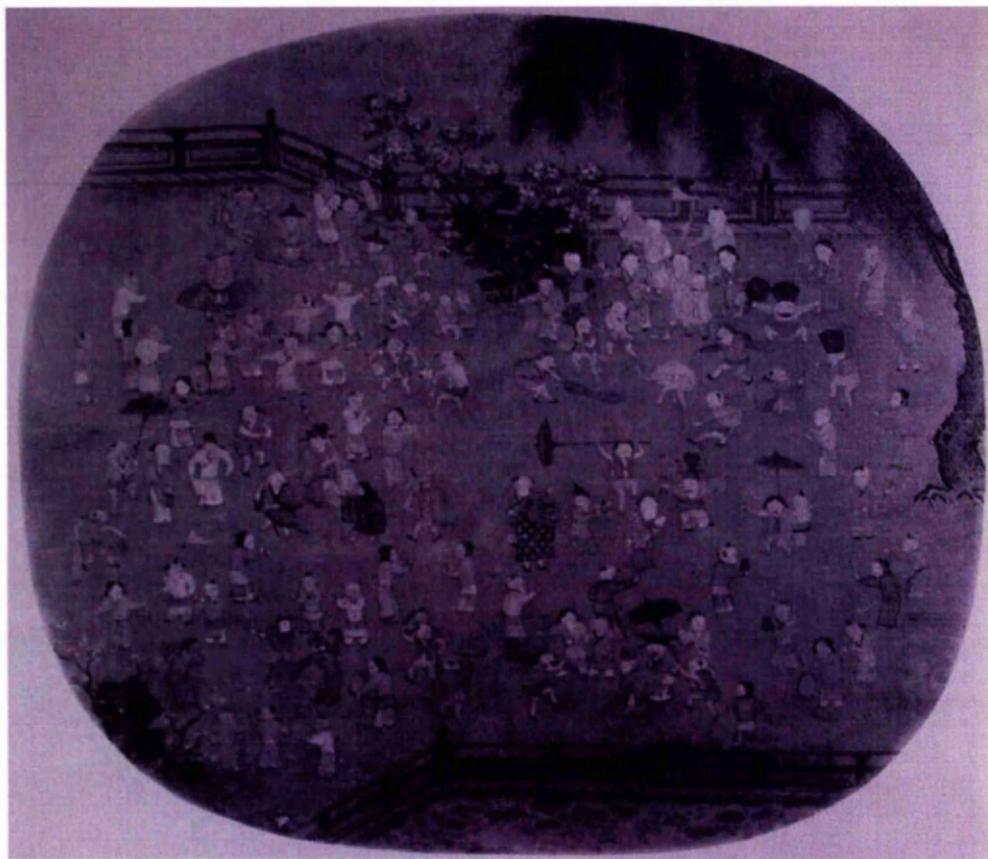
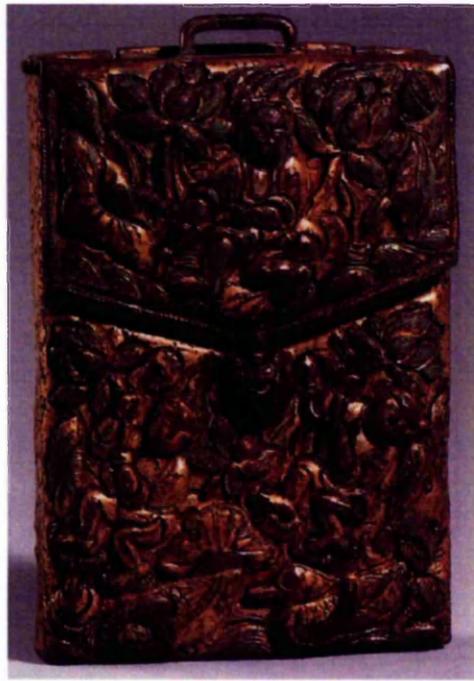


Fig. 4.62: Su Hanchen (traditional attribution), *One hundred Children at Play*. Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). Album leaf, ink and light colour on silk, h. 28.8cm, w. 31.3cm. Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 61.261.

(After Goodfellow 1980: 55-56.)



Front



Back

Fig. 4.63: Sutra container. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), 12<sup>th</sup> century. Gilt-bronze with repoussé decoration of birds and children with lotus flowers, h. 10.3cm, w. 6.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Hoam misulgwan 1995: 49.)

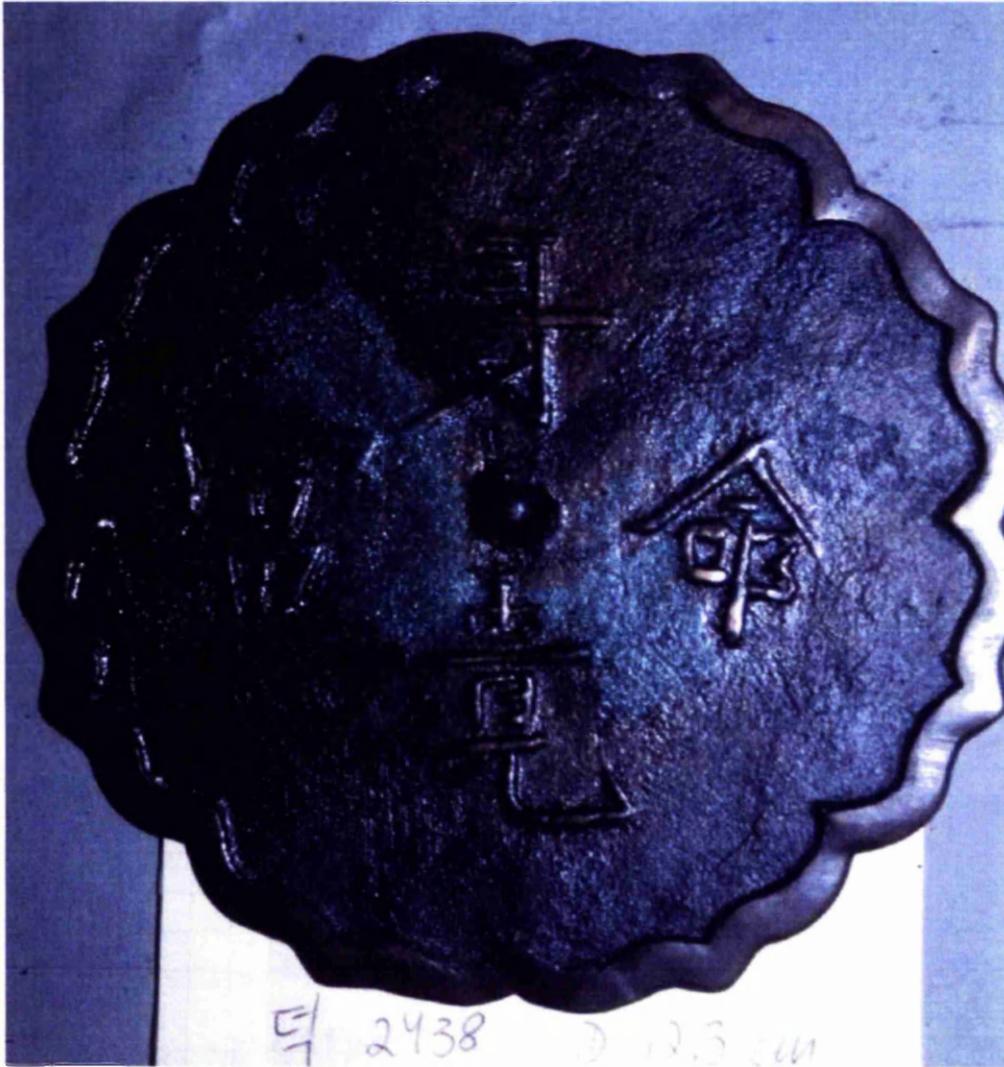


Fig. 4.64: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with inscription: "May you live long and be successful", d. 12.3cm. National Museum of Korea, inv. no. tŏk 2438.

The character 長 has been reversed.

(Author's photograph.)



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 4.65: Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with decoration of lotus scrolls, d. (a) 27cm, (b) 12.1cm, (c) 17.1cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos tŏk (a) 4789, (b) 2717, (c) 4833.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 122.)

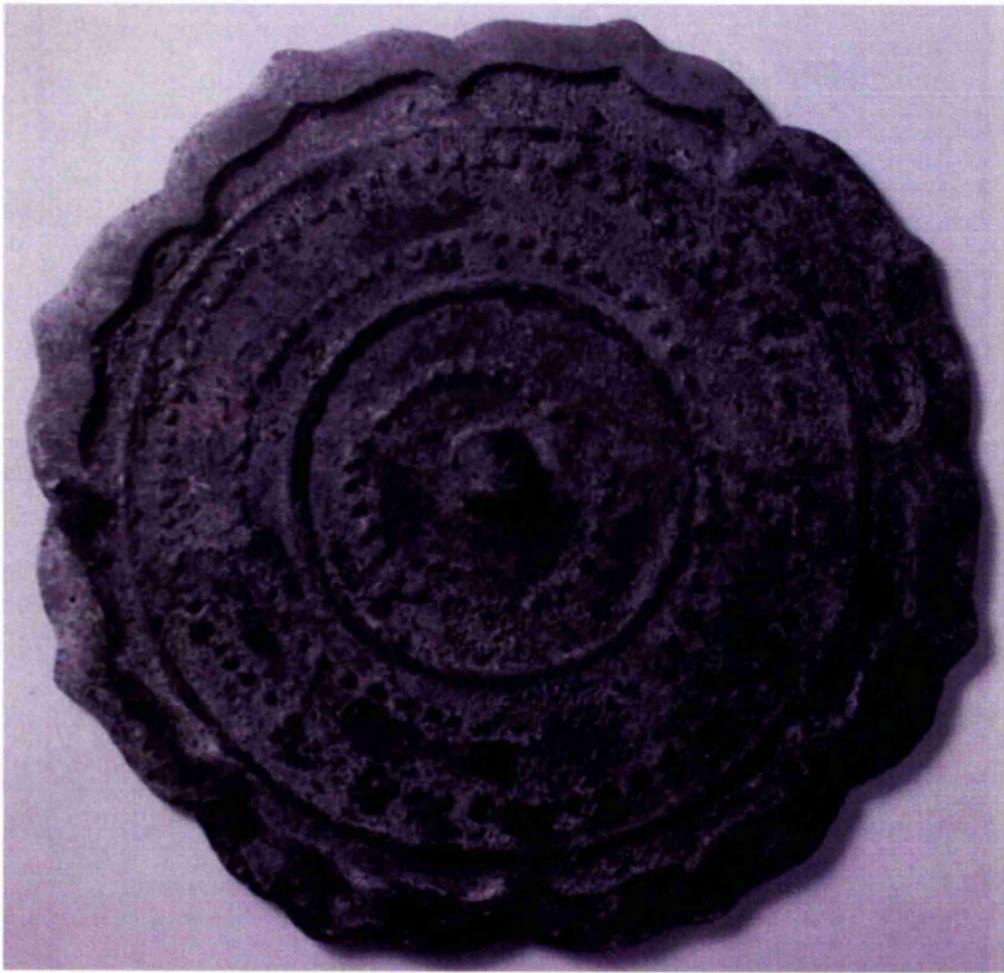


Fig. 4.66: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze cast with decoration of rows of beads, d. 12.7cm. Tomb no. 8, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

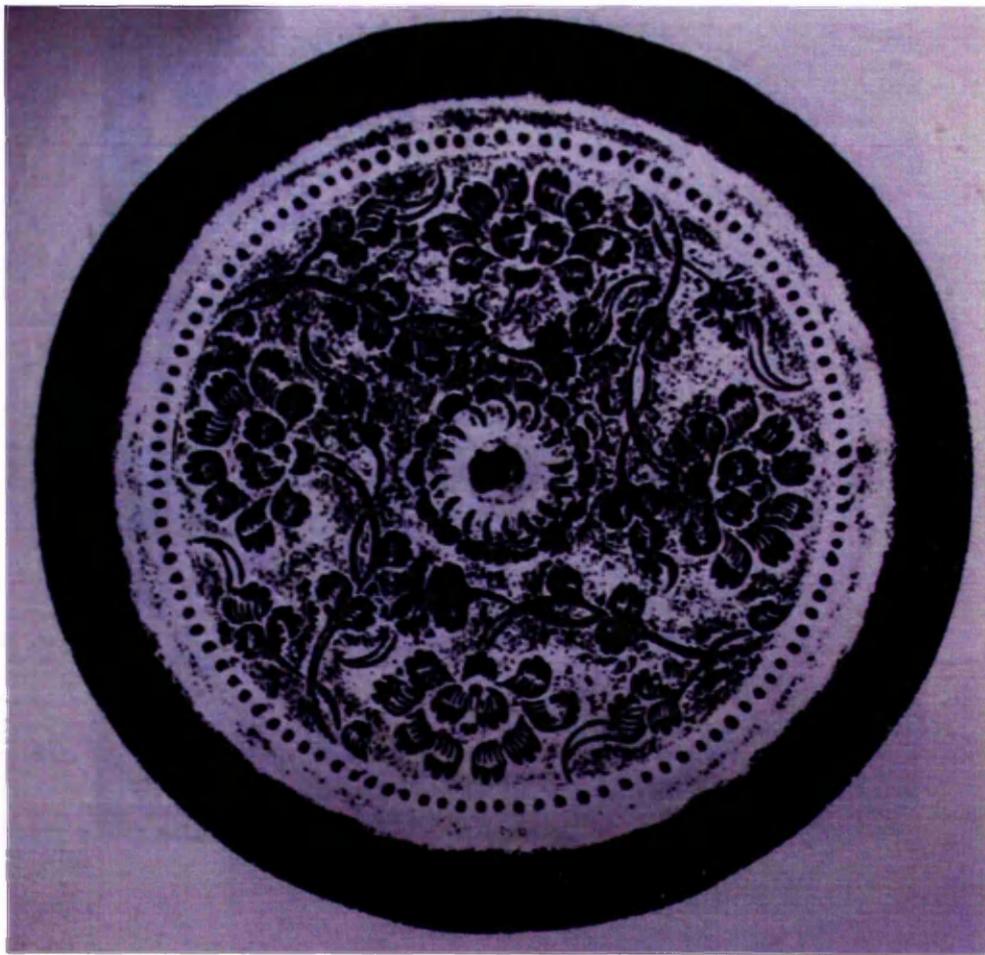


Fig. 4.67: Mirror. Song dynasty (960-1279). Bronze cast with peony scrolls, d. 16.8cm. Luoyang, Henan province.

(After Kong and Liu 1992: 675.)



Fig. 4.68: Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Green-glazed earthenware with decoration of lotus and rows of beads, d. 12.5cm. Kyōngju National Museum.

(After Kungnip Kyōngju pangmulgwan 2000: 378.)



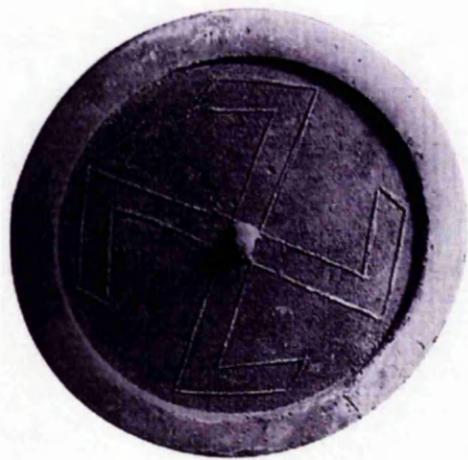
Fig. 4.69: Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Earthenware with decoration of lotus and rows of beads, d. 16cm. Anapchi pond complex, Kyōngju, North Kyōngsang province.

(After Kungnip Kyōngju pangmulgwan 2000: 54.)



Fig. 4.70: Roof-end tile. Unified Silla period (668-935). Earthenware with decoration of rows of beads, d. 13.5cm. Kyōngju National Museum.

(After Kungnip Kyōngju pangmulgwan 2000: 268.)



a.



b.



c.

Fig. 4.71: Mirrors. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast with swastikas, d. (a) 17.6cm, (b) 9.7cm, (c) 16.5cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. nos (a) tŏk 5504, (b) tŏk 4129, (c) pon 2734.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 255-256.)



Fig. 4.72: Mirrors. Bronze cast with Sanskrit characters, d. (left) 18.5cm, (right) 13.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 2003: 254-255.)



Fig. 4.73: Incense burner. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze inlaid in silver with swastika, h. 22.3cm. Horim Art Museum, Seoul.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1997: 47.)

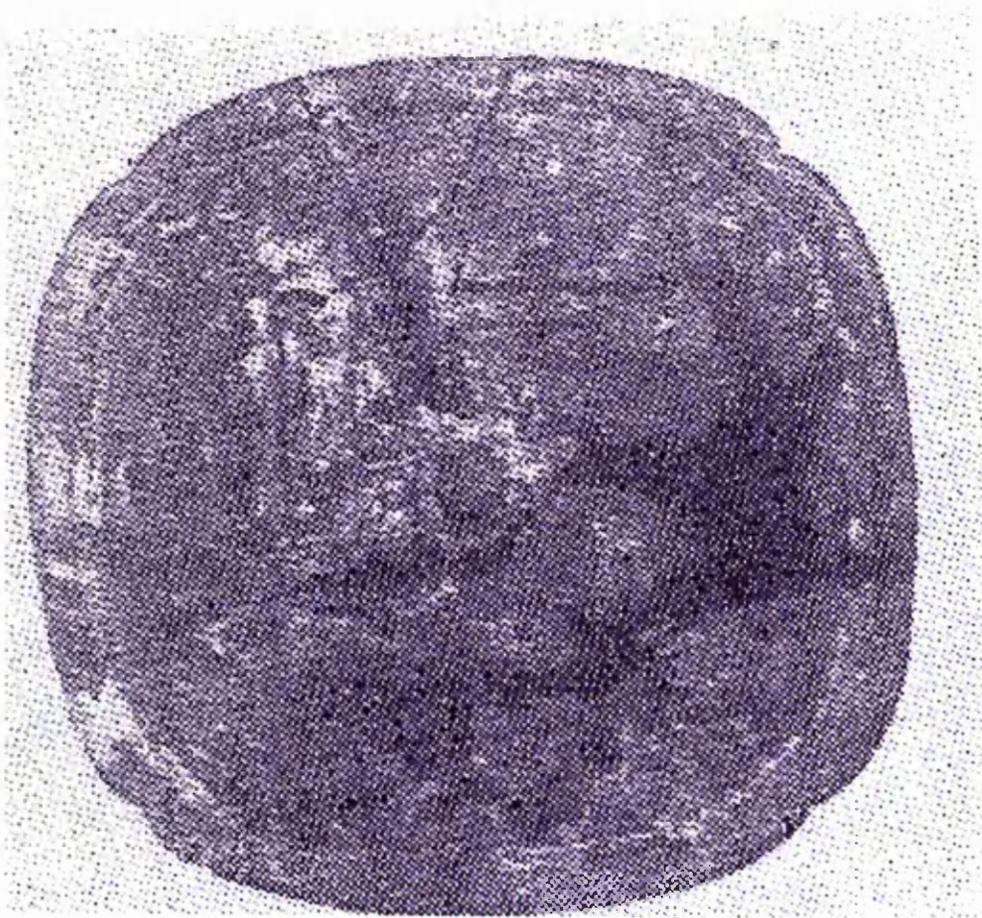


Fig. 4.74: Mirror. Tang dynasty (618-906), eighth century. Bronze cast with swastika, d. 14.5cm, t. 0.15cm. Tomb at Heshan temple, Yiyang, Hunan province.

(After Yiyang 1981: 315-318.)

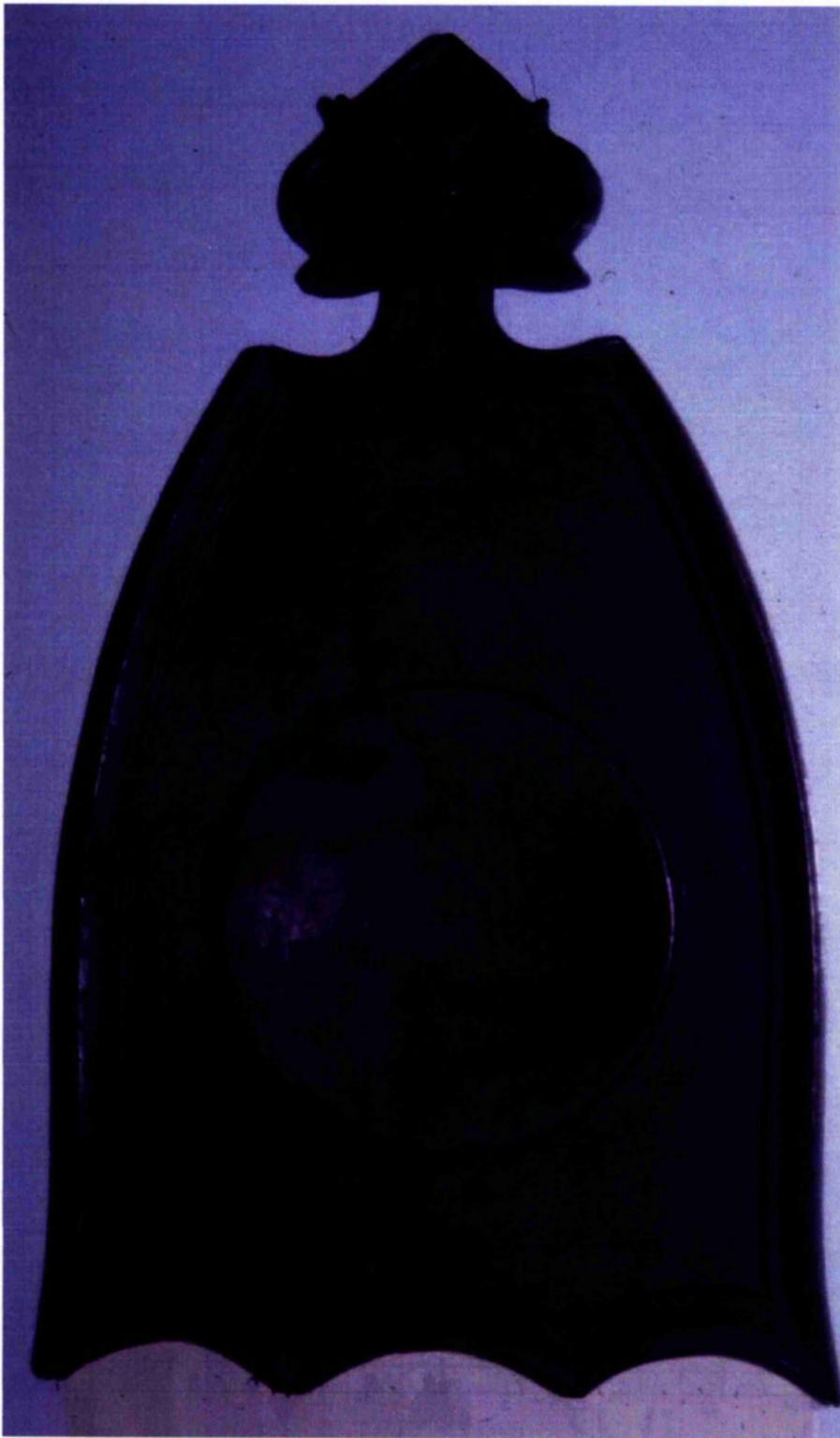


Fig. 4.75: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze cast in bell-shape with concave circular disk, l. 16.5cm, w. 9.4cm. Ch'ŏngju National Museum, inv. no. tŏk 1924.

(Author's photograph.)

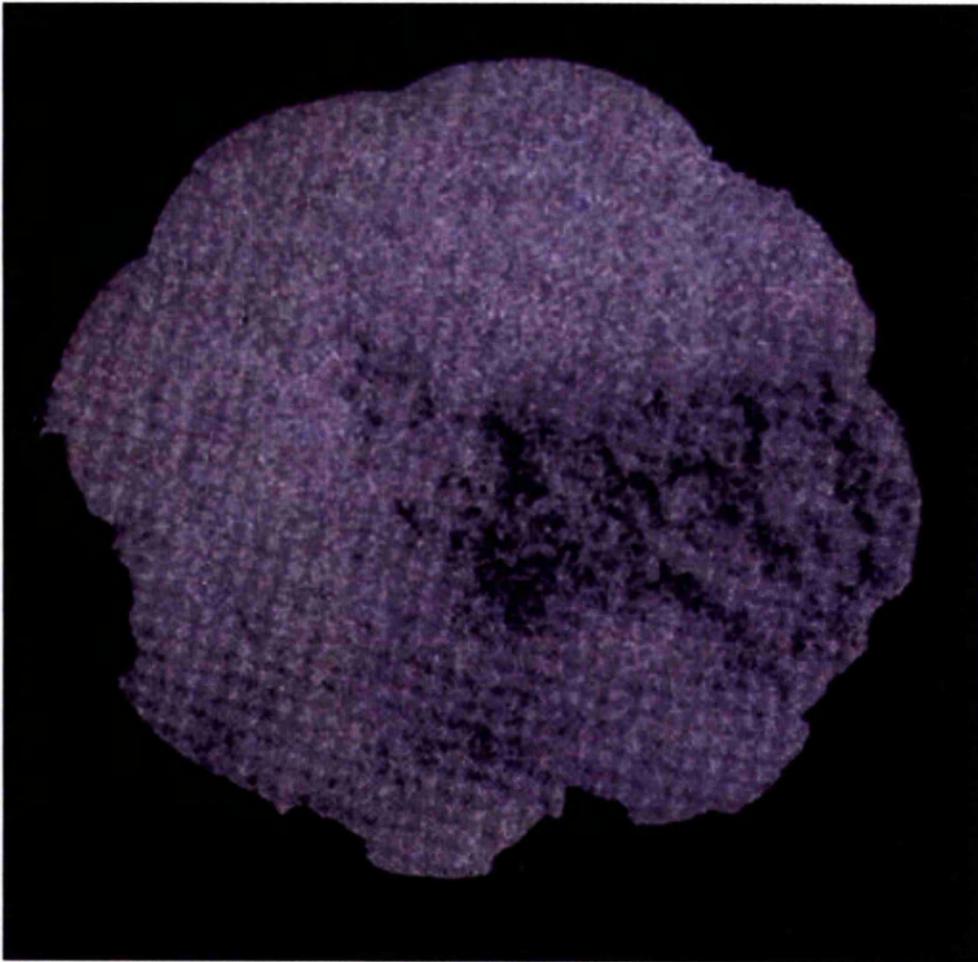


Fig. 4.76: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh century. Bronze. Tomb no. 1-2, Chibongni, Yŏngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987: 22.)



Fig. 4.77: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze, d. 9.8cm. Tomb no. 15, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)



Fig. 4.78: Mirror fragment. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), mid to late twelfth century. Bronze, d. 7.8cm. t. 0.55cm. Tomb no. 21, Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(Photograph kindly provided by Kubô Tomoyasu.)

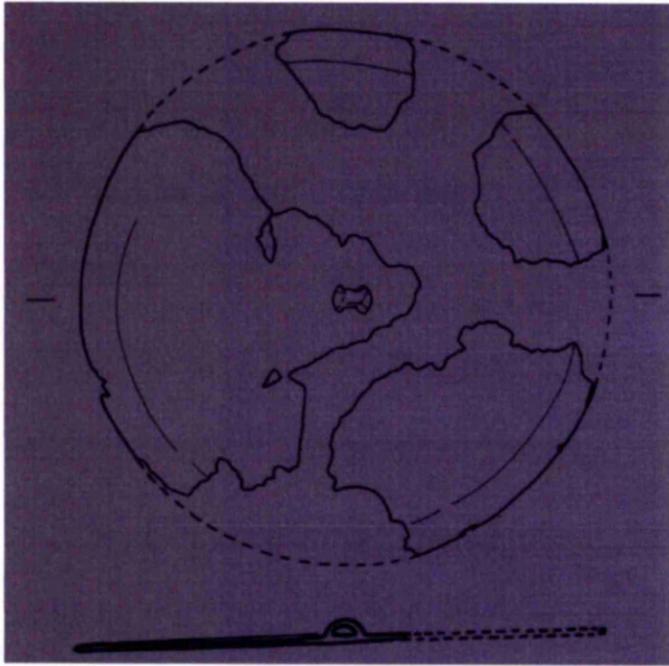


Fig. 4.79: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, d. 10.6cm. Tomb no. 90, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 185.)

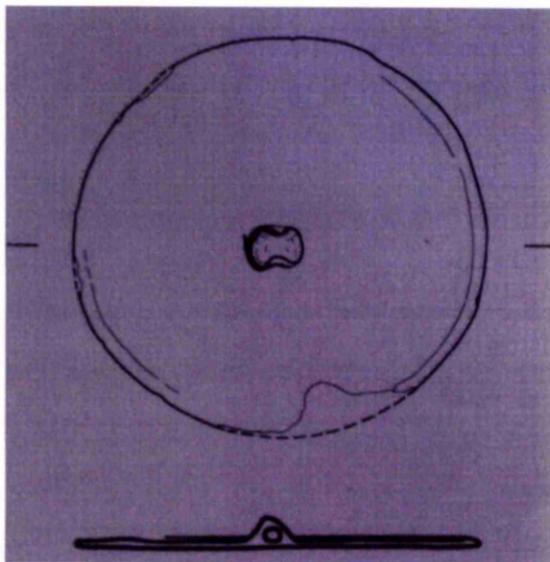


Fig. 4.80: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, d. 4.7cm. Tomb no. 46, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 97.)

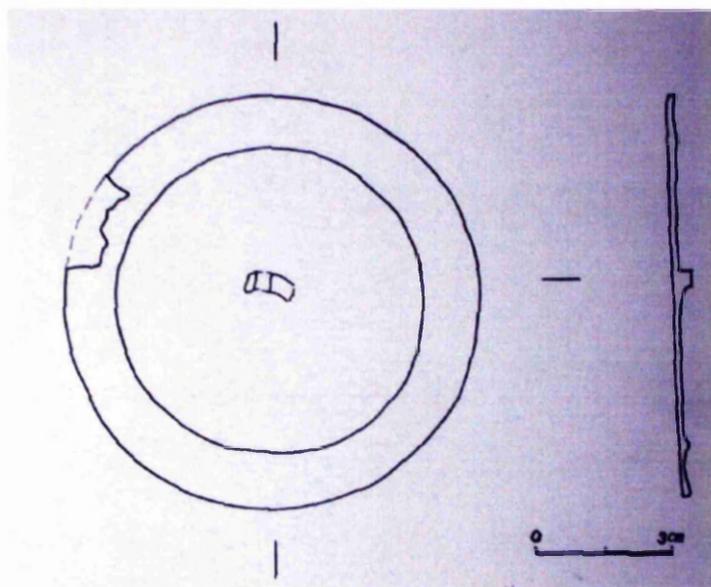


Fig. 4.81: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), twelfth to fourteenth century. Bronze, d. 9cm. Tomb no. 2-85, Hoamdong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1998: 200.)

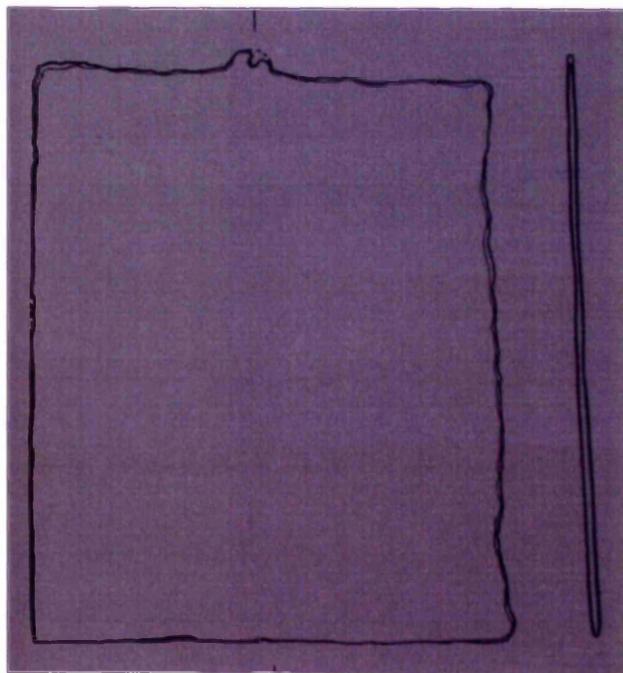


Fig. 4.82: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, l. 14.2cm, t. 0.15-0.2cm. Tomb no. 58, Kŭmch'ŏndong II-1, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 125.)

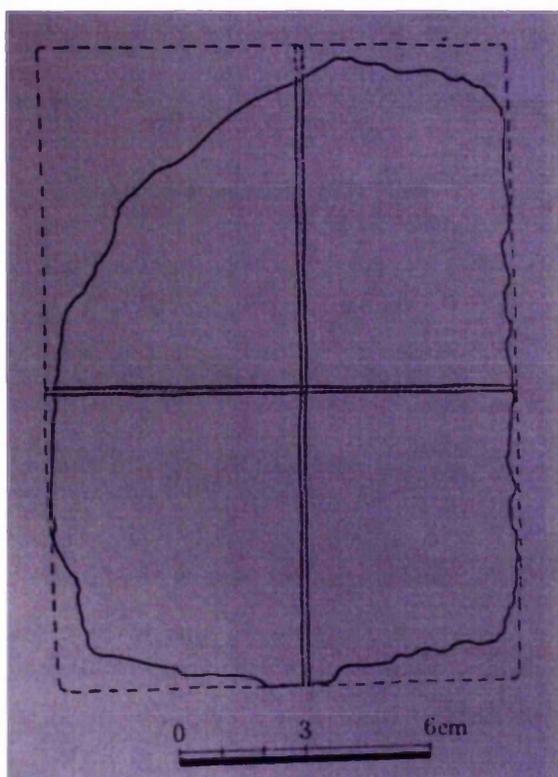


Fig. 4.83: Mirror fragment. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, l. 14.8cm, w. 10.7cm, t. 0.2cm. Tomb no. 8, Tanwŏldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

(After Ch'ungju pangmulgwan 1992: 57.)

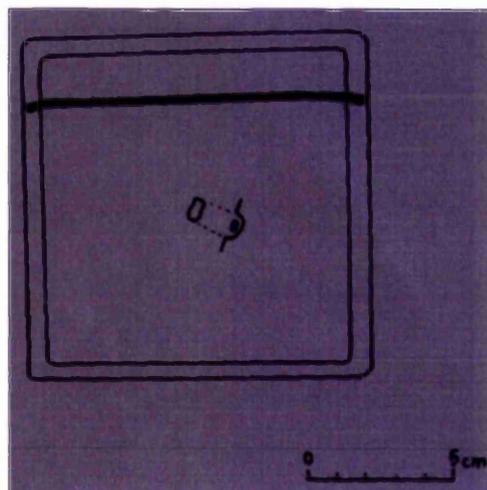


Fig. 4.84: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), late eleventh to early twelfth century. Bronze, l. 12.4cm. Tomb no. 1, Yudongni, Mujugun, North Chŏlla province.

(After Kang In-gu 1980: 5.)



Fig. 4.85: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). Bronze engraved with decoration of standing Avalokiteśvara, l. 14.4cm, w. 10.2cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tŏk 5645.

(After Yi Nan-yŏng 1983: 211.)

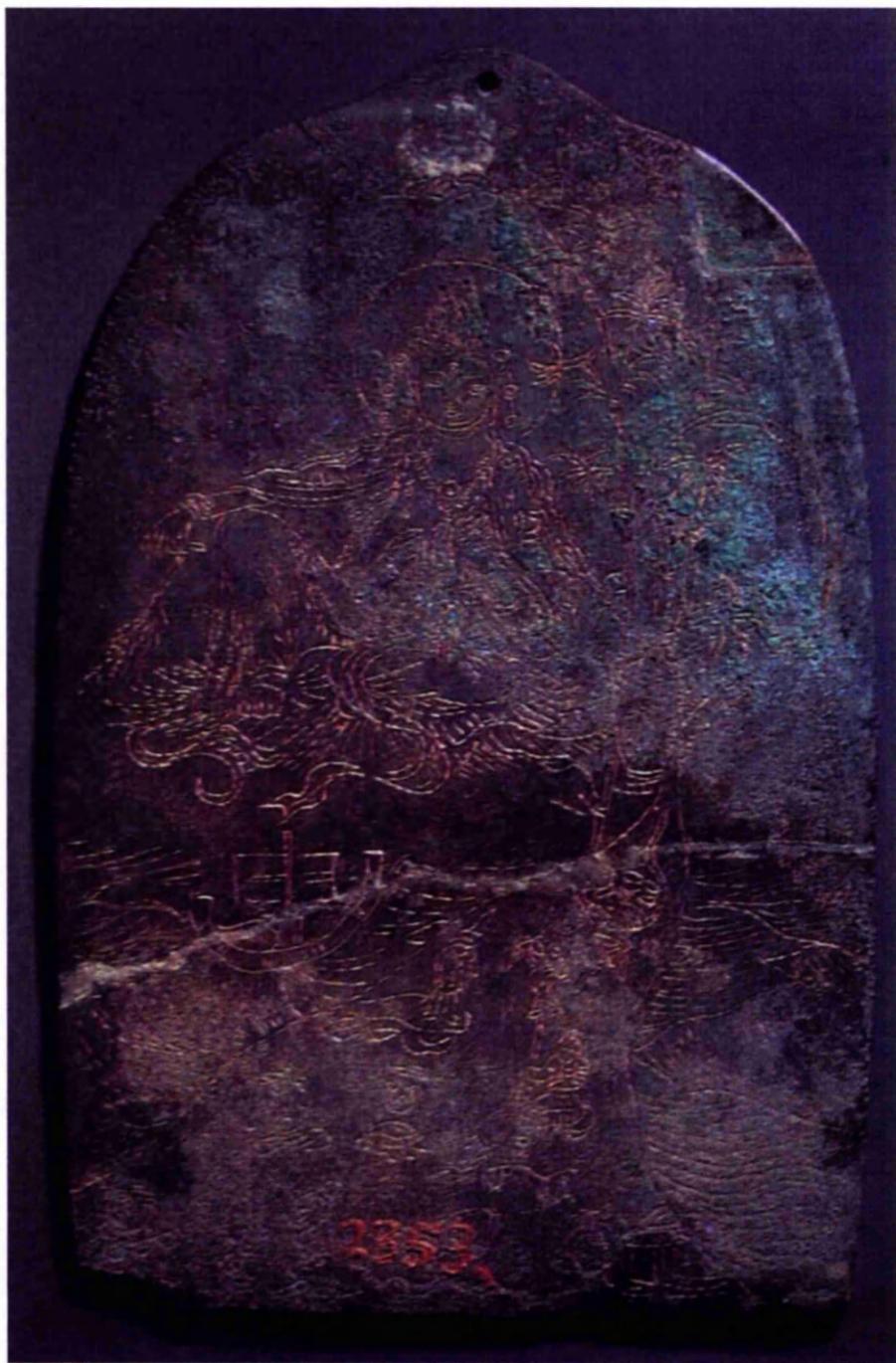


Fig. 4.86: Mirror. Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), fourteenth century. Bronze engraved with decoration of seated Avalokiteśvara, l. 12.1cm, w. 7.6cm. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tŏk 2353.

(After Hoam misulgwan 1995: 165.)



5.1a



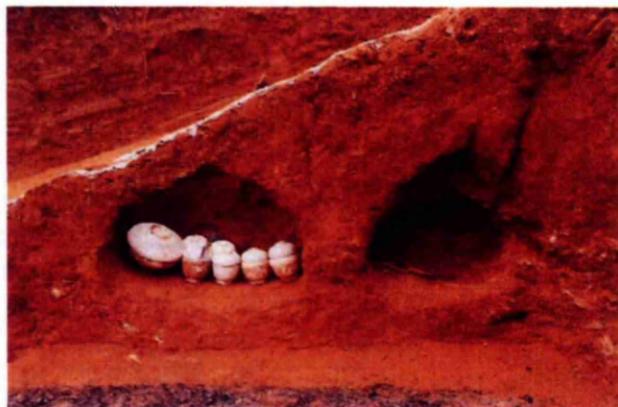
5.1b

Fig. 5.1a: Lime-coffin tomb. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), sixteenth century. Sawŏlli, South Kyŏngsang province.

Fig. 5.1b: Inner burial pit, detail of tomb in fig. 5.1a. Red arrow points towards bronze mirror.



5.1c



5.1d

Fig. 5.1c: Mirror. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), sixteenth century. Bronze cast with decoration of dragons. From the tomb in fig. 5.1a. Remnants of the fabric in which the mirror was covered are visible.

Fig. 5.1d: Niches with funerary objects, detail of tomb in fig. 5.1a. Left niche: porcelain vessels, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks. Right niche: iron scissors.

(After Han'guk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 140-141.)

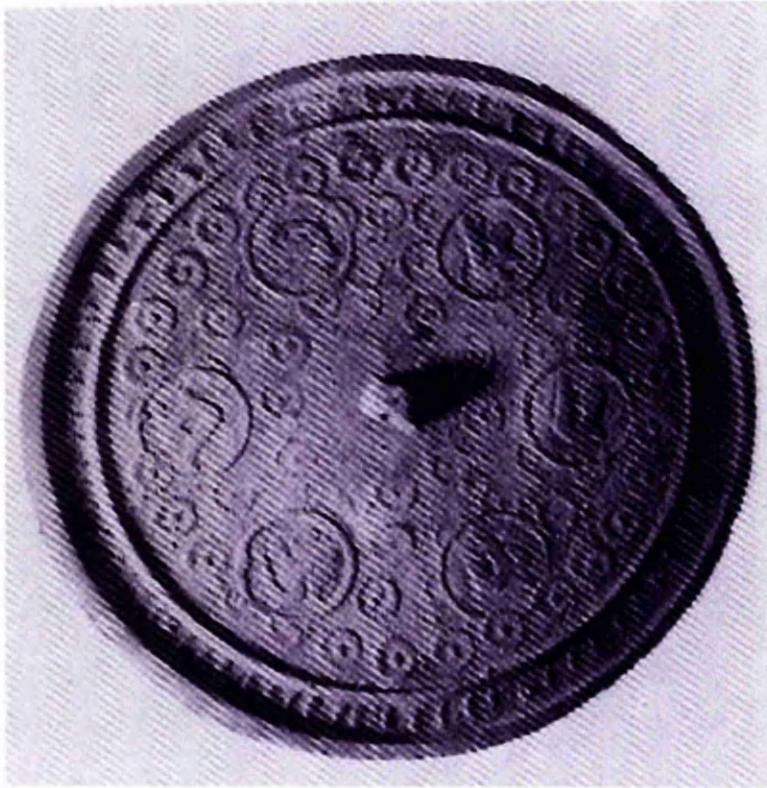


Fig. 5.2: Mirror. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Bronze cast with Sanskrit characters and chrysanthemum flowers, d. 12.7. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, inv. no. tŏk 542.

(After Lee Nan-yŏng 1983: 220.)



Fig. 5.3: Relics. Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Reportedly from the stone pagoda at Sudŏksa temple, Yesan, South Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Bronze mirrors, bronze bowl, beads, shells, metal ornaments.

(After Kungnip chungang pangmulgwan 1991: 95.)

**Appendix**

**Illustrations of the 304 Koryō graves  
discussed in Chapter 3**

## List of sites

Notes: *The sites are arranged chronologically following the sequence in table 3.1.*

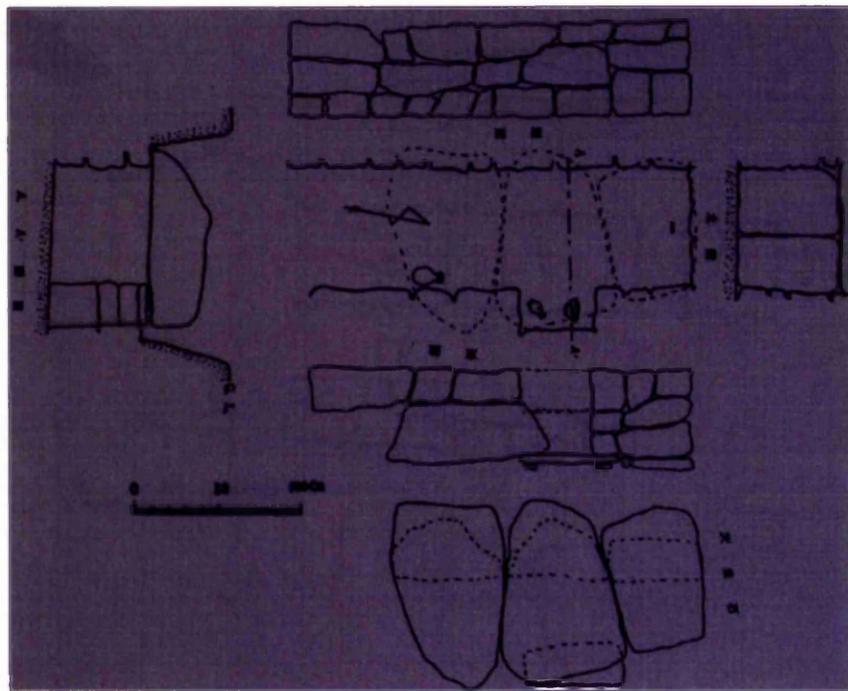
*The graves appear in various orientations, as published in excavation reports, since their location was dictated by geomantic principles and is not fixed.*

*Illustrations of graves containing mirrors are outlined.*

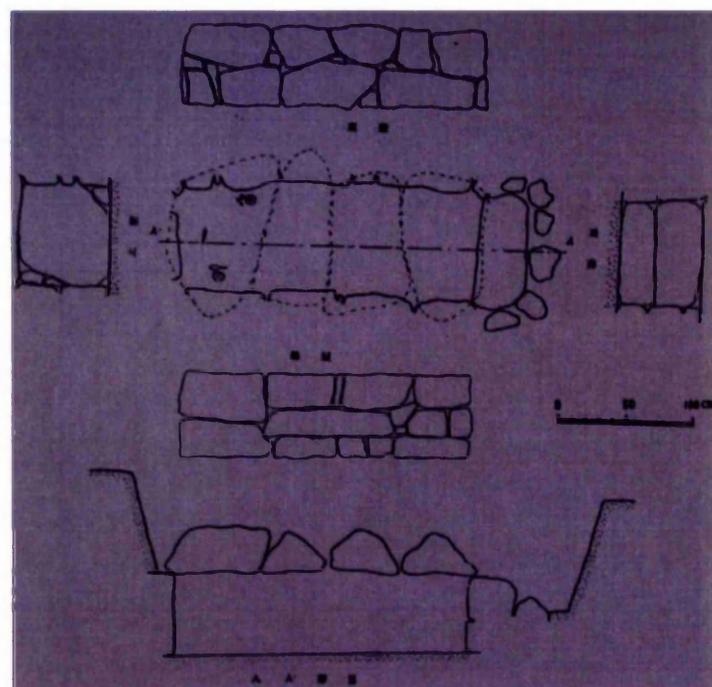
*The number and types of burial goods in each grave are listed in the caption. When no quantity of burial goods is mentioned, only one example was found.*

No	Site	<i>pages</i>
1	Tügyunni, Nonsan'gun, South Ch'ungch'öng province 得尹里, 論山郡, 忠清南道	440
2	Chibongni, Yöngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'öng province 池鳳里, 永同郡, 忠清北道	442
3	Chwahangni, Yongin'gun, Kyönggi province 佐恒里, 龍仁郡, 京畿道.	443
4	Yudongni, Mujugun, North Chölla province 柳洞里, 茂朱郡, 全羅北道.	444
5	Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province 金川洞 II-1, 清州, 忠清北道.	445
6	Kümch'öndong II-2, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province 金川洞 II-2, 清州, 忠清北道.	509
7	Ch'un'gungni, Kwangjugun, Kyönggi province 春宮里, 廣州郡, 京畿道.	517
8	Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province 丹月洞, 忠州, 忠清北道	518
9	Nuamni, Chungwön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province 樓岩里, 中原郡, 忠清北道.	524
10	Hyön'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'öng province 玄谷里, 丹陽郡, 忠清北道.	526
11	Songnari Hwasönggun, Kyönggi province 松羅里, 華城郡, 京畿道.	529

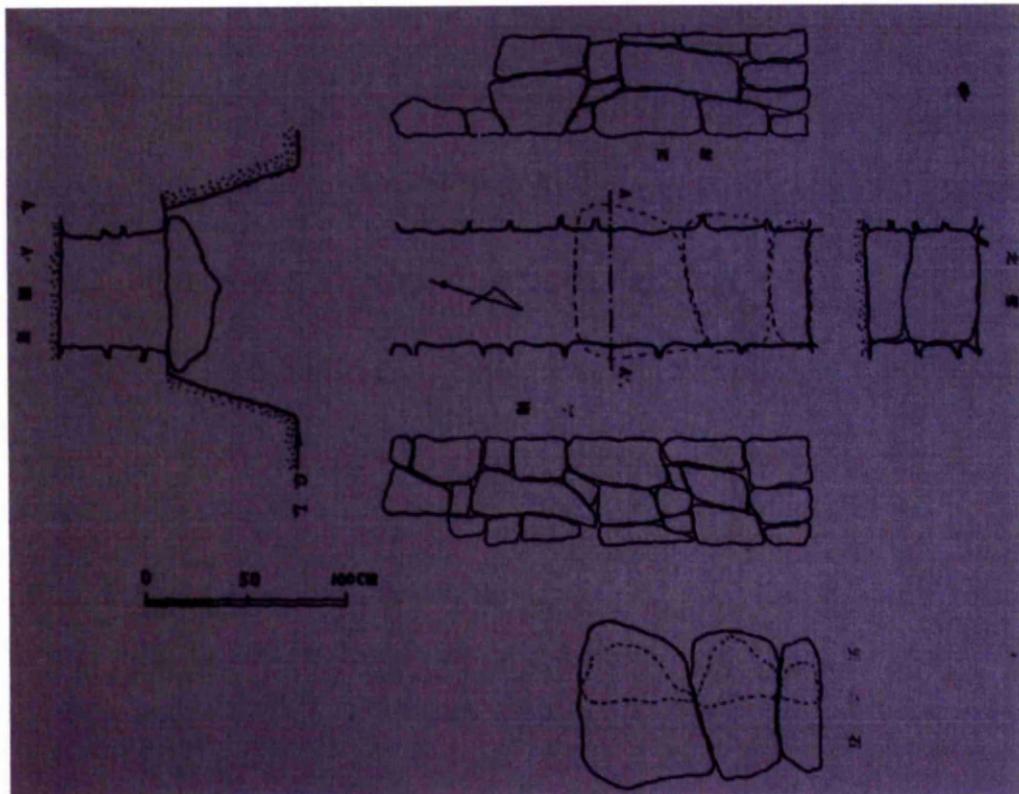
No	Site	pages
12	Kup'ori, Hwasǒnggun, Kyǒnggi province 鳩浦里, 華城郡, 京畿道.	530
13	Panwǒlmyǒn, Hwasǒnggun, Kyǒnggi province 半月面, 華城郡, 京畿道.	531
14	Maeryongni, Yǒjugun, Kyǒnggi province 梅龍里, 驪州郡, 京畿道.	532
15	Sǒngsǒngni, Chinch'ǒn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ǒng province 聖石里, 鎭川郡, 忠清北道.	533
16	Tǒksalli, Kimhaegun, South Kyǒngsang province 德山里, 金海郡, 慶尙南道.	542
17	Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyǒnggi province 一山洞, 高陽市, 京畿道.	544
18	Yongjǒngdong II, Ch'ǒngju, North Ch'ungch'ǒng province 龍亭洞 II, 淸州, 忠清北道.	572
19	Kumch'ǒndong I, Ch'ǒngju, North Ch'ungch'ǒng province 金川洞 I, 淸州, 忠清北道.	576



Tūgyunni, Nonsan'gun, South Ch'ungch'ōng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 1.  
Contents: three celadon ceramics, silver hairpin.  
(After Kang In-gu 1975: 195.)



Tūgyunni, Nonsan'gun, South Ch'ungch'ōng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 2.  
Contents: two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, bronze hairpin.  
(After Kang In-gu 1975: 196.)



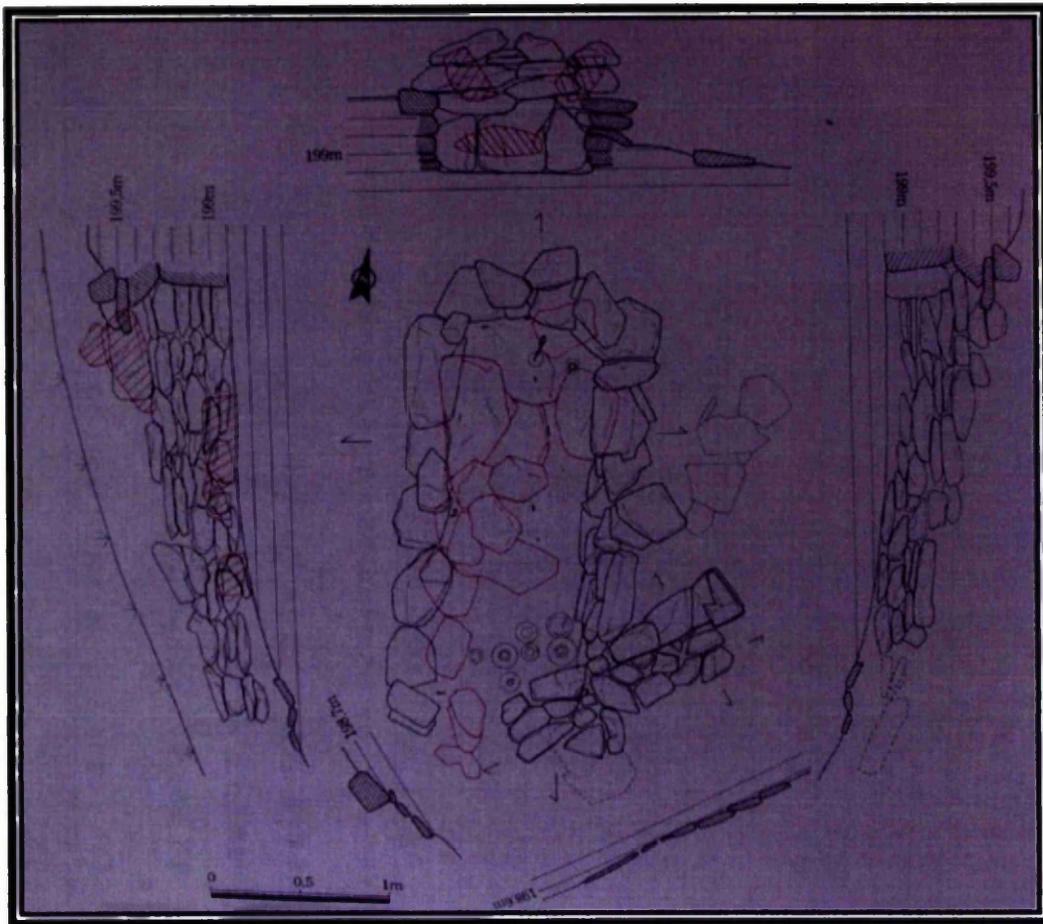
Tügyunni, Nonsan'gun, South Ch'ungch'öng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 3.  
Contents: no burial goods were found.  
(After Kang In-gu 1975: 197.)



Chibongni, Yŏngdonggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 1-2.

Contents: bronze mirror, six celadon ceramics, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin.

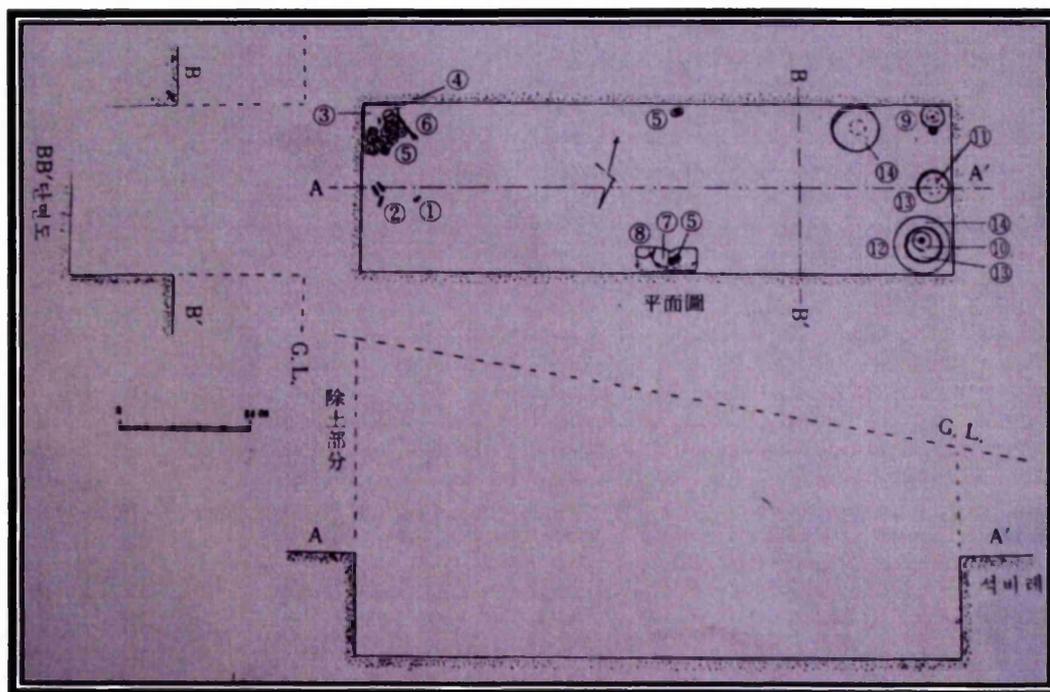
(After Hannam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1987: 20.)



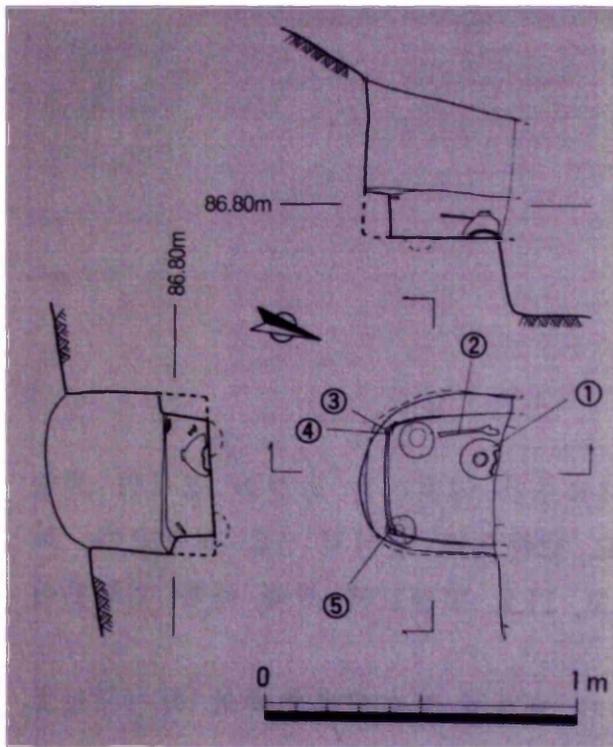
Chwahangni, Yongin'gun, Kyōnggi province. Stone-lined tomb no. 9.

Contents: bronze mirror, three celadon ceramics, two earthen ware ceramics, three white ware ceramics, bronze spoon, iron scissors.

(After Sin Chōn-sik and Ōm Ik-sōng 1994: 74.)



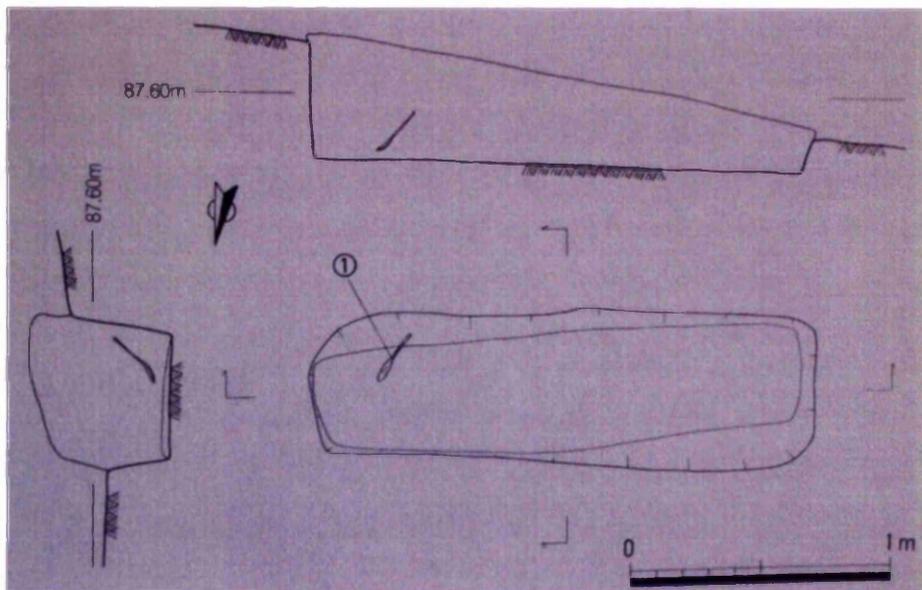
Yudongni, Mujugun, North Chölla province. Earthen pit tomb no. 1.  
 Contents: bronze mirror, eleven celadon ceramics, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
 farming tool, two silver hairpins, bronze hairpin, two glass beads, iron dagger,  
 iron arrowhead, twenty bronze coins, bronze seal.  
 (After Kang In-gu 1980: 3.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 1.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

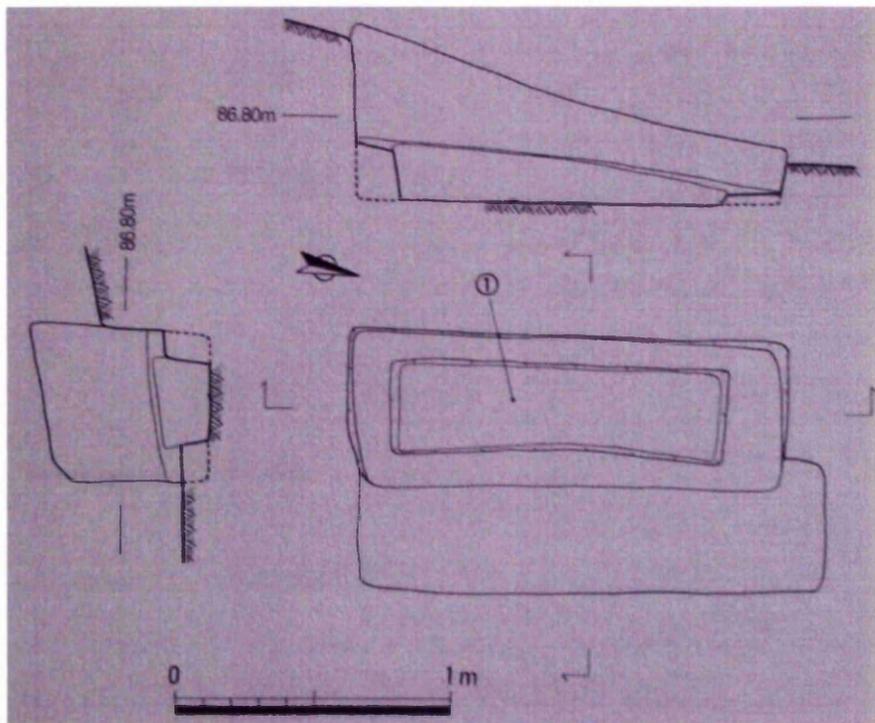
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 26.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 6.

Contents: bronze spoon.

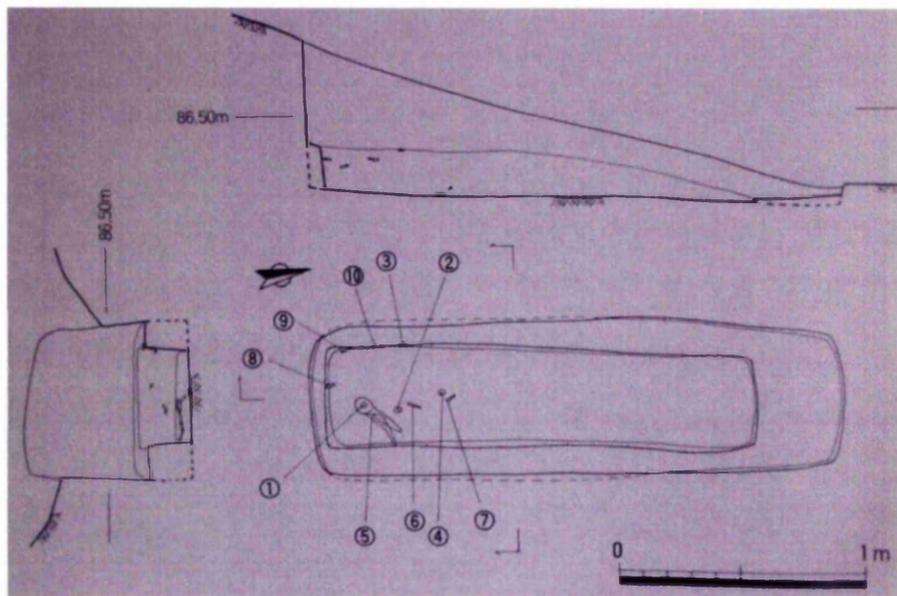
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 31.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 11.

Contents: bronze coin.

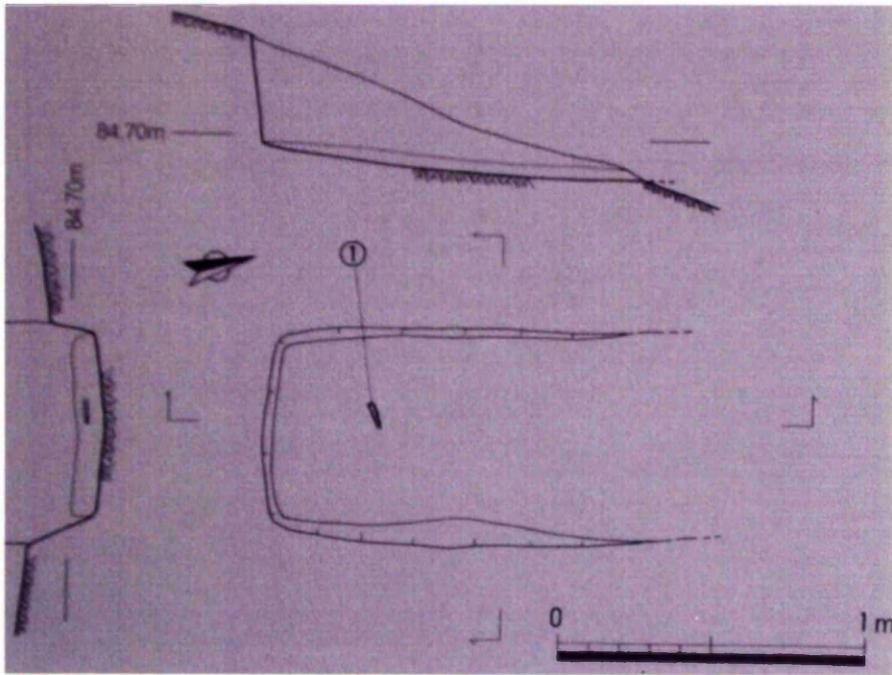
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 36.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 12.

Contents: iron scissors, four bronze coins.

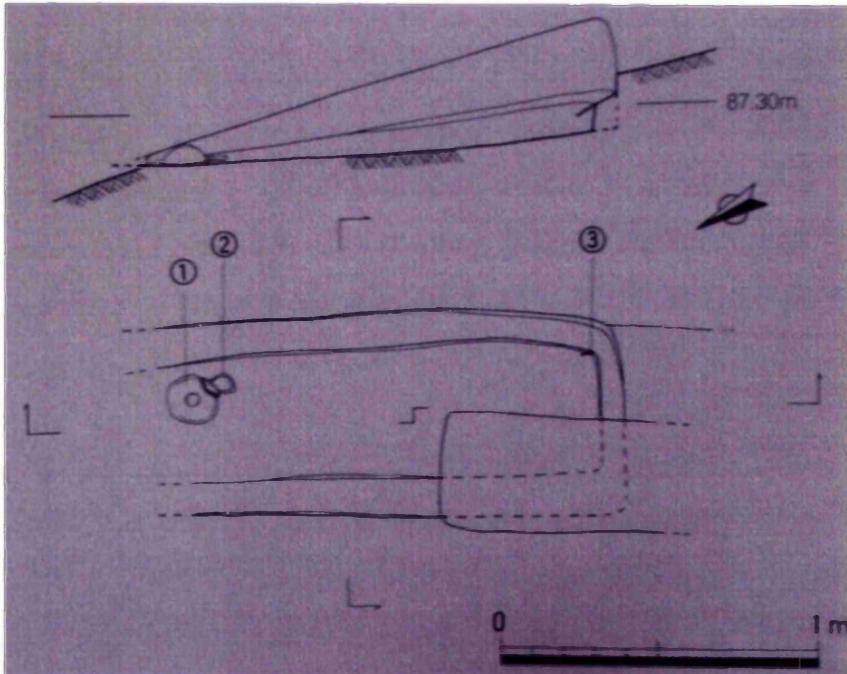
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 38.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 15.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

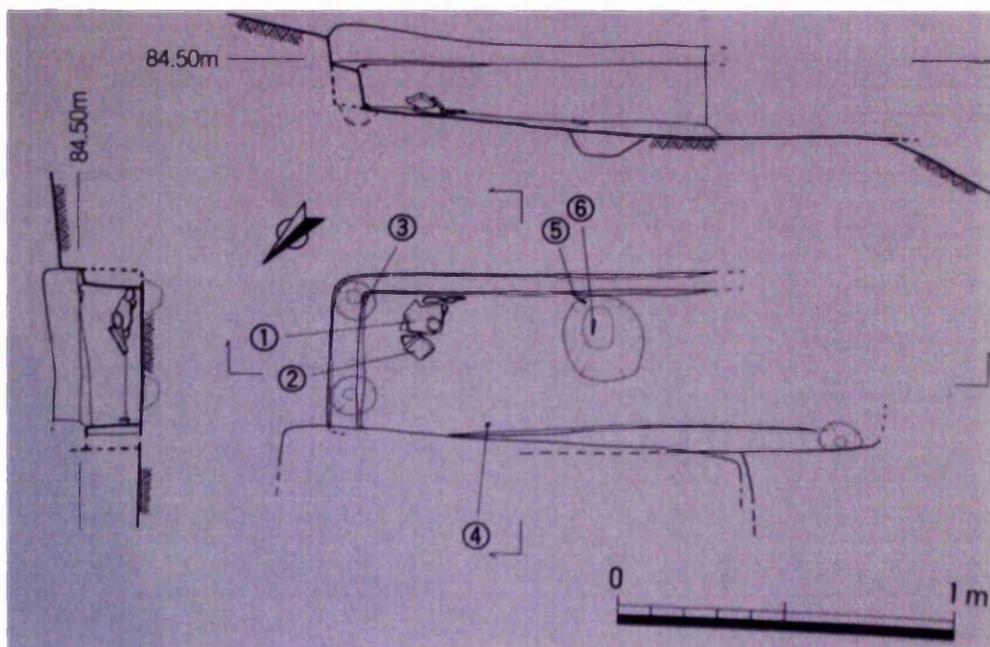
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 42.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen-pit tomb no. 16.

Contents: celadon ceramic, iron scissors.

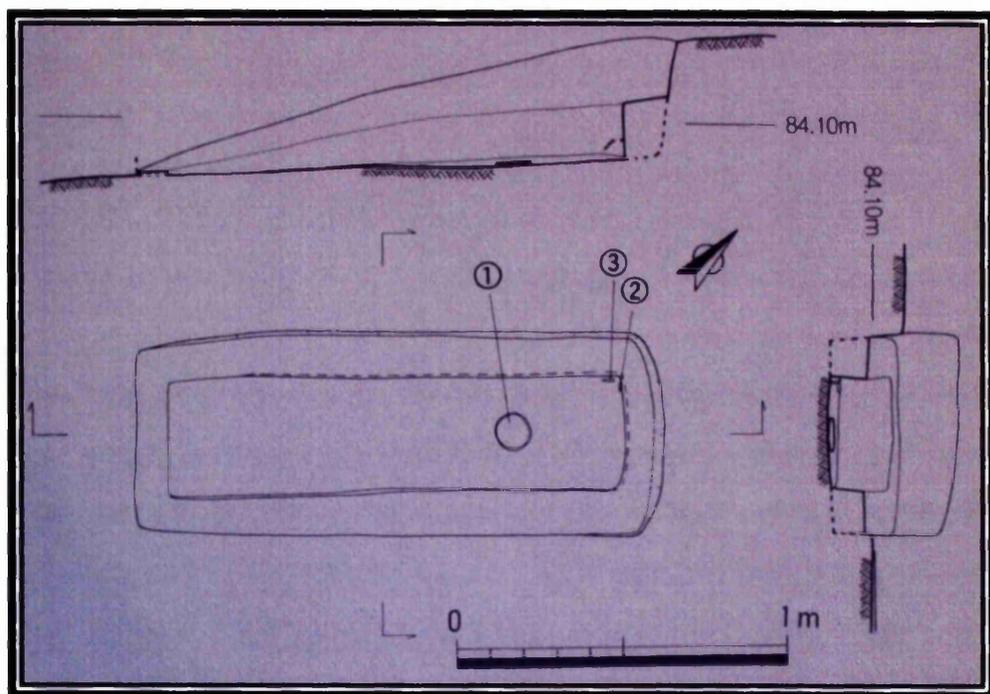
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 44.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 17.

Contents: celadon ceramic, iron fragment.

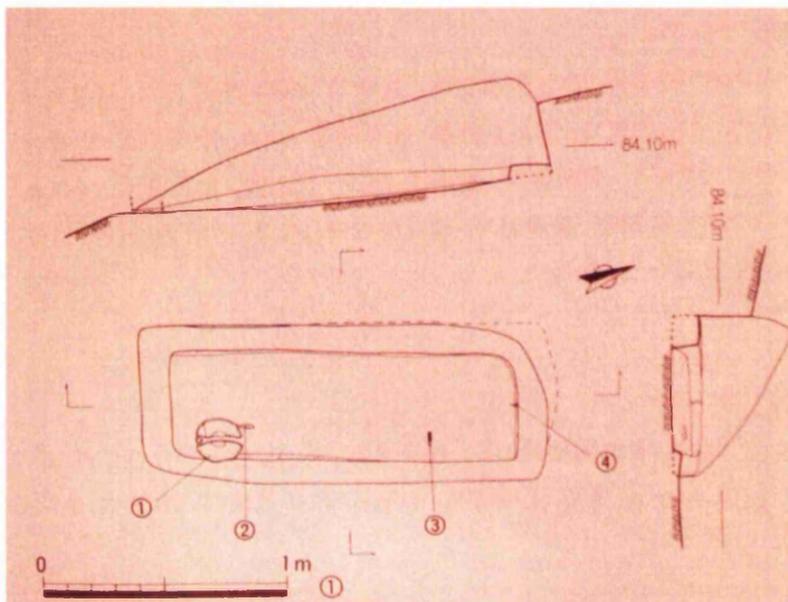
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 46.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 19.

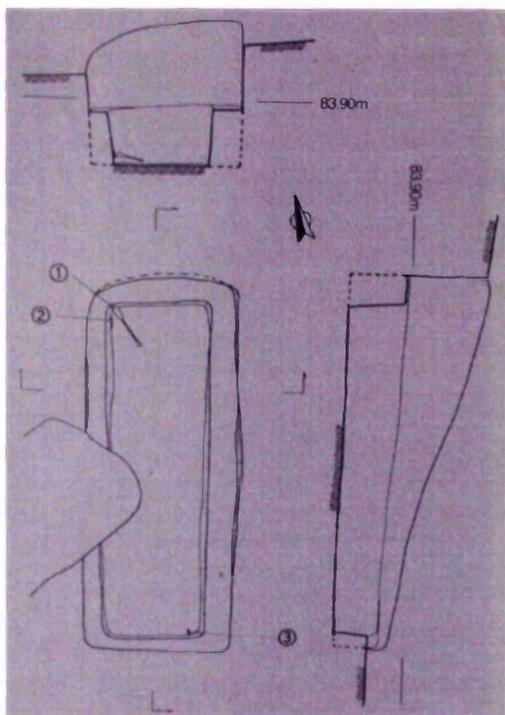
Contents: bronze mirror.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 49.)



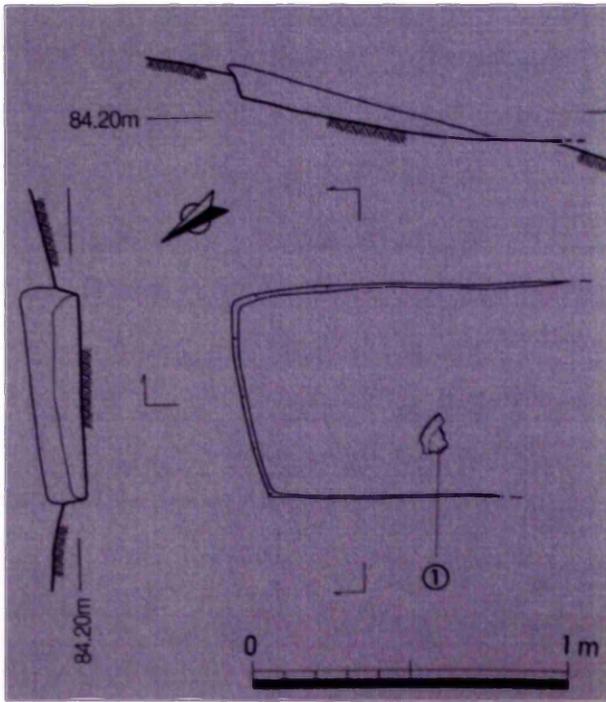
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 20.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon, bronze hairpin.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 51.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 21.

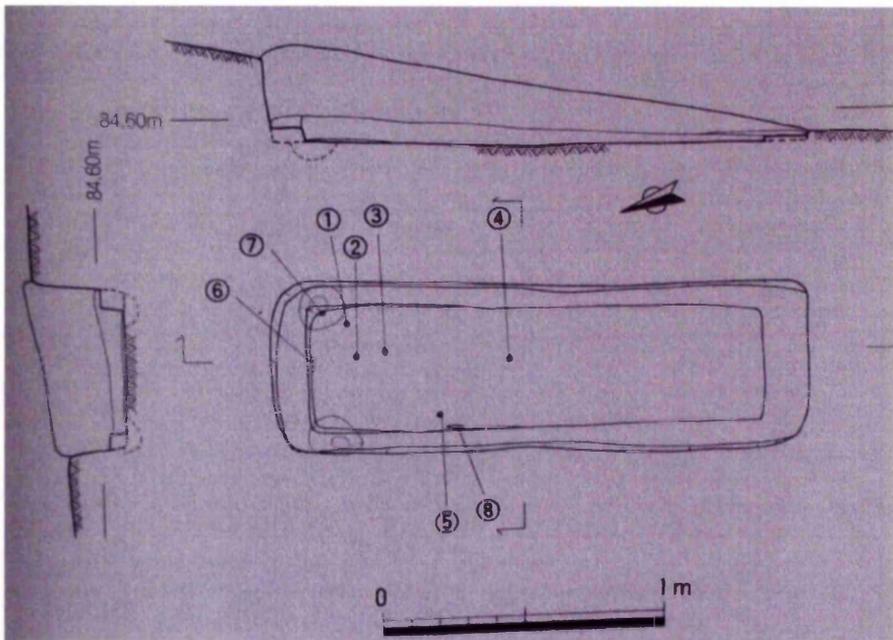
Contents: bronze spoon.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 53.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 23.

Contents: bronze vessel.

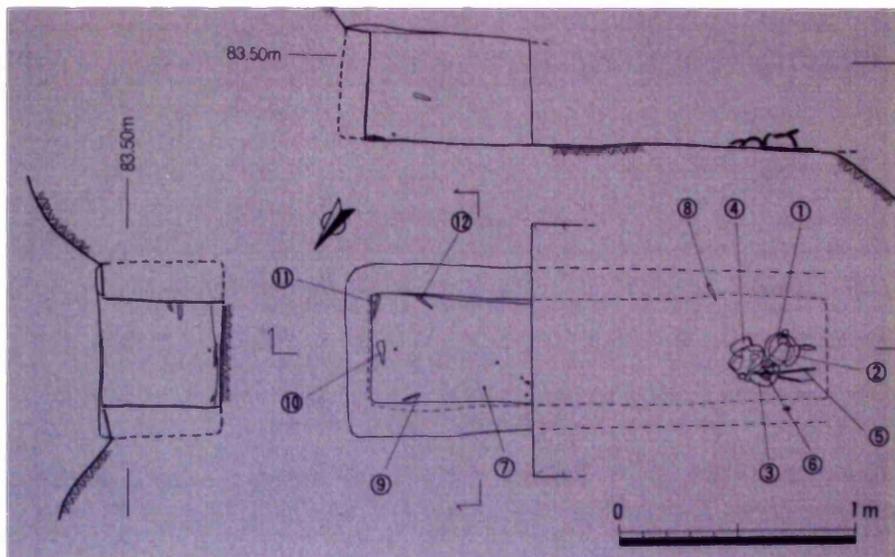
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 56.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 24.

Contents: five bronze coins.

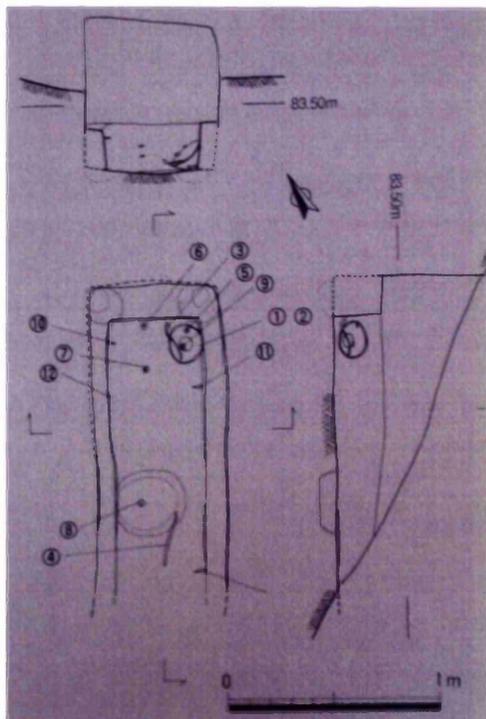
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 57.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 26.

Contents: two white ware ceramics, Koryō punch'ōng ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, iron scissors, nineteen beads of unspecified material.

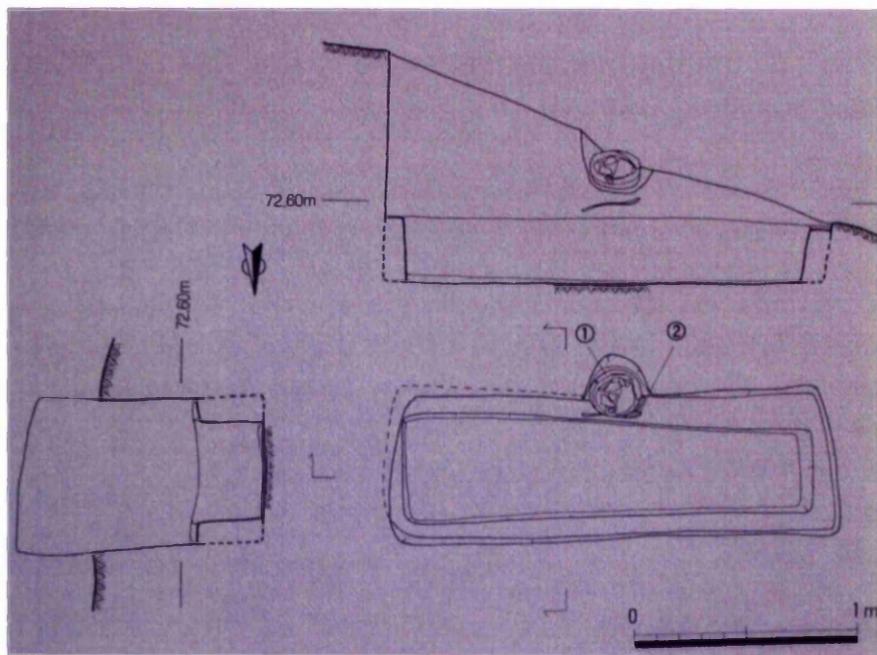
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 59.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 28.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon, bronze knife, five bronze coins.

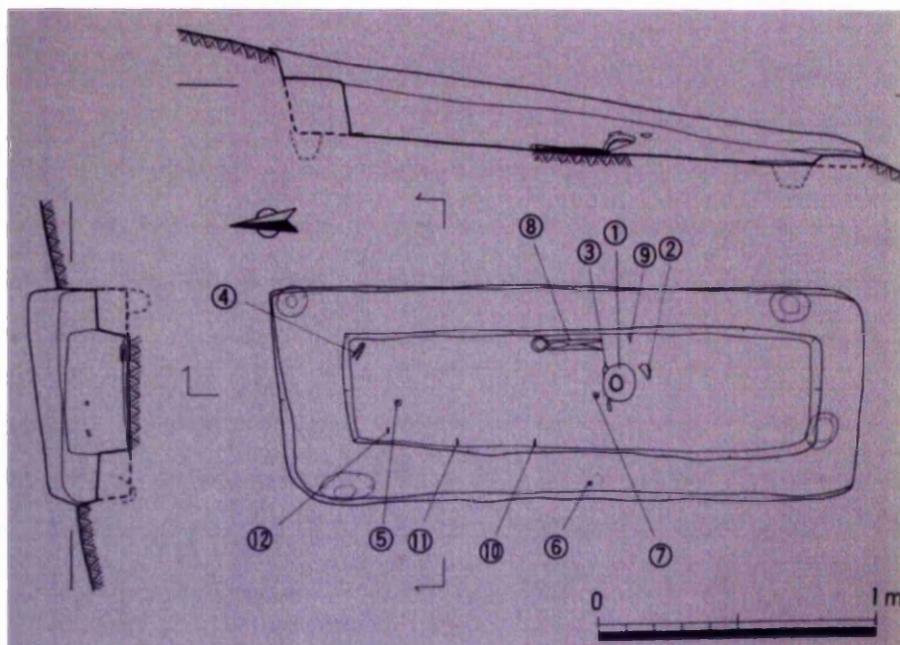
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 66.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 29.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

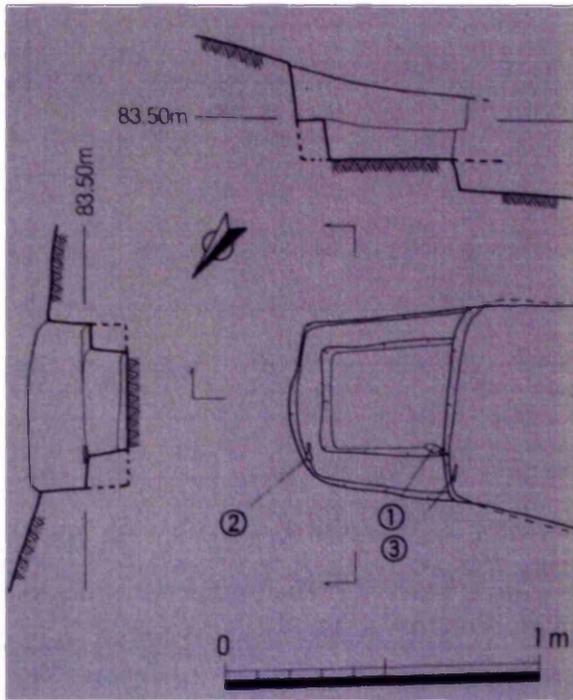
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 69.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 30.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin, three bronze coins.

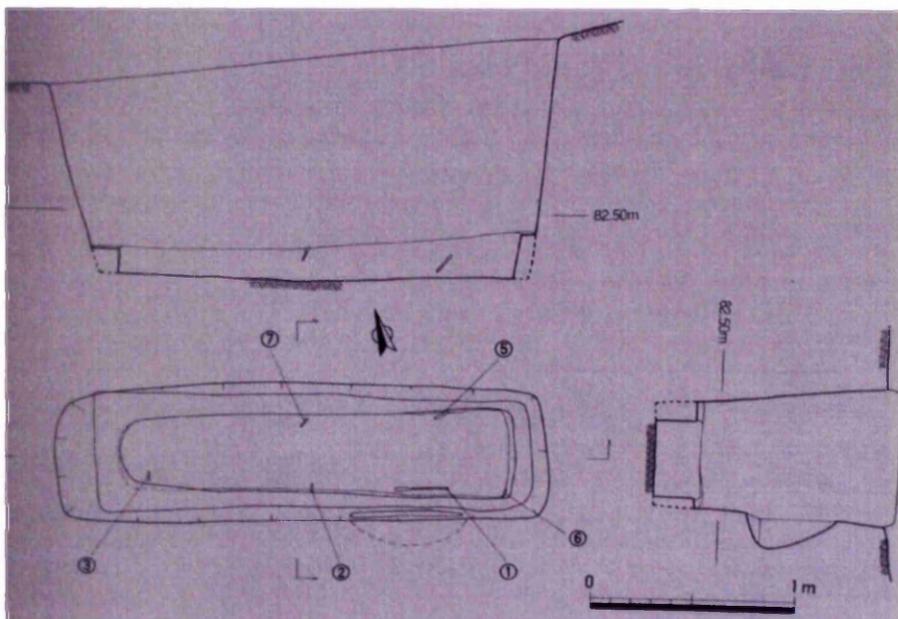
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 71.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 34.

Contents: bronze spoon.

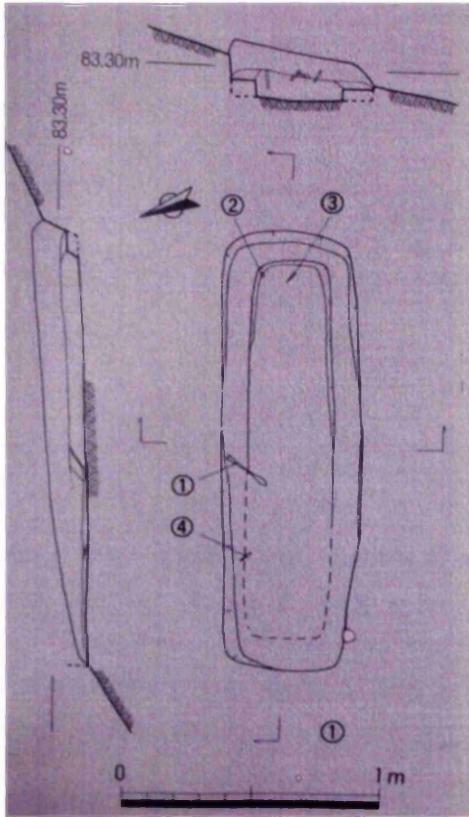
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 77.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 35.

Contents: bronze spoon.

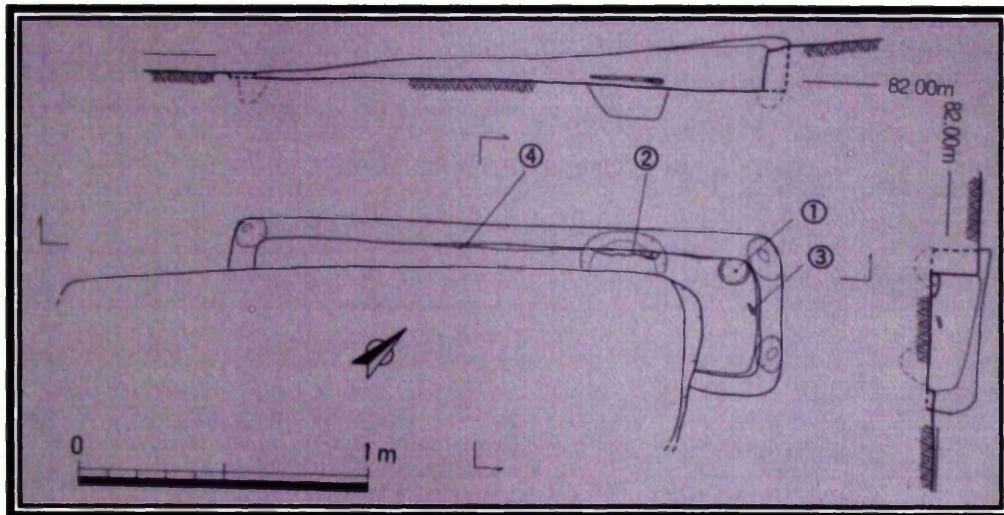
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 79.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 36.

Contents: bronze spoon.

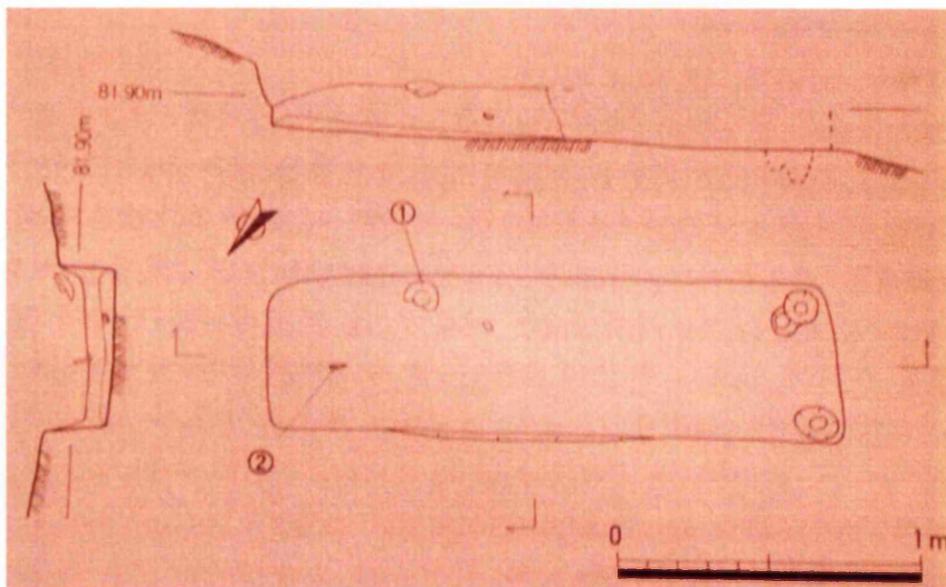
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 81.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 38.

Contents: bronze mirror, iron scissors.

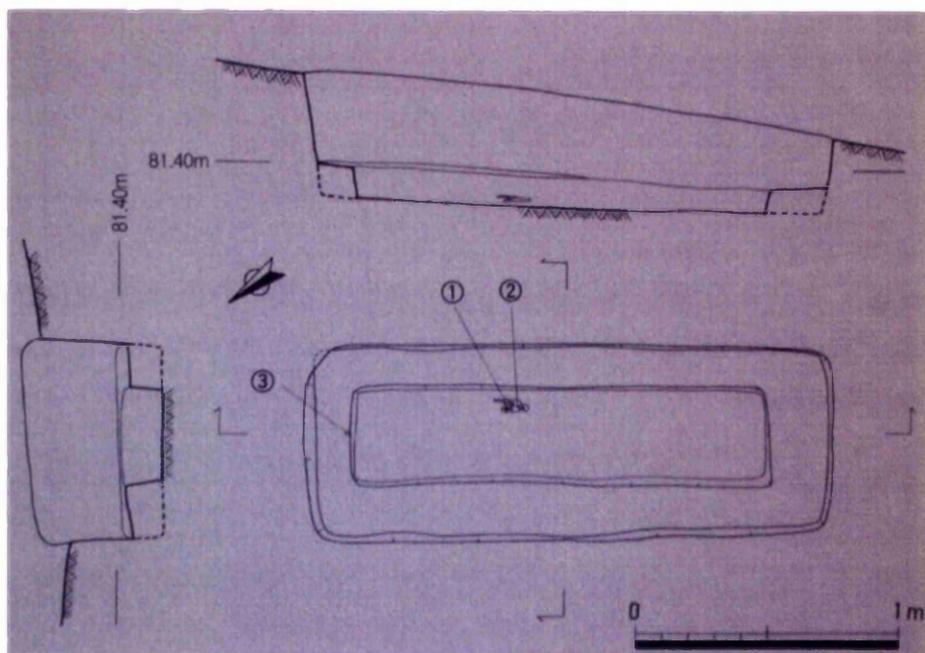
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 84.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 39.

Contents: celadon ceramic, iron fragment.

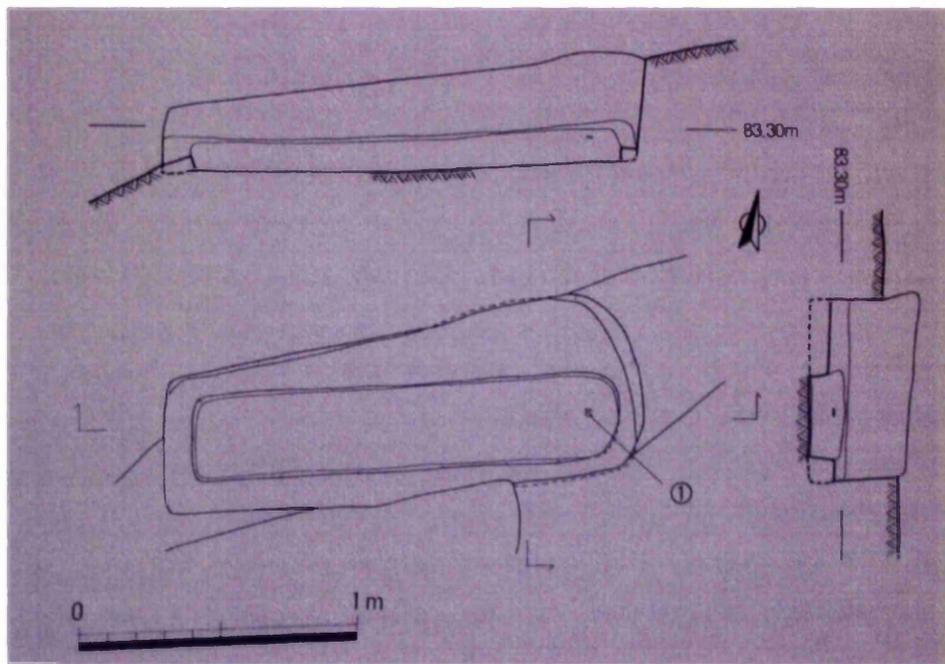
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 85.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 42.

Contents: iron dagger, iron fragment.

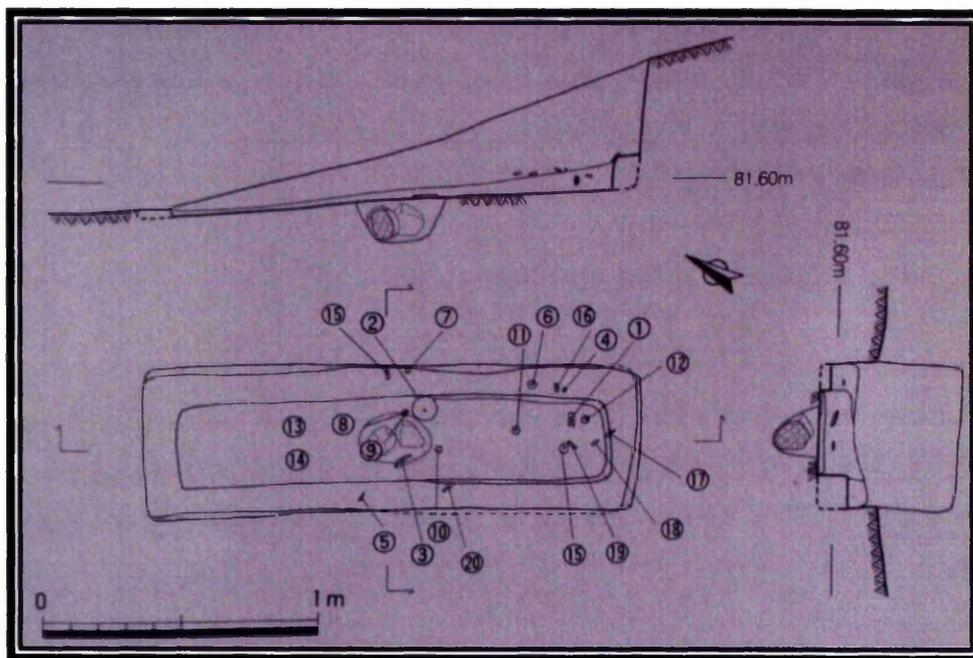
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 89.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 43.

Contents: bronze coin.

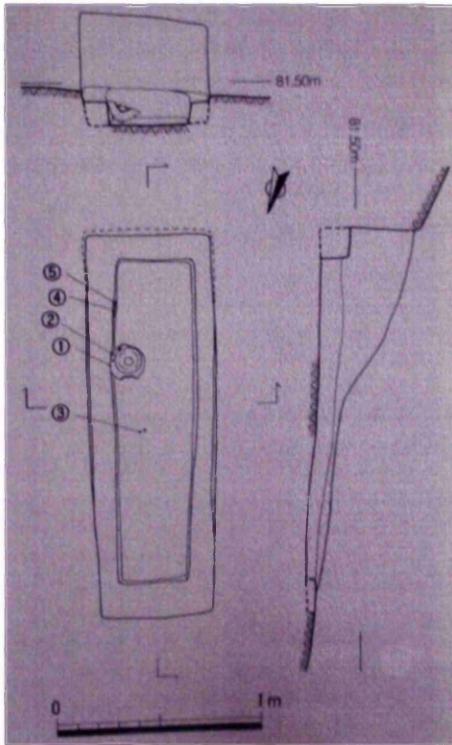
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 91.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 46.

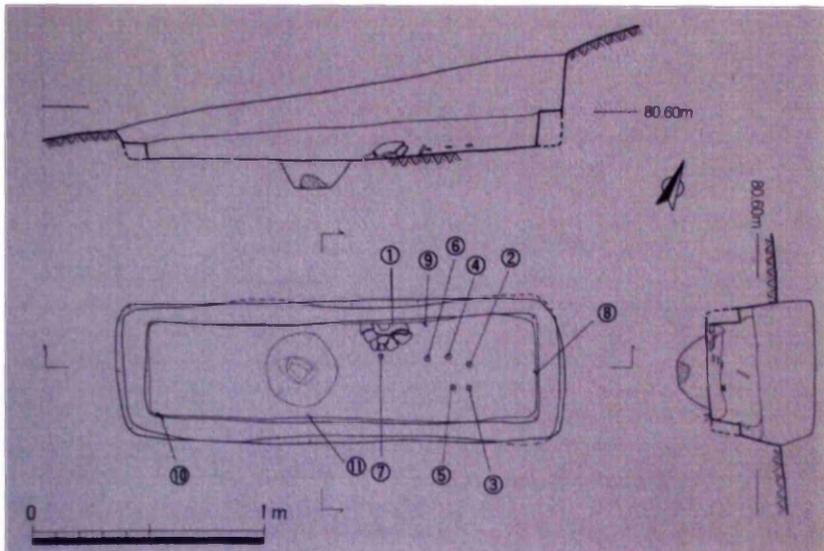
Contents: bronze mirror, bronze hairpin, wooden comb, bronze fragment, ten bronze coins.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 95.)



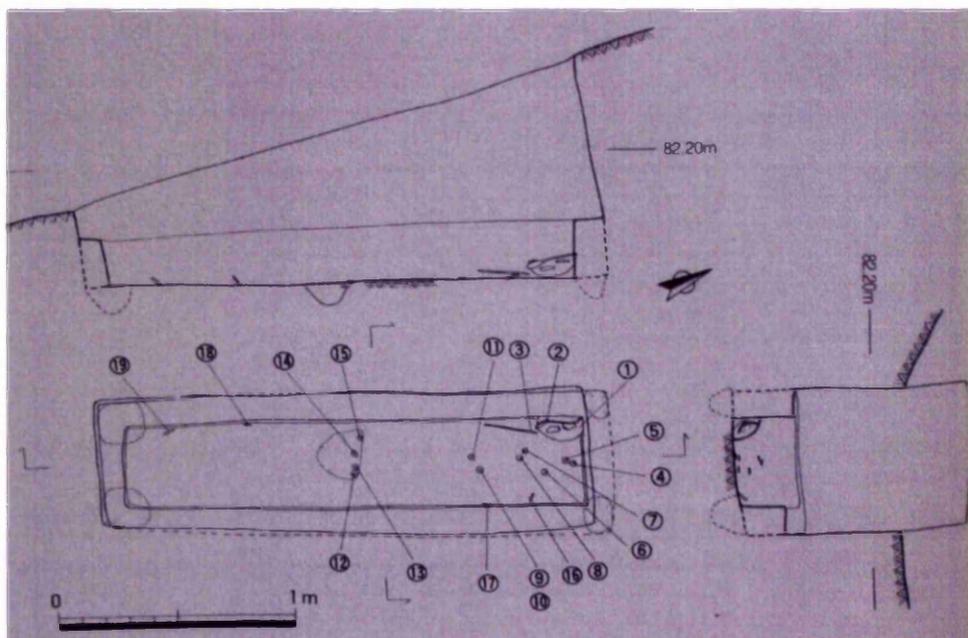
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 47.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, two beads of unspecified material.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 99.)



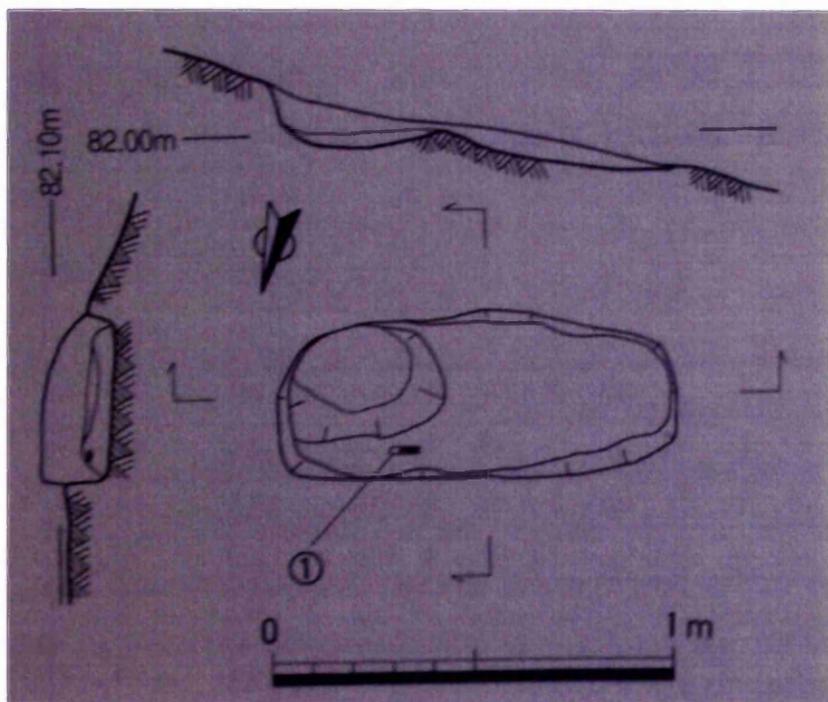
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 49.

Contents: celadon ceramic, six bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 102.)



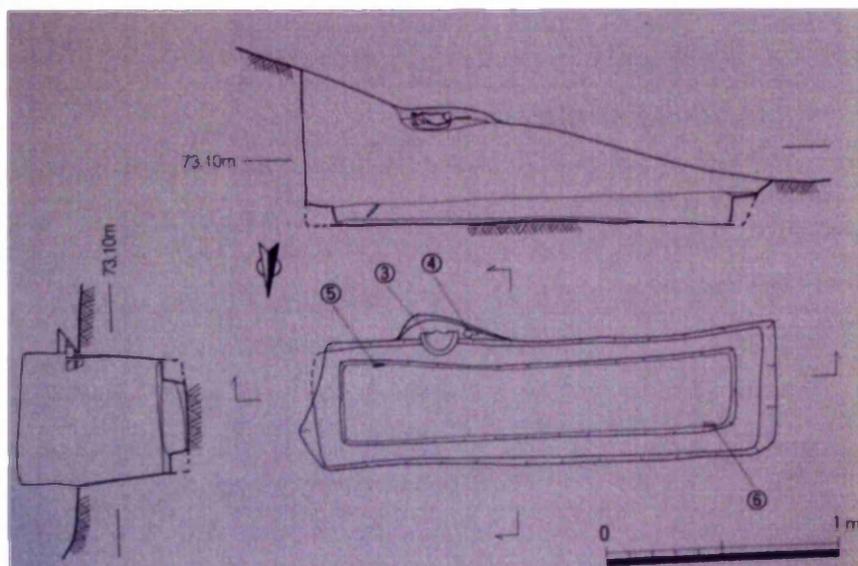
Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 50.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze knife, twelve bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 104.)



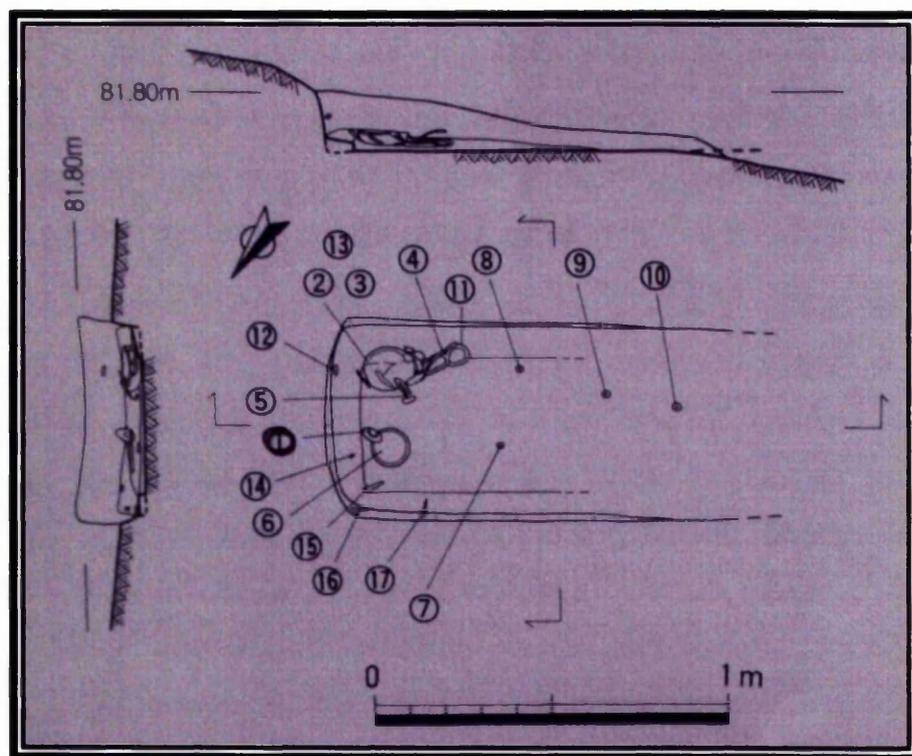
Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 51.

Contents: bronze hairpin.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 108.)



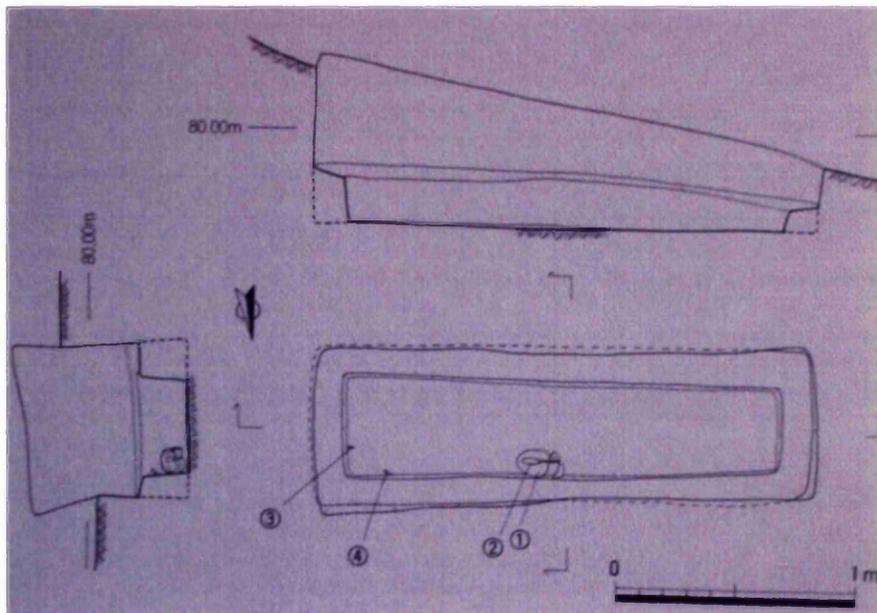
Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 52.

Contents: two white ware ceramics, bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 109.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 55.

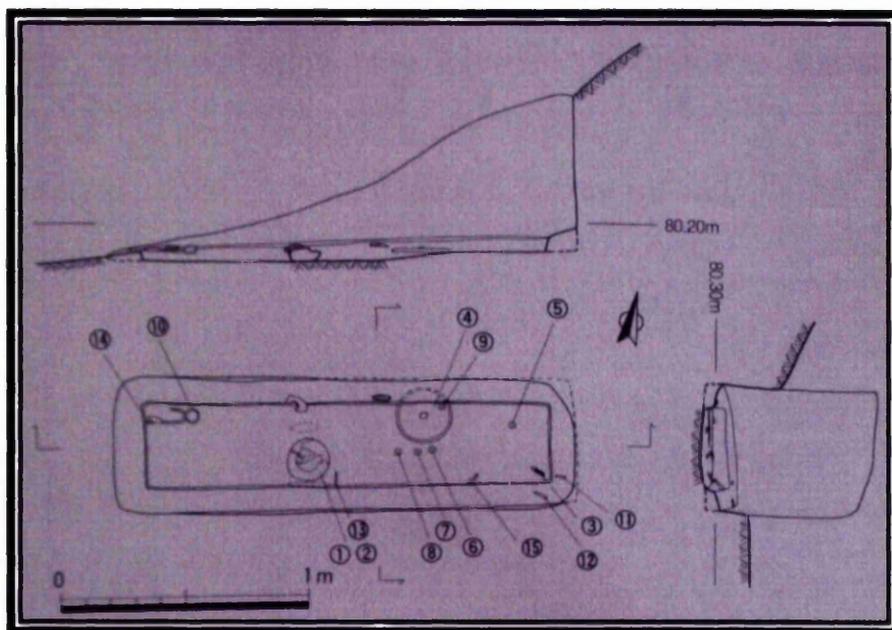
Contents: bronze mirror, celadon ceramic, two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin, four bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 114.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 56.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

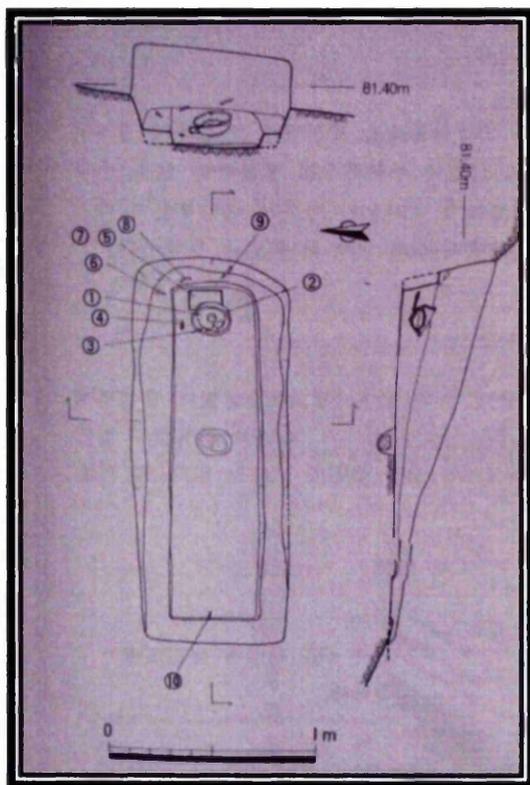
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 118.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 57.

Contents: bronze mirror, two bronze vessels, iron scissors, silver hairpin, five bronze coins.

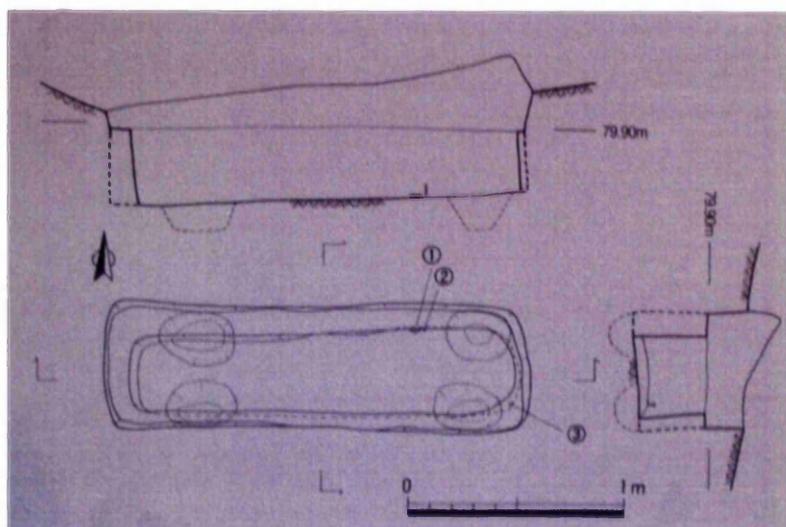
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 120.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 58.

Contents: bronze mirror, celadon ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze hairpin.

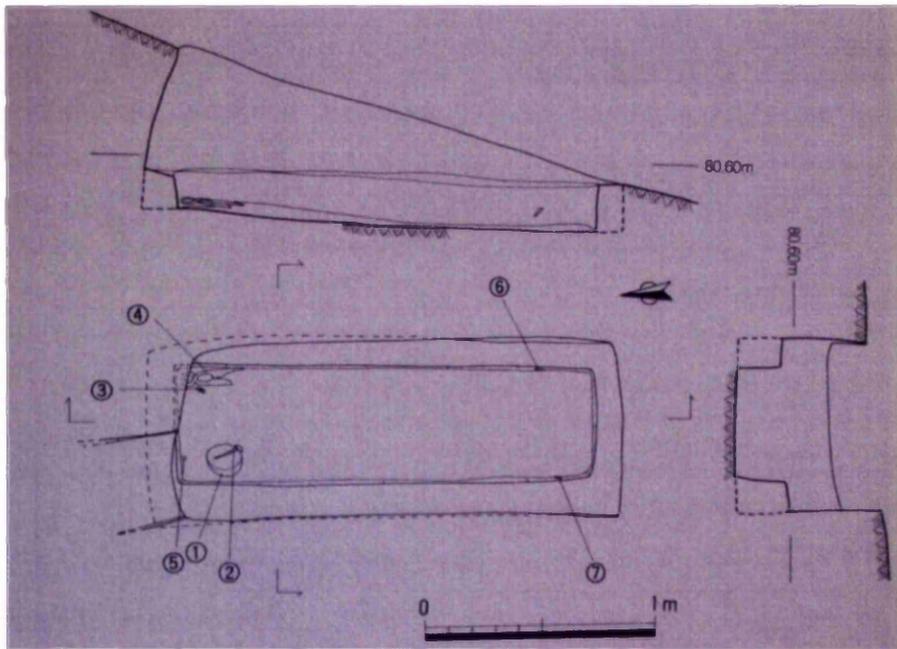
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 125.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 59.

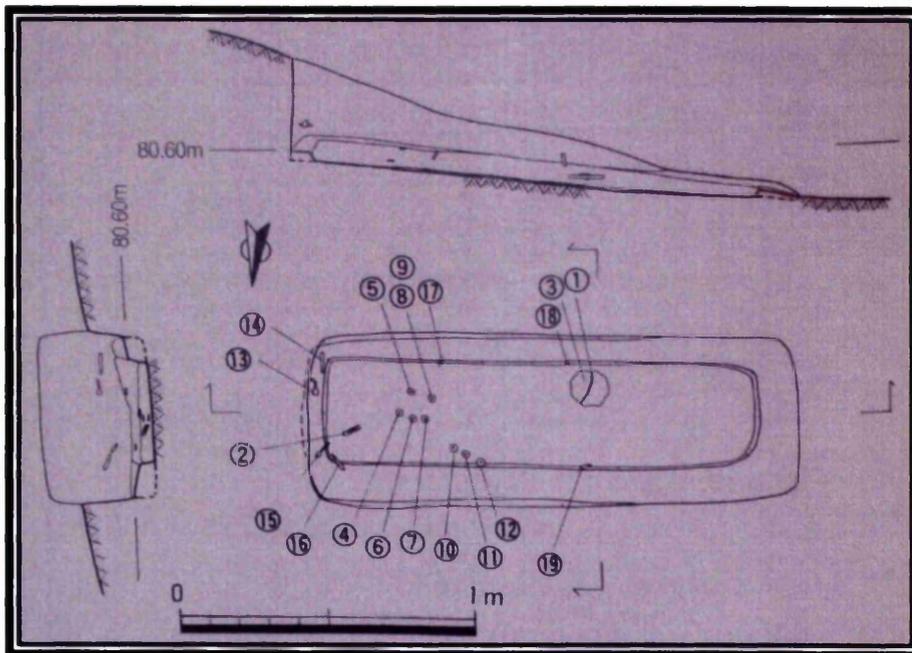
Contents: bronze fragment.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 127.)



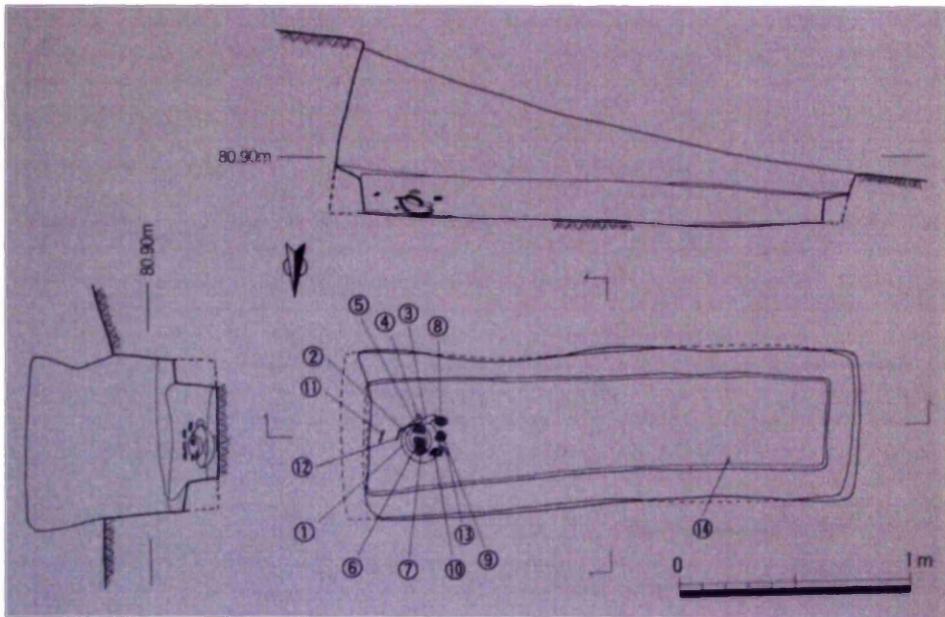
Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 60.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 129.)



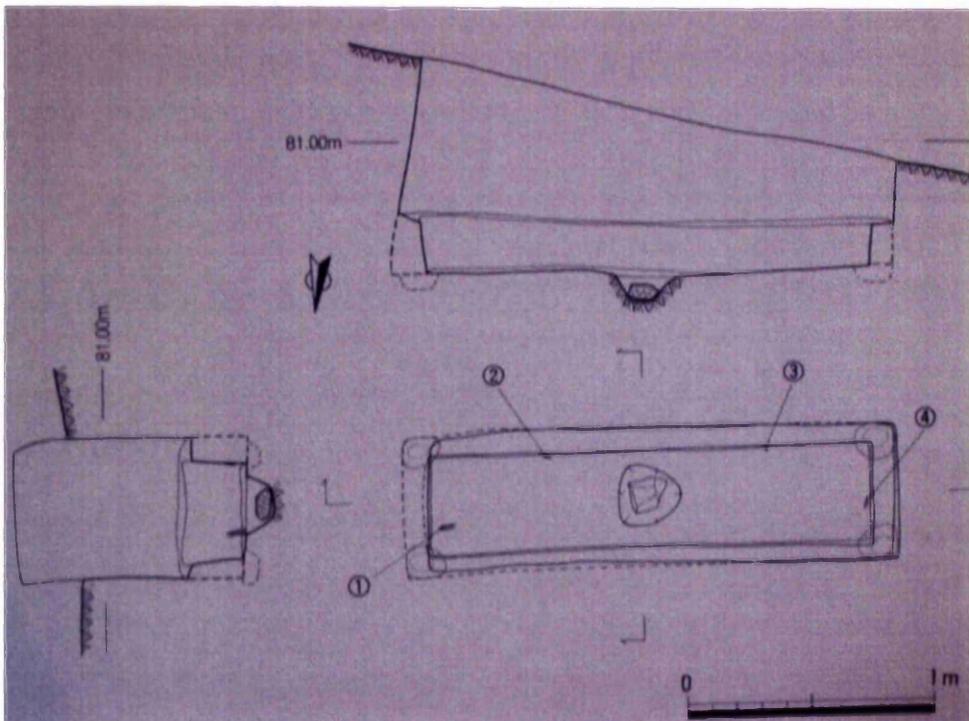
Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 62.

Contents: bronze mirror, bronze spoon, bronze hairpin, nine bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 132.)



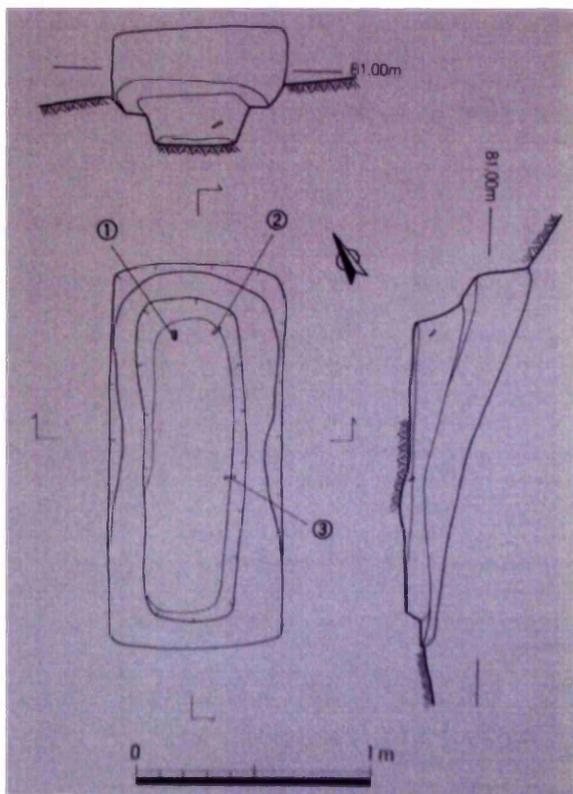
Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 64.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon, seven bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 137.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 65.

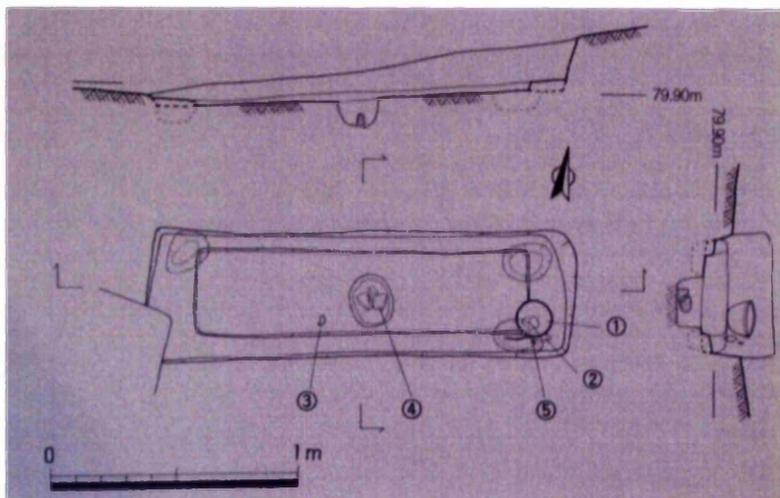
Contents: bronze hairpin.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 141.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 68.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

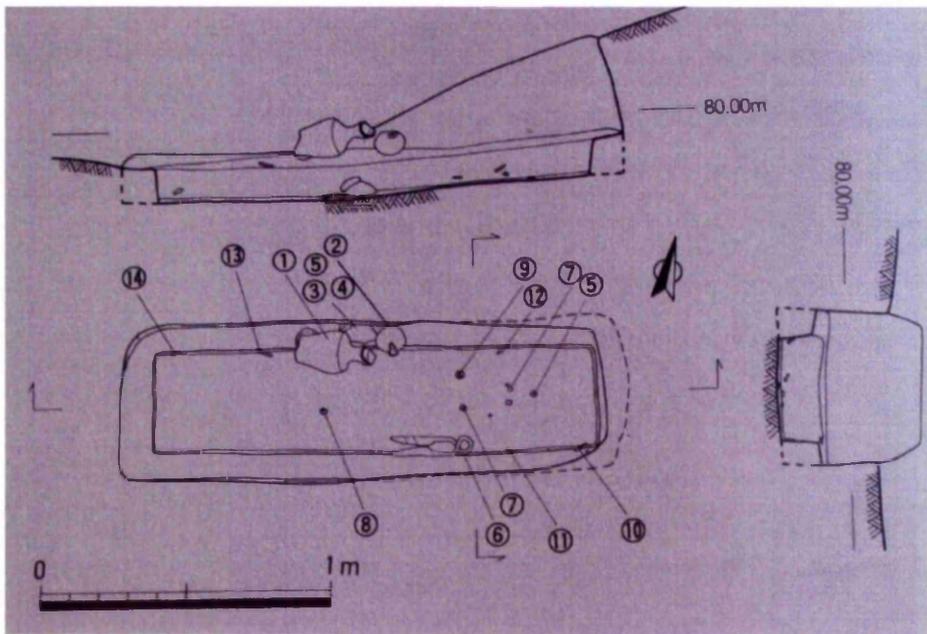
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 144.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 70.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze fragment, iron fragment.

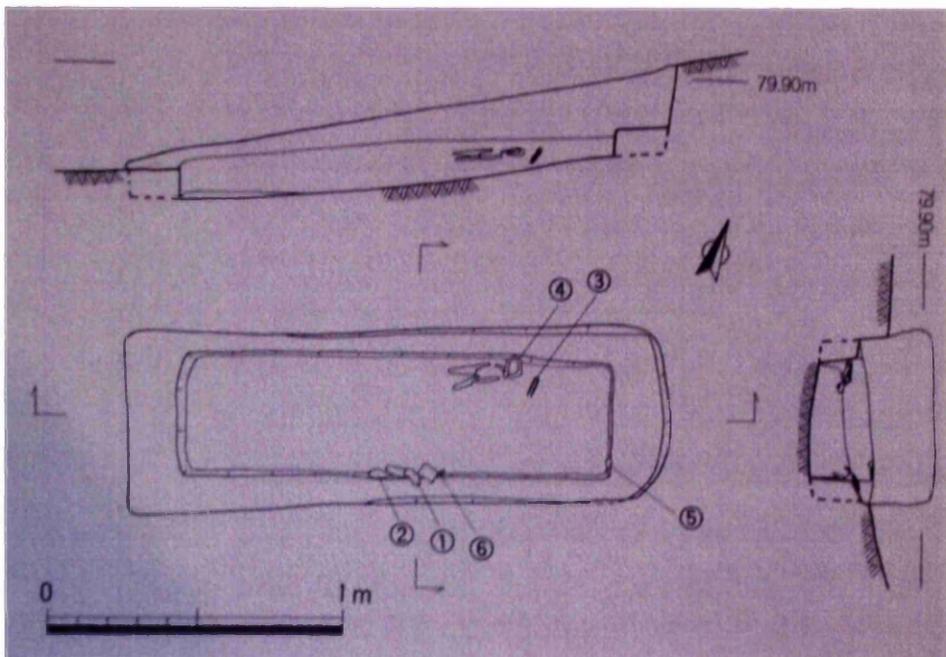
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 147.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 73.

Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron scissors, four beads of unspecified material, five bronze coins.

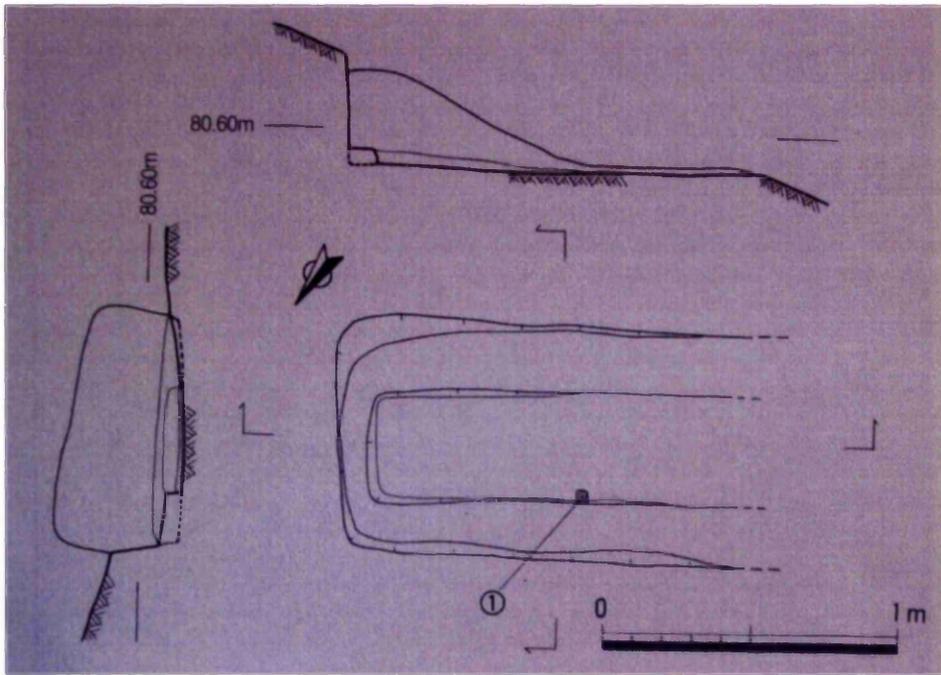
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 152.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 74.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron scissors, silver hairpin.

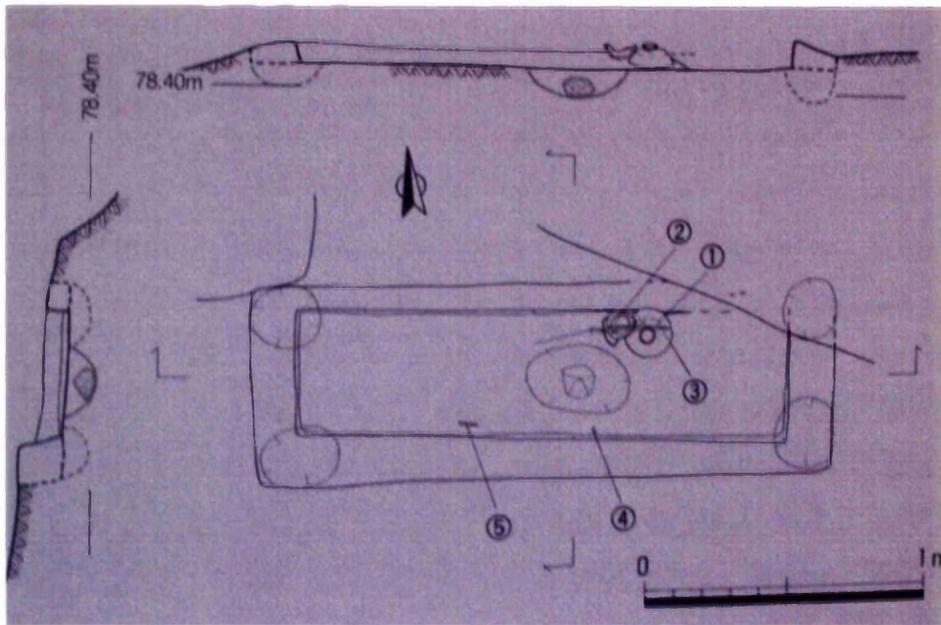
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 157.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 77.

Contents: iron fragment.

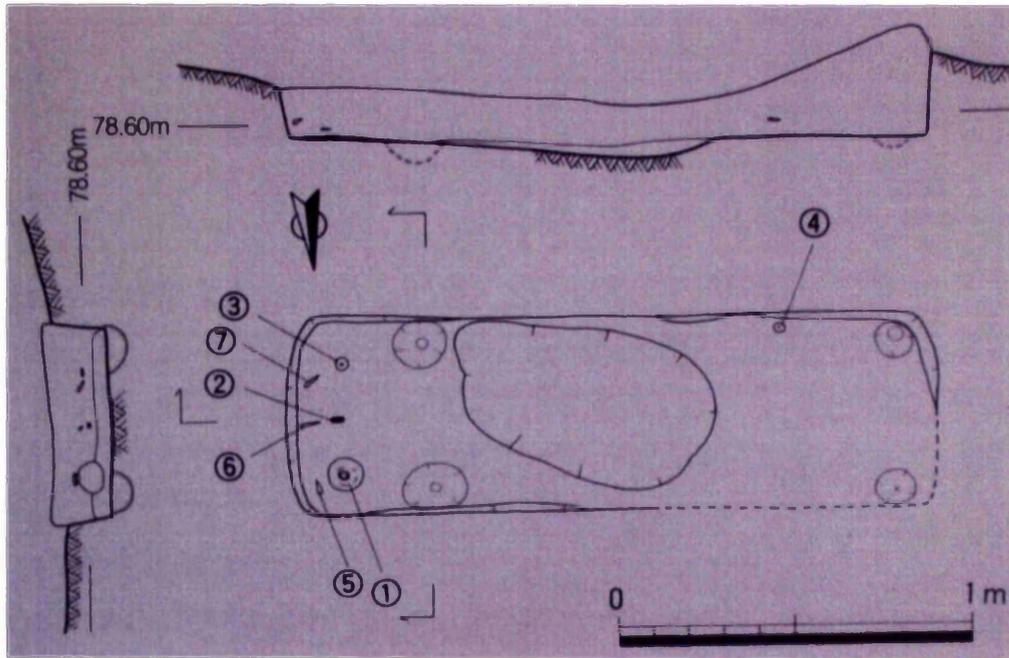
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 162.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 79.

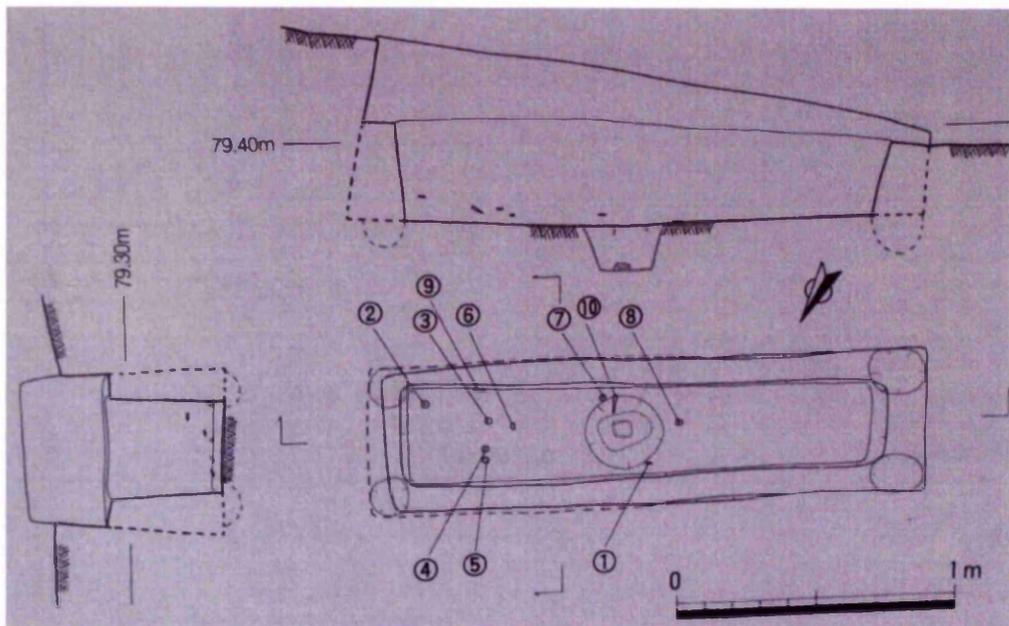
Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 164.)



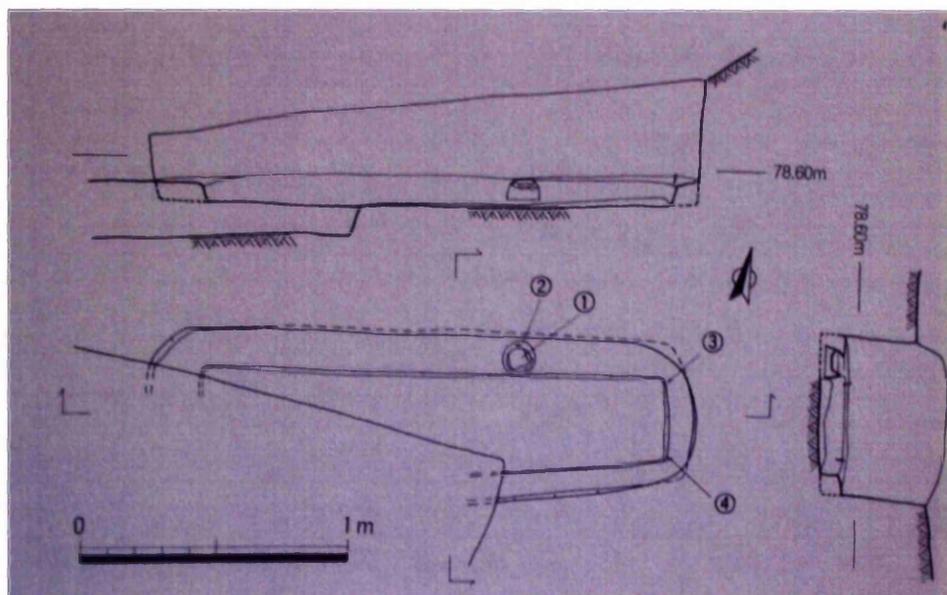
Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 80.

Contents: black ware ceramic, bronze hairpin, two bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 166.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 81.

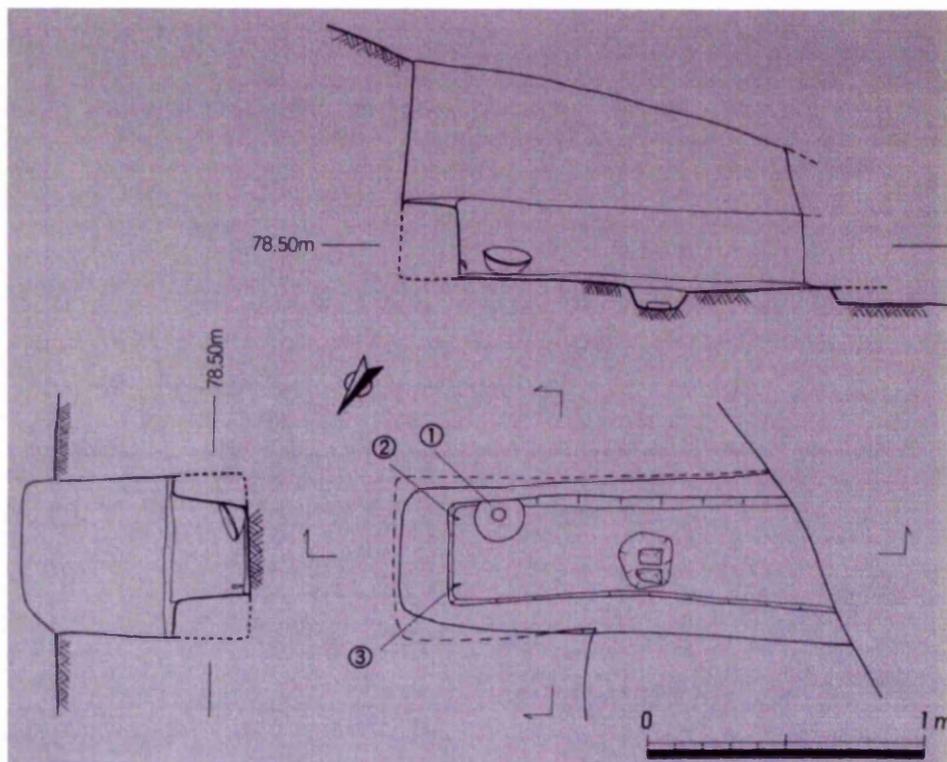
Contents: bronze fragment, seven bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 169.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 82.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze vessel.

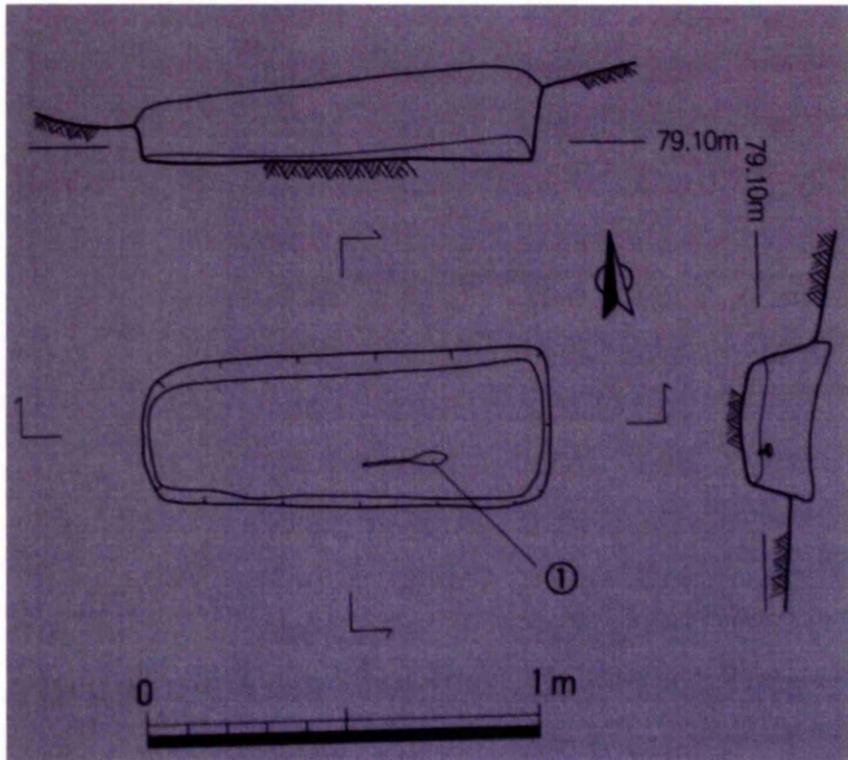
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 171.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 83.

Contents: celadon ceramic.

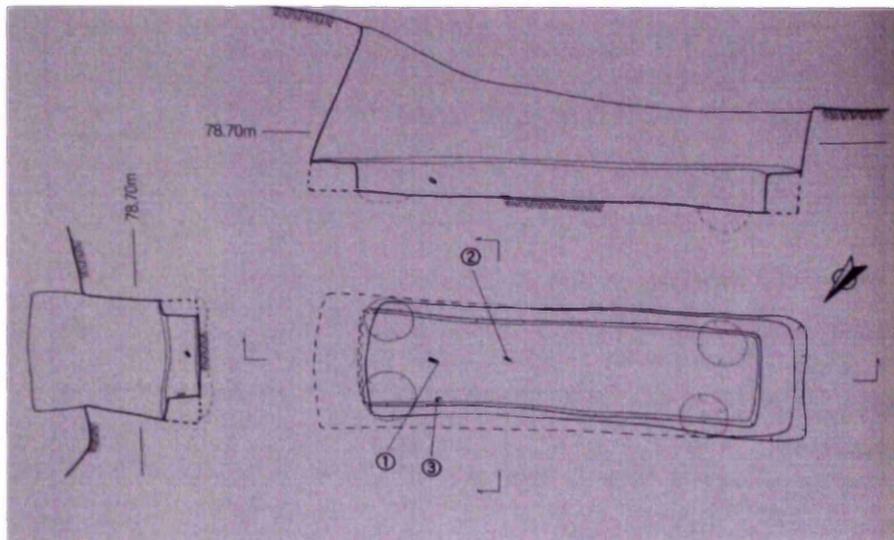
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 173.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 84.

Contents: bronze spoon.

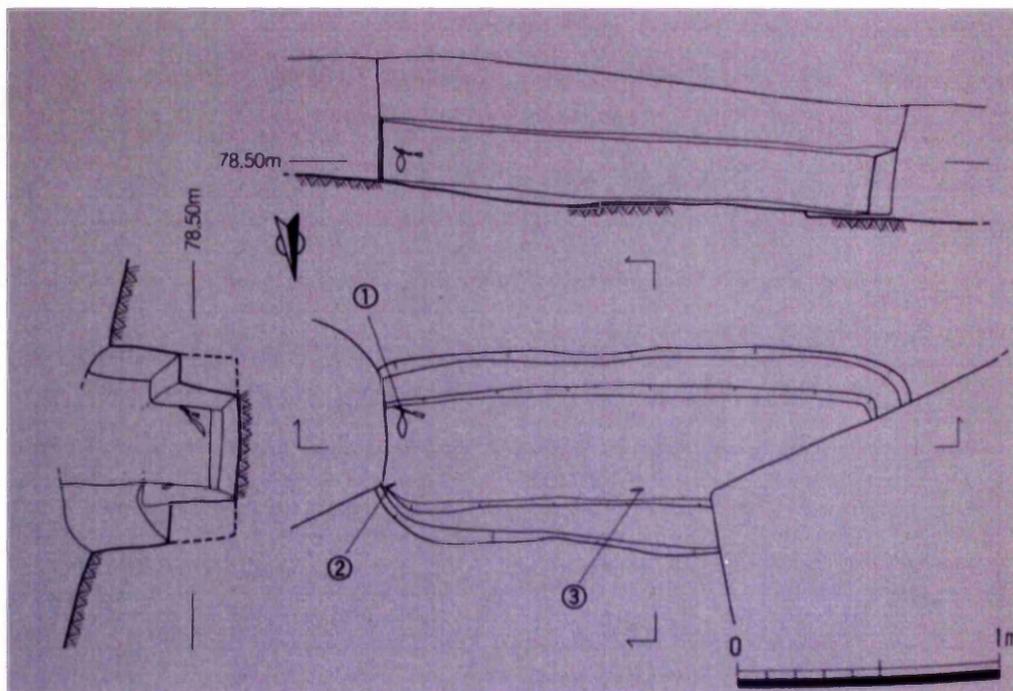
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 174.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 85.

Contents: bronze hairpin, bronze fragment.

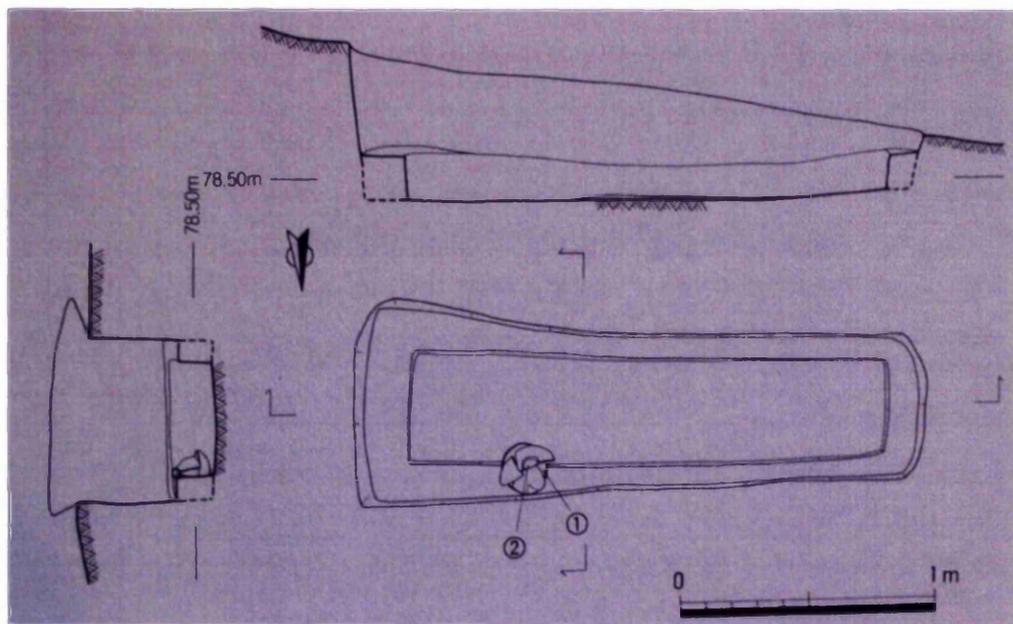
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 176.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 86.

Contents: bronze spoon.

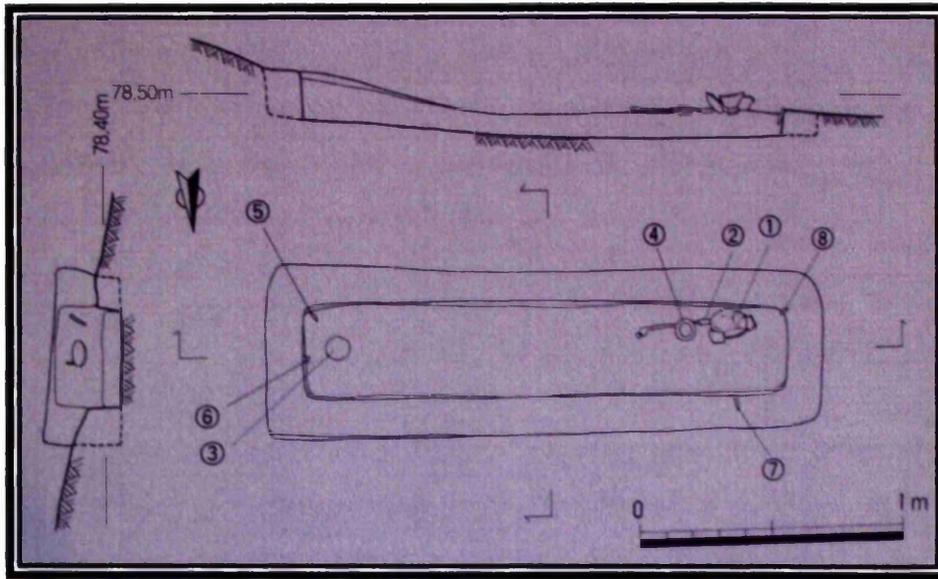
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 178.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 87.

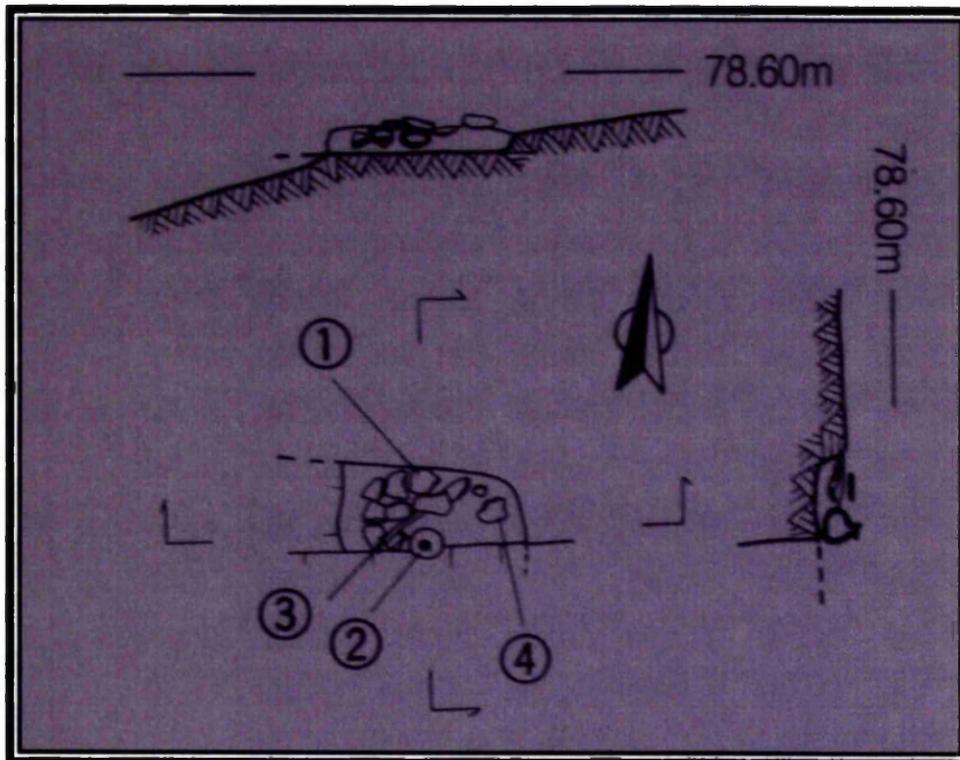
Contents: two celadon ceramics.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 179.)



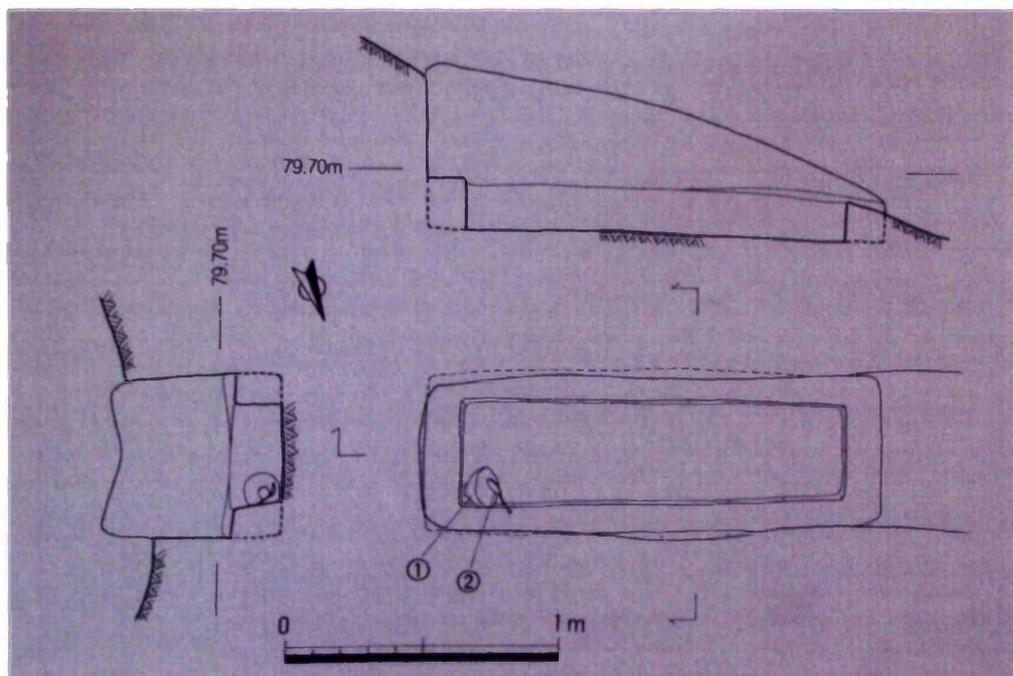
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 89.

Contents: bronze mirror, celadon ceramic, bronze spoon, iron scissors.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 183.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 90.

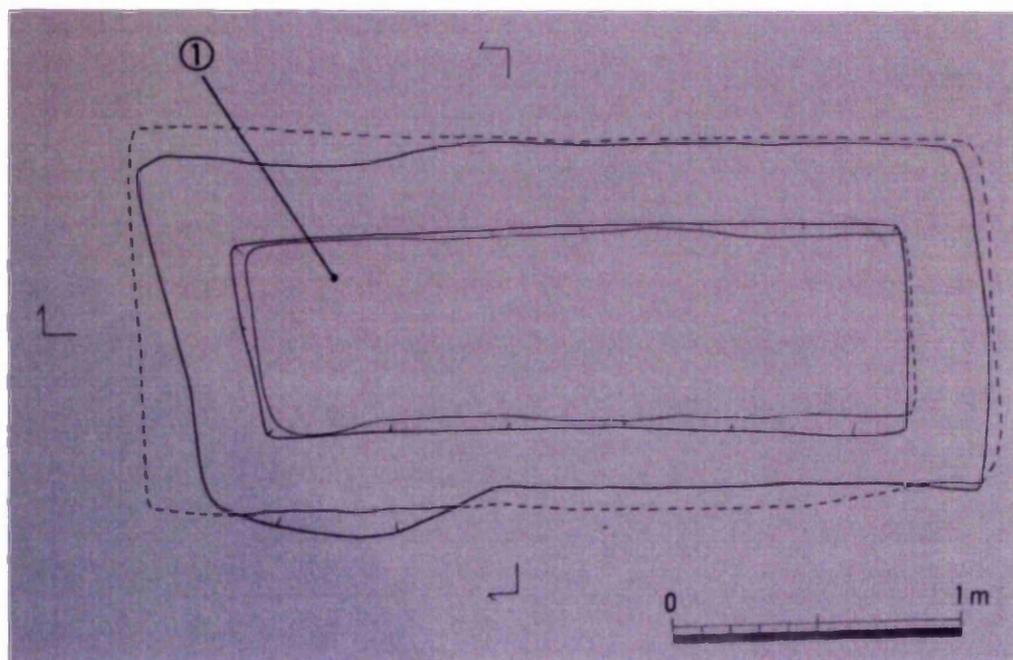
Contents: bronze mirror, two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 185.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 93.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

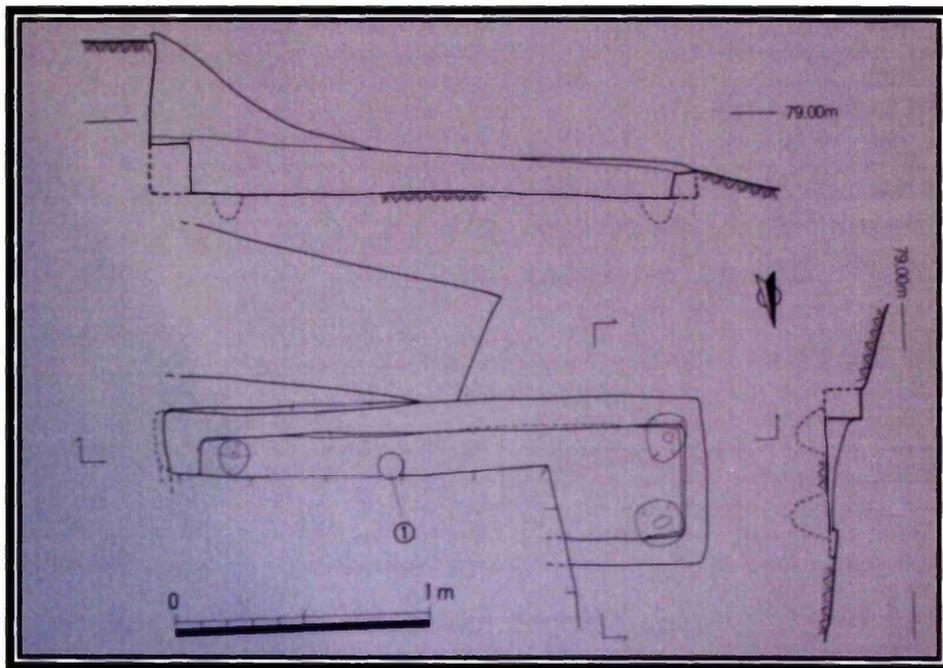
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 192.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 95.

Contents: bronze coin.

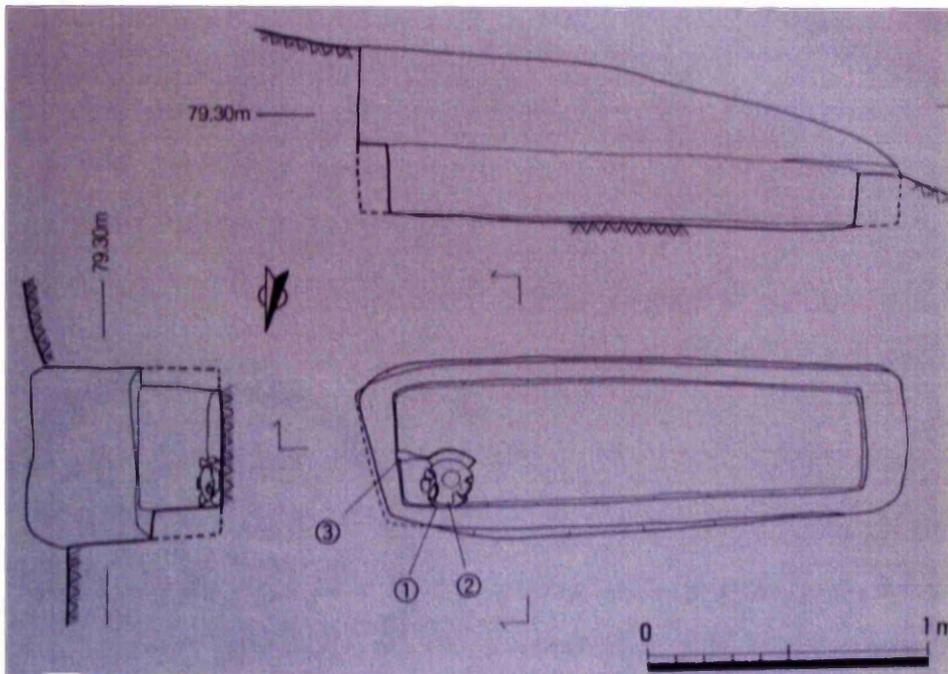
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 195.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 96.

Contents: bronze mirror.

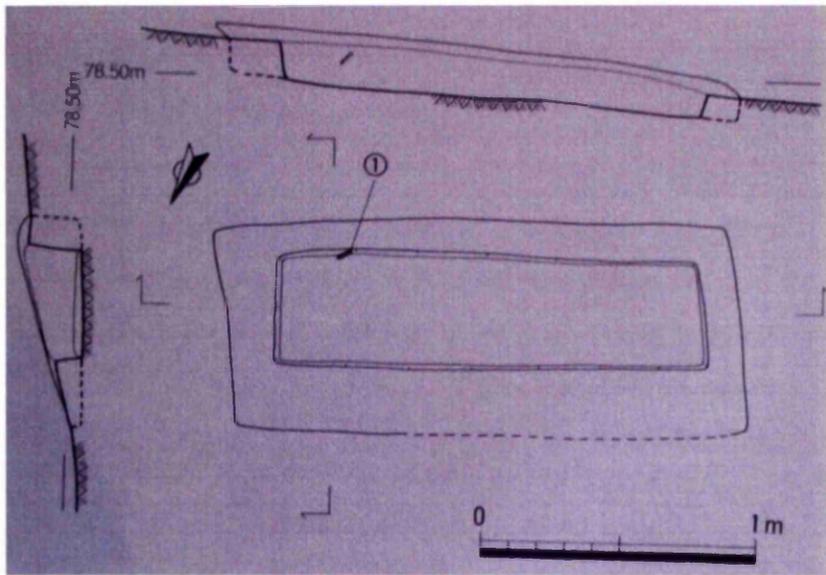
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 197.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 97.

Contents: celadon ceramic, white ware ceramic, bronze spoon.

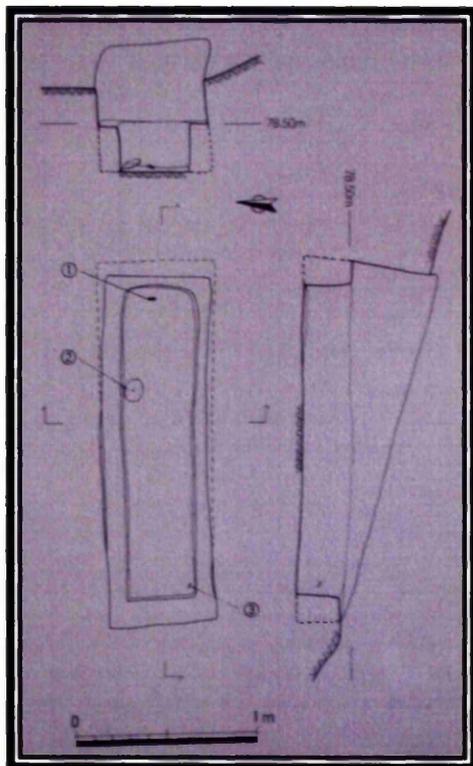
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 198.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 98.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

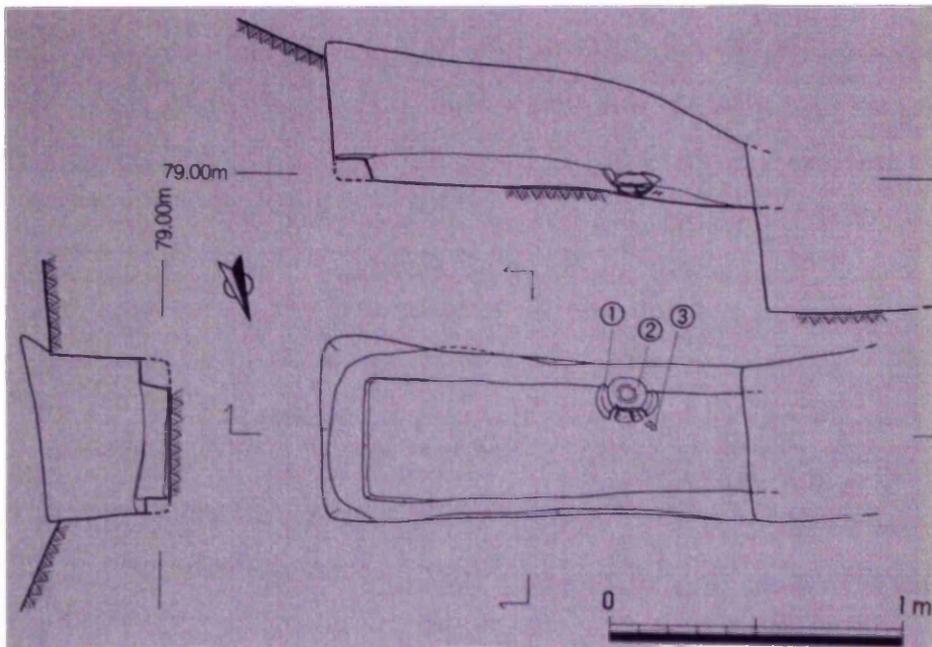
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 199.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 99.

Contents: bronze mirror, bronze hairpin.

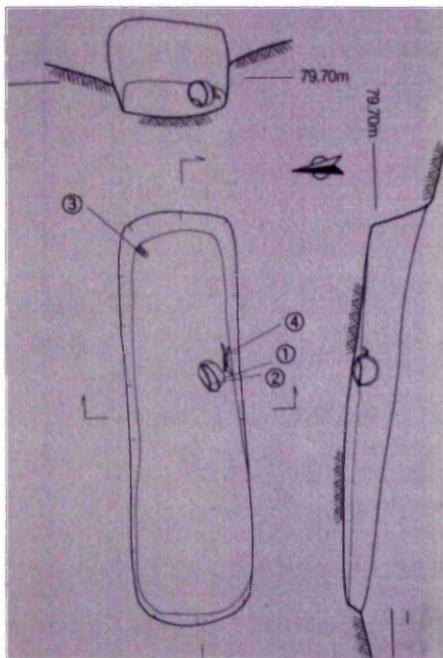
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 202.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 100.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon.

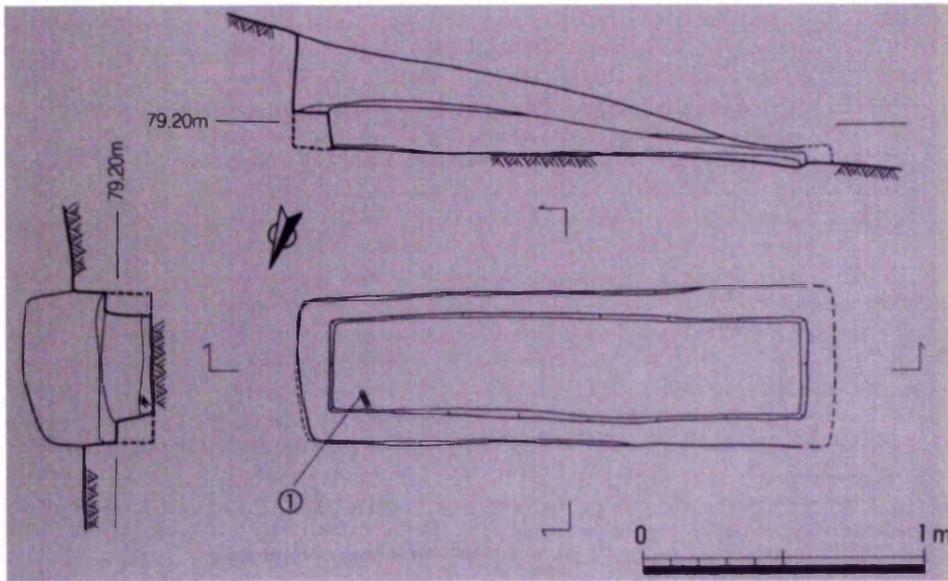
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 204.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 102.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin.

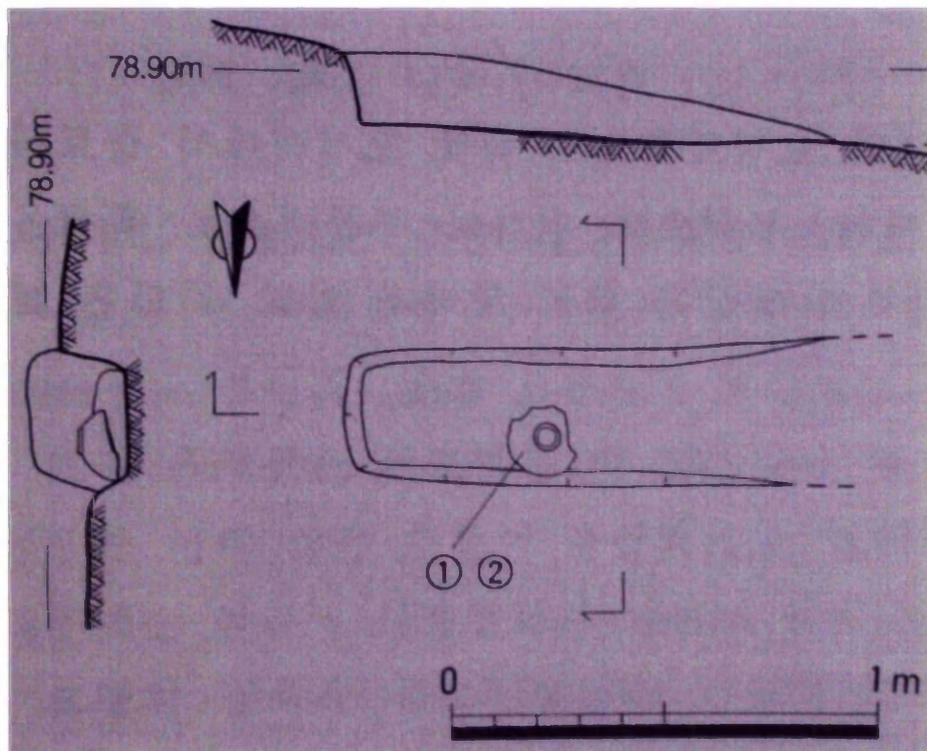
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 207.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 104.

Contents: silver hairpin.

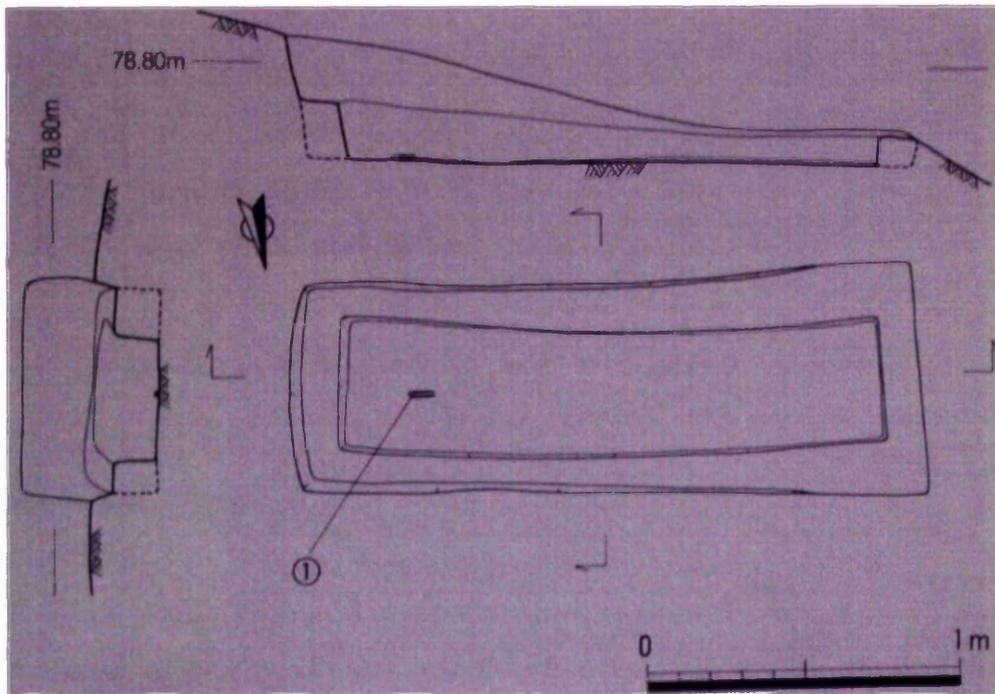
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 210.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 105.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

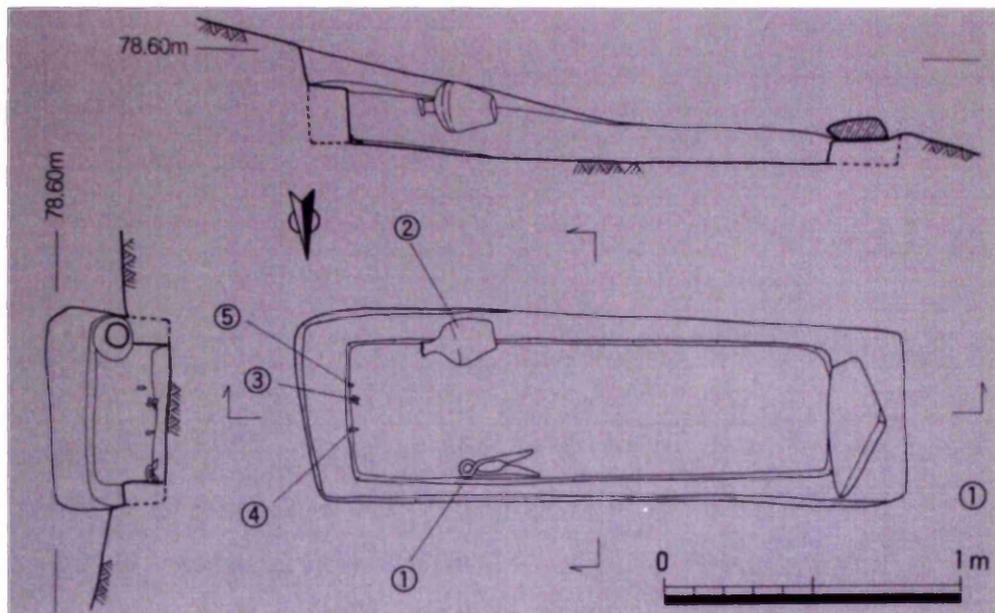
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 212.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 106.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

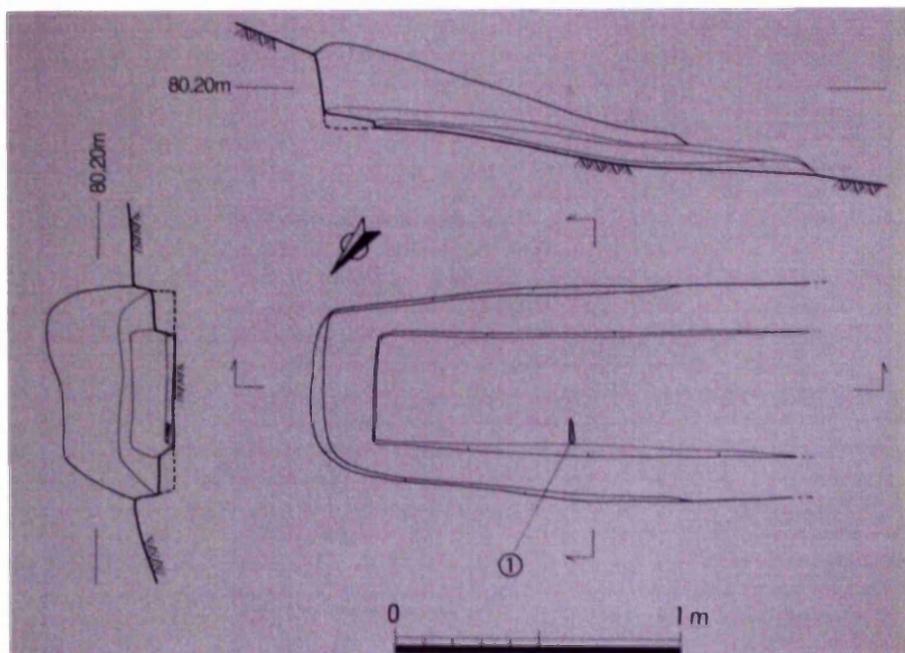
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 213.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 107.

Contents: celadon ceramic, iron scissors.

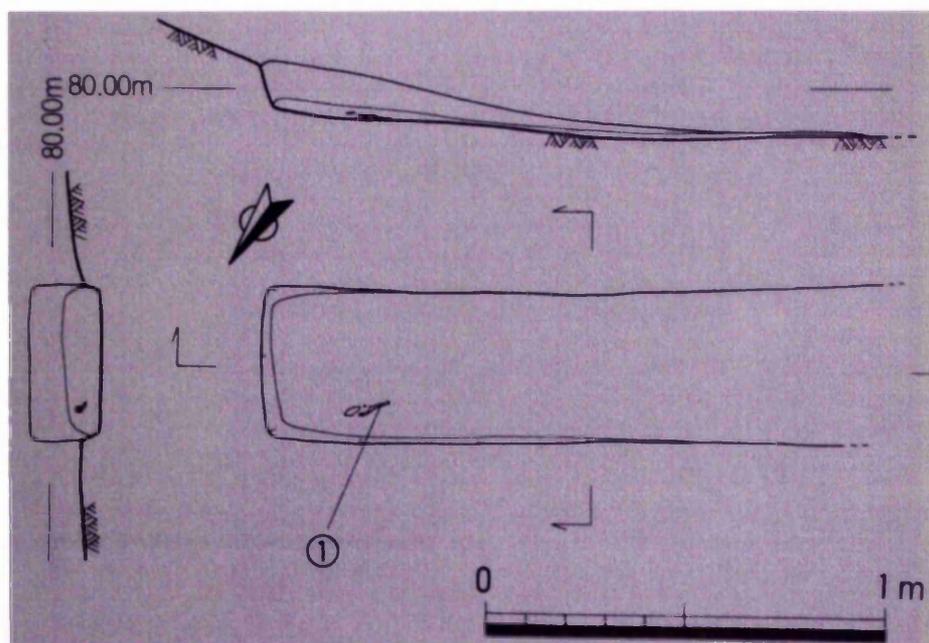
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 215.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 108.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

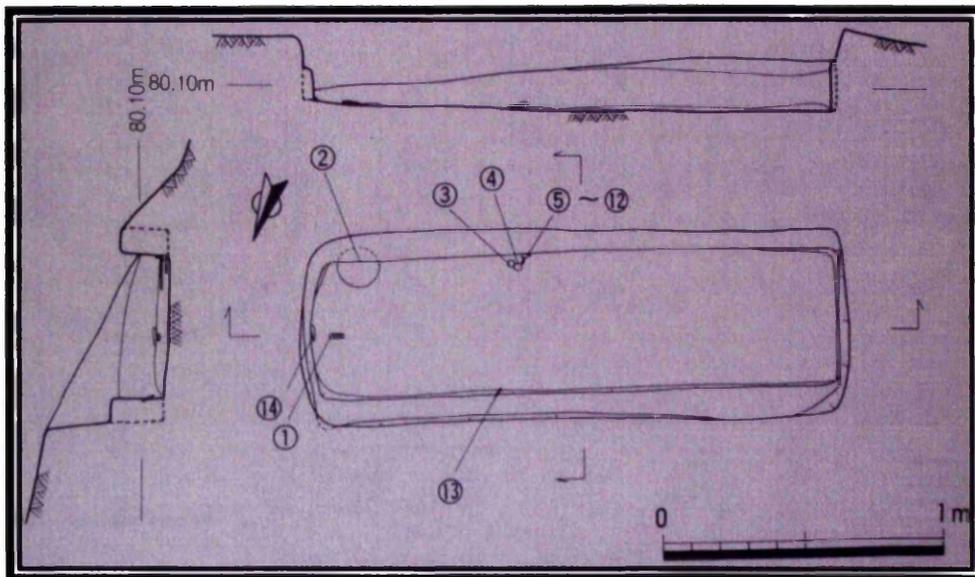
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 216.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 110.

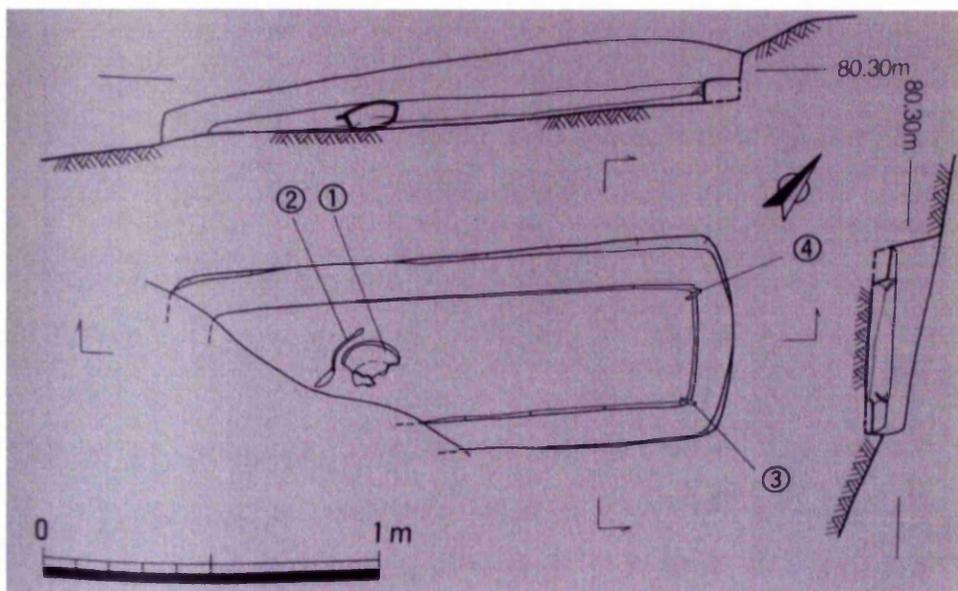
Contents: bronze spoon.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 218.)



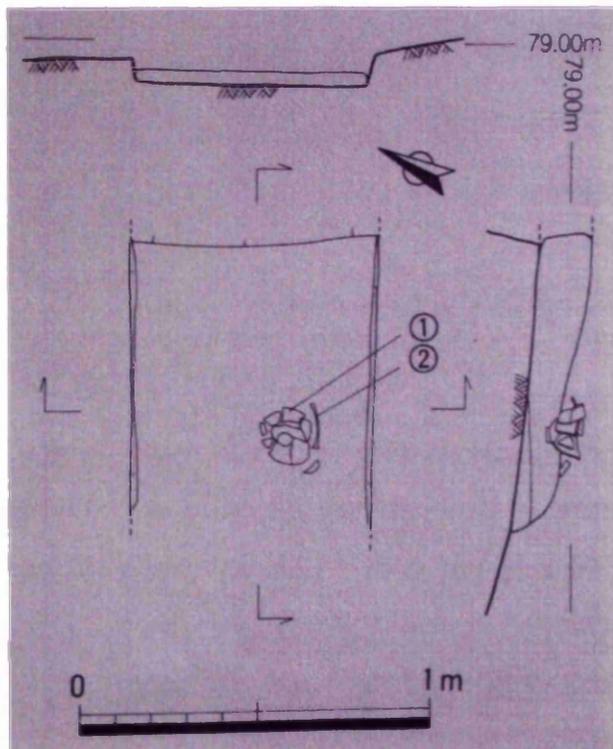
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 111.

Contents: bronze mirror, bronze hairpin, ten bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 219.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 112.

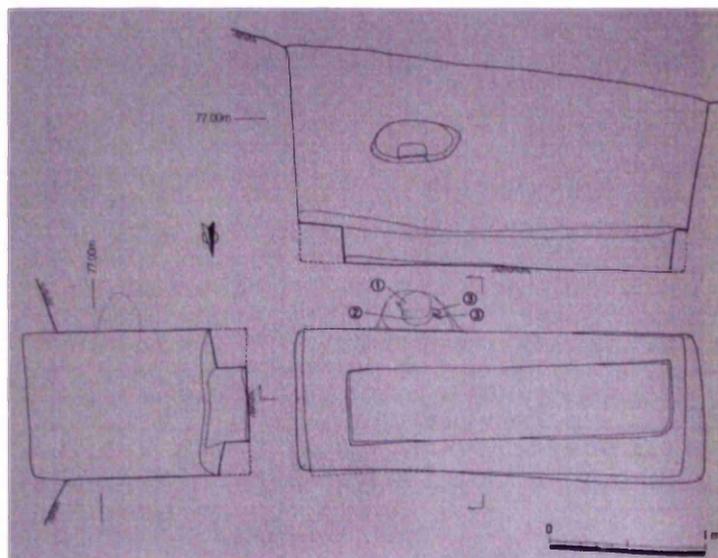
Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 223.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 113.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

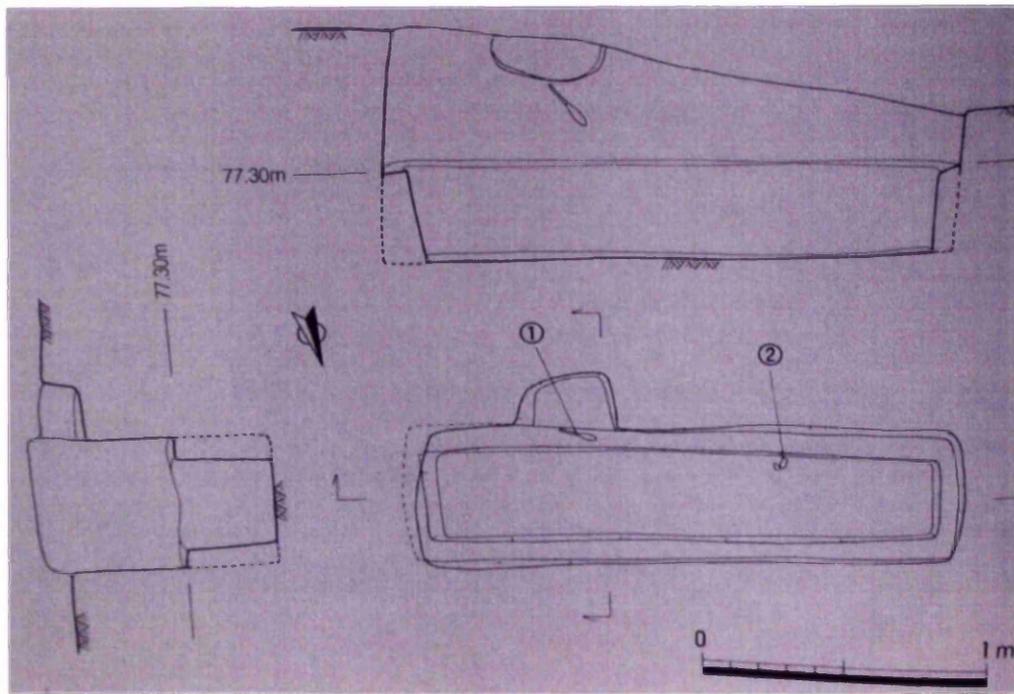
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 224.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 114.

Contents: two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks.

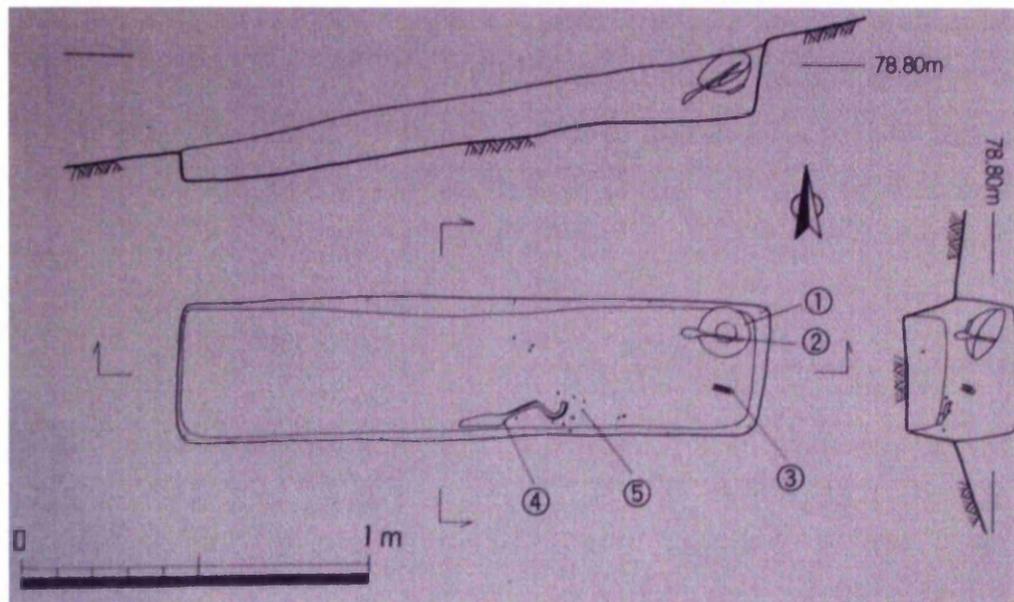
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 226.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 115.

Contents: bronze spoon, iron fragment.

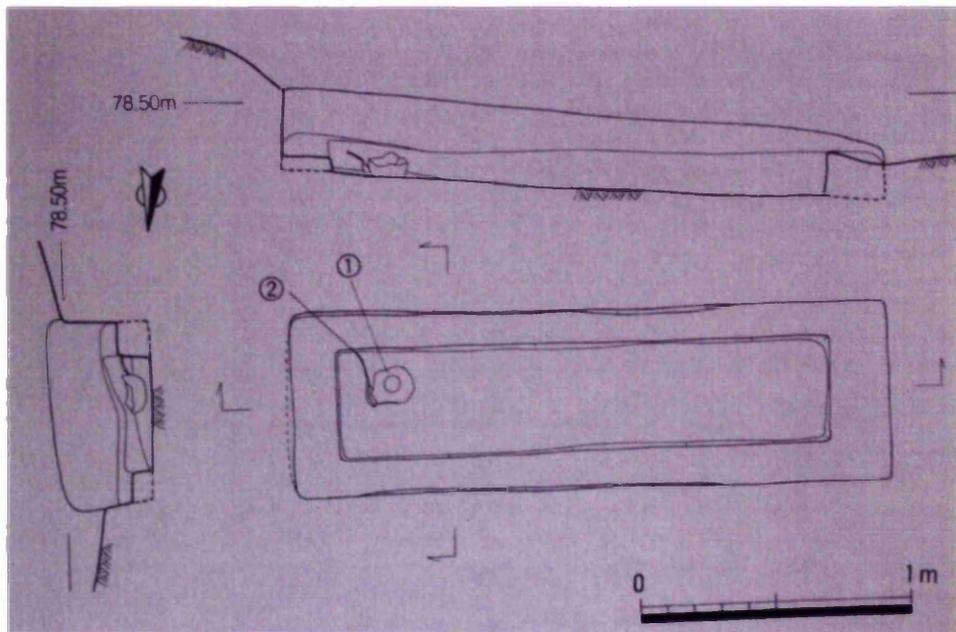
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 228.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 117.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin, twenty one glass beads.

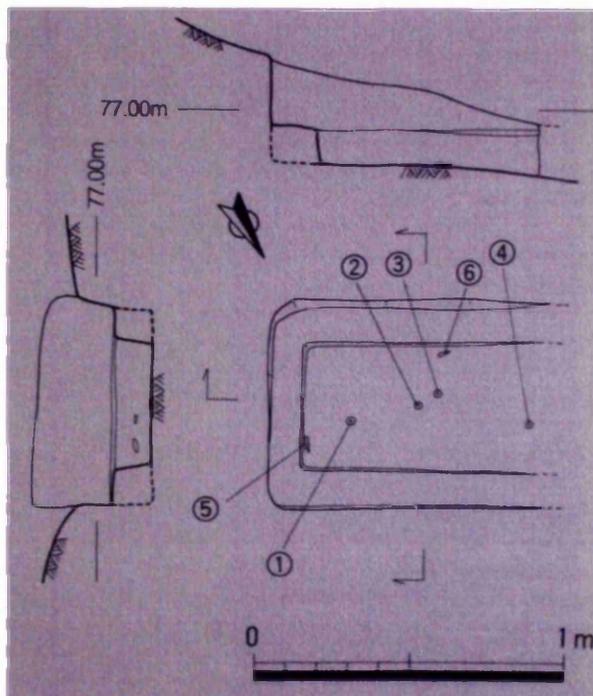
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 231.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 118.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

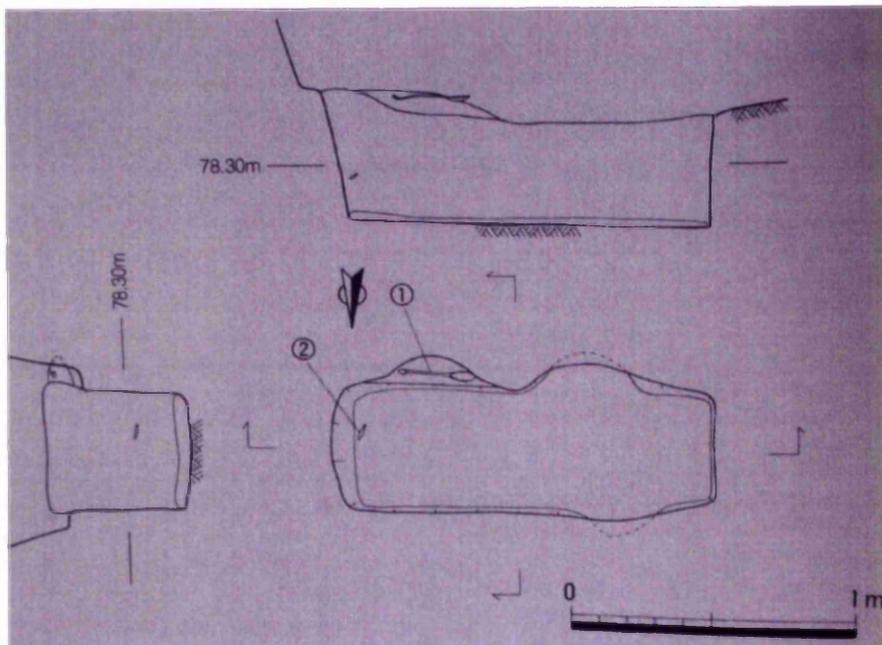
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 233.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-1, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 120.

Contents: four bronze coins.

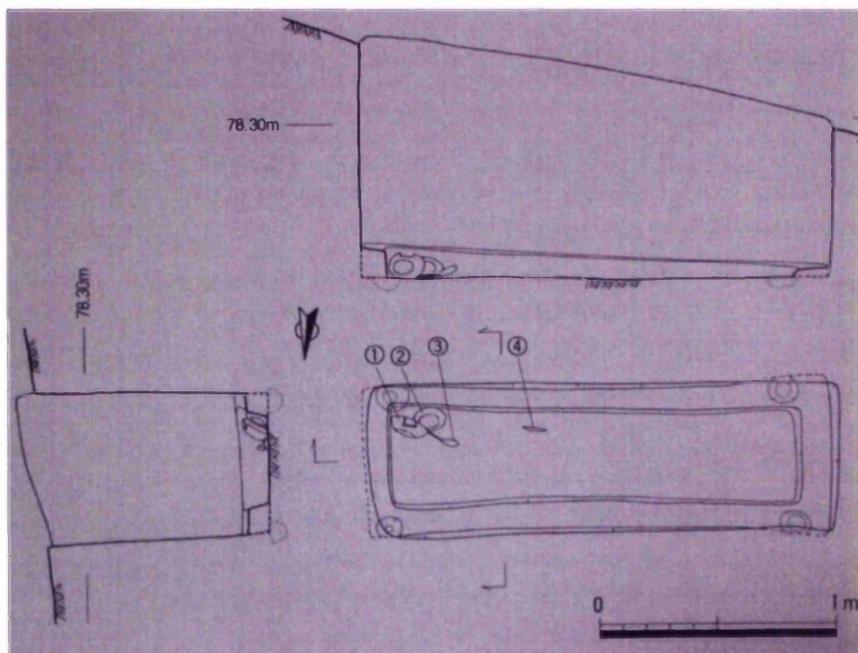
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 236.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 121.

Contents: bronze spoon.

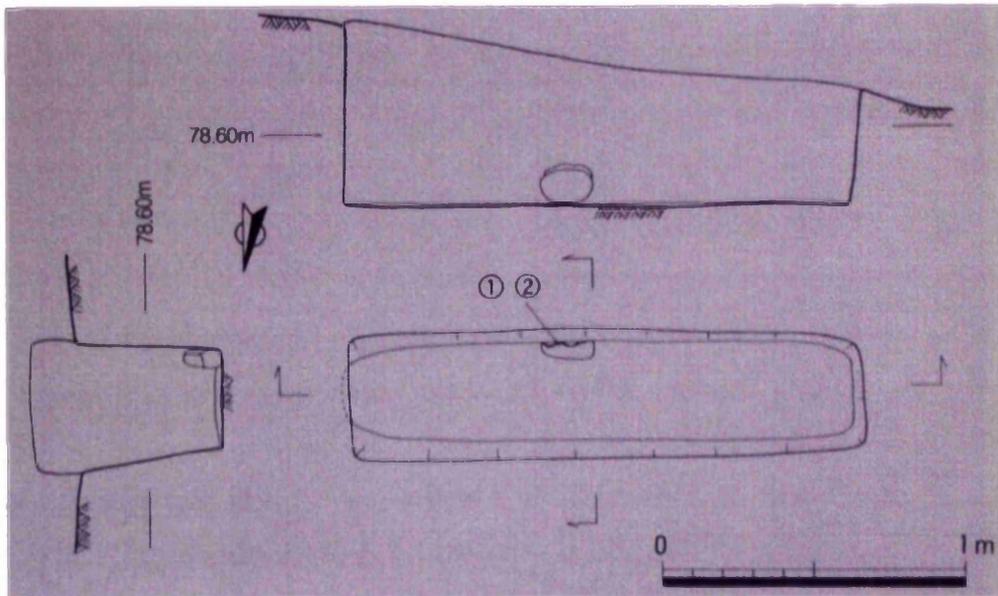
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 238.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 122.

Contents: two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, bronze fragment.

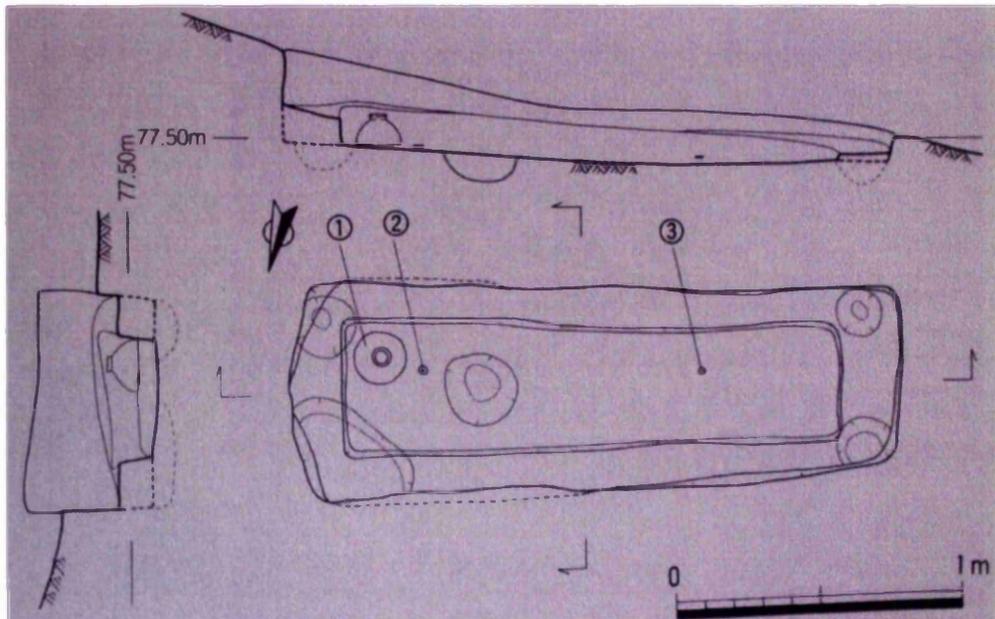
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 240.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 123.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

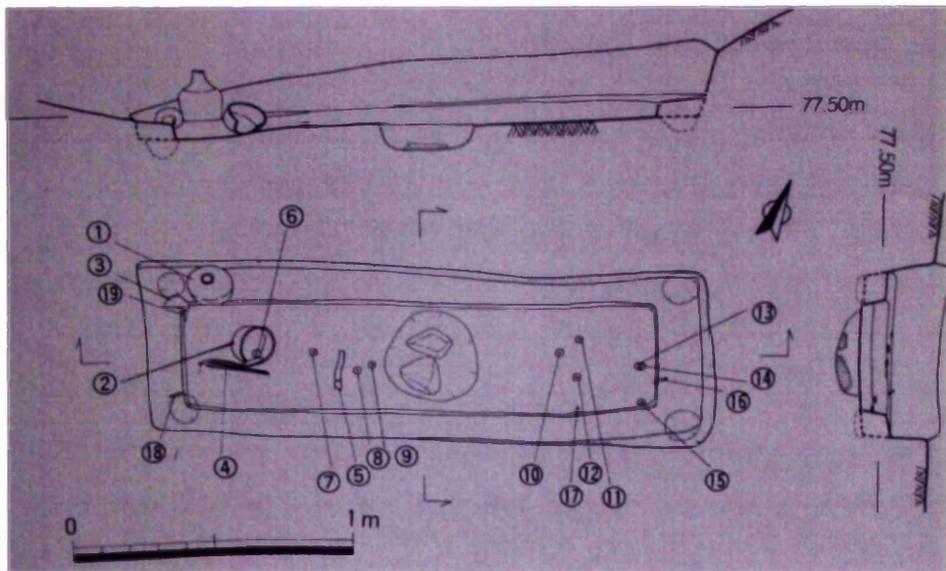
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 242.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 126.

Contents: celadon ceramic, two bronze coins.

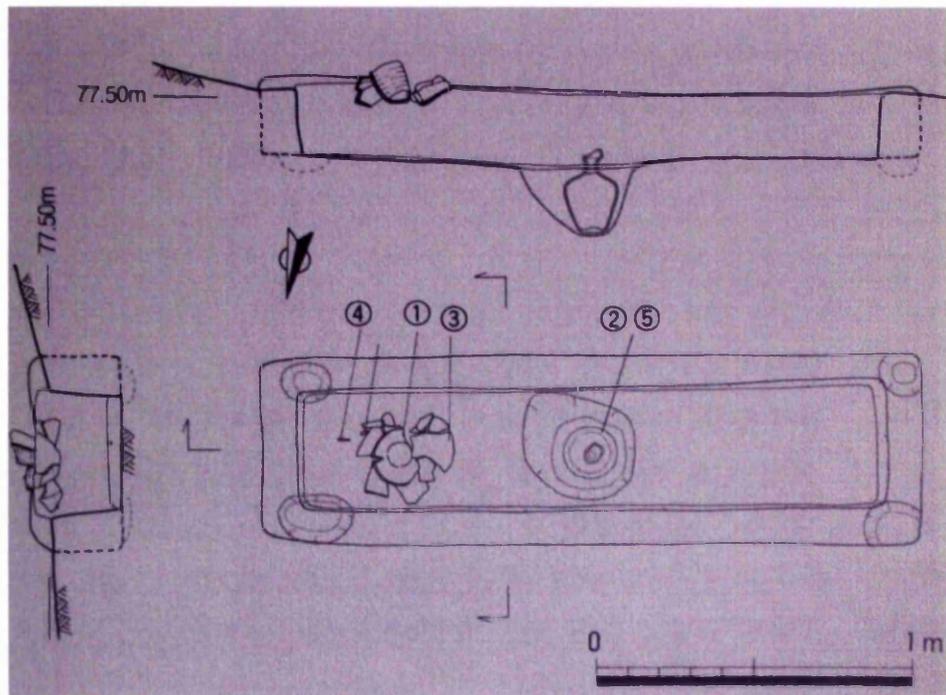
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 245.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 127.

Contents: black ware ceramic, two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, bronze knife, ten bronze coins.

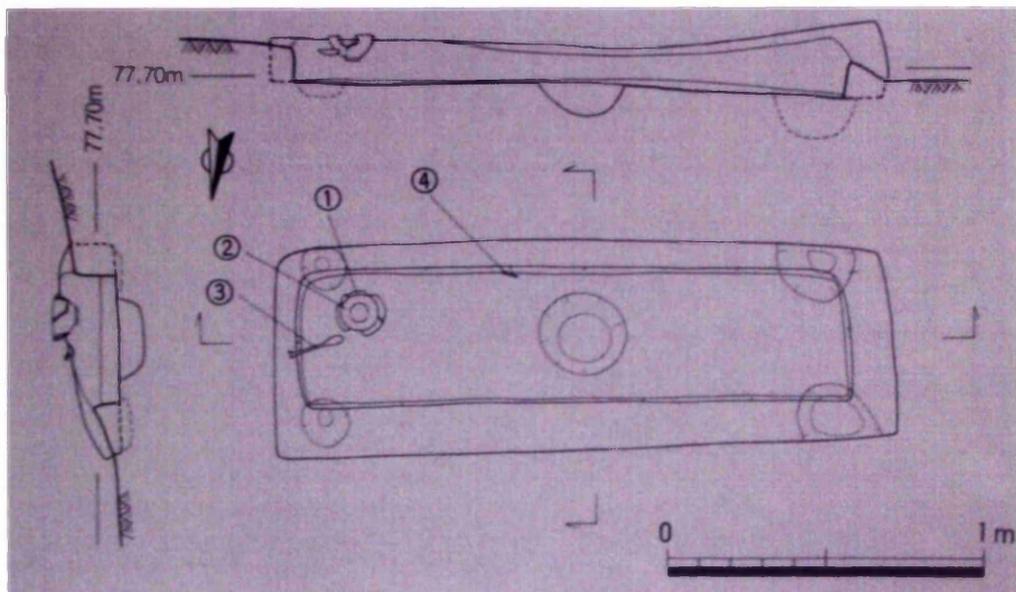
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 247.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 128.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic.

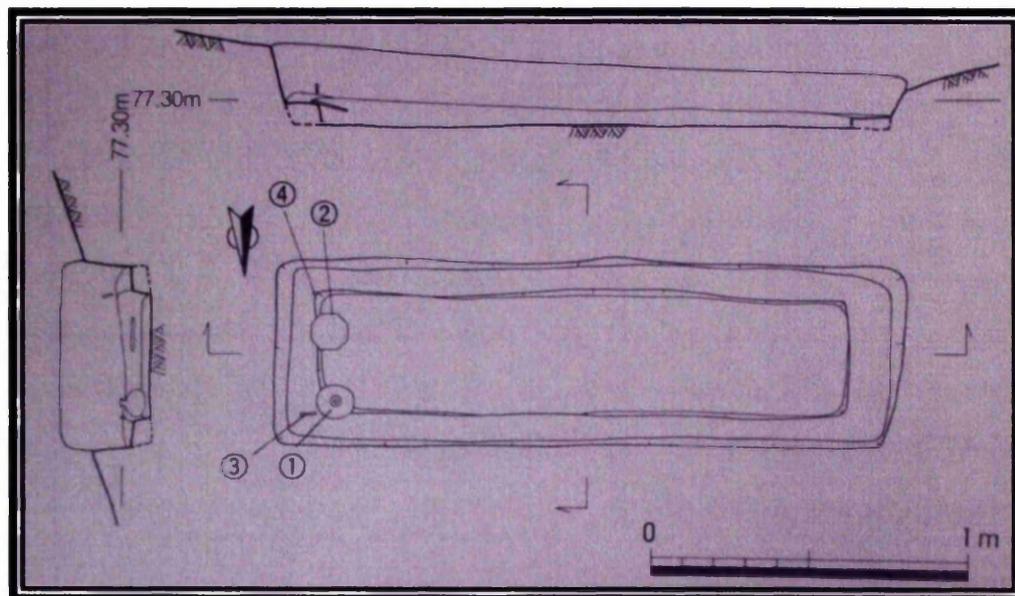
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 252.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 129.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon.

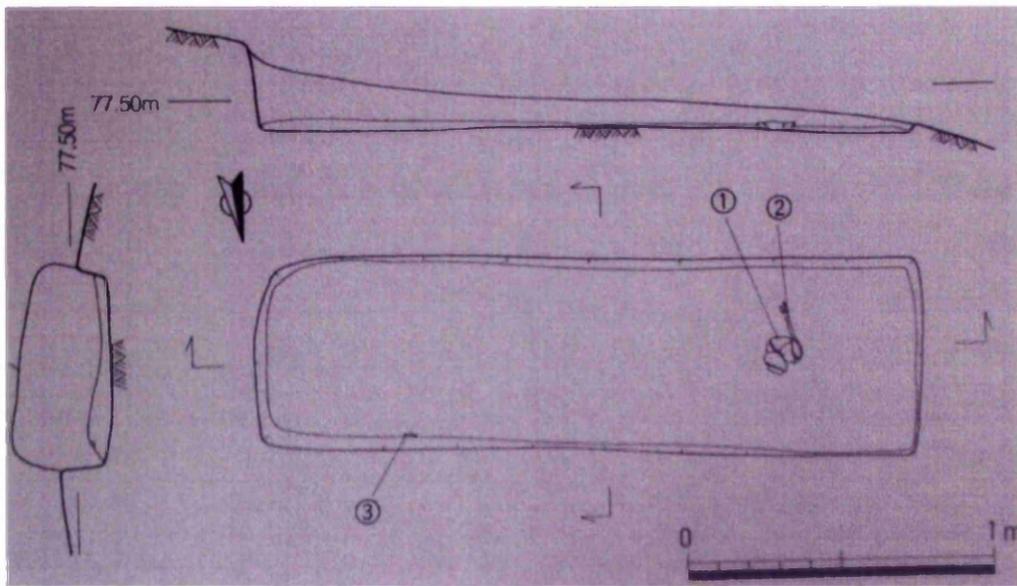
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 254.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 130.

Contents: bronze mirror, earthen ware ceramic.

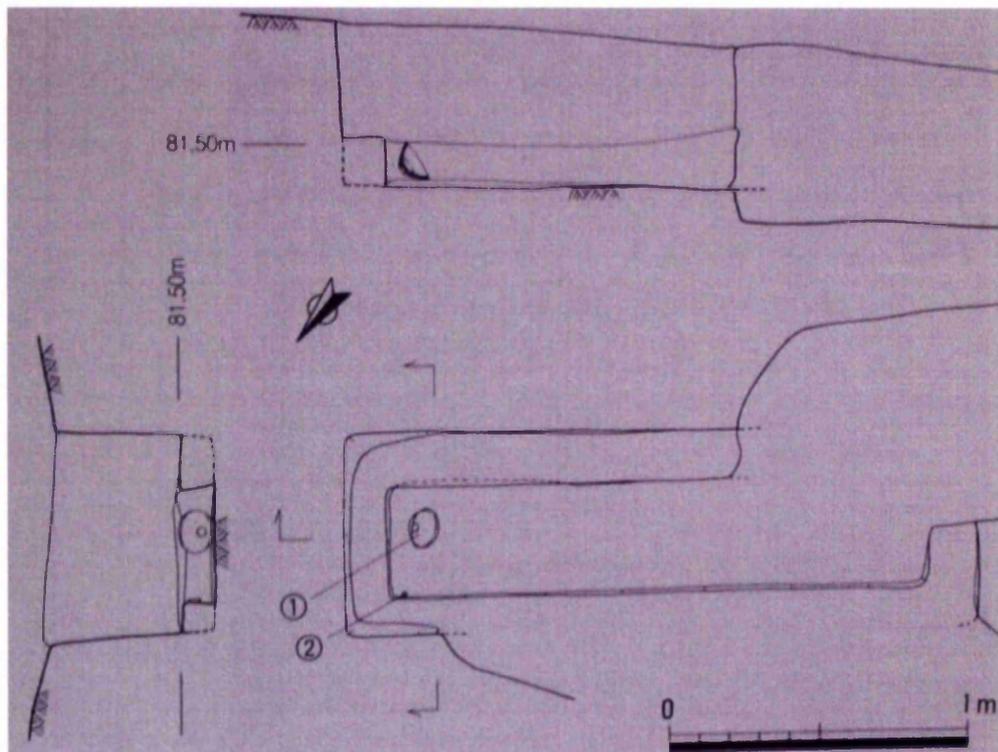
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 256.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 133.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon, iron dagger.

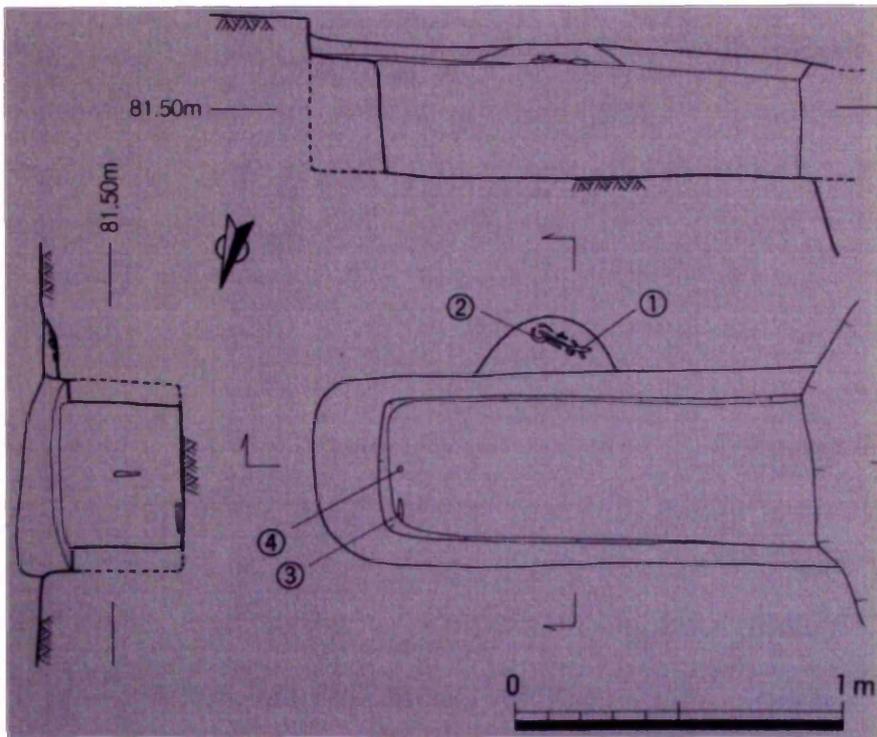
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 260.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 136.

Contents: celadon ceramic.

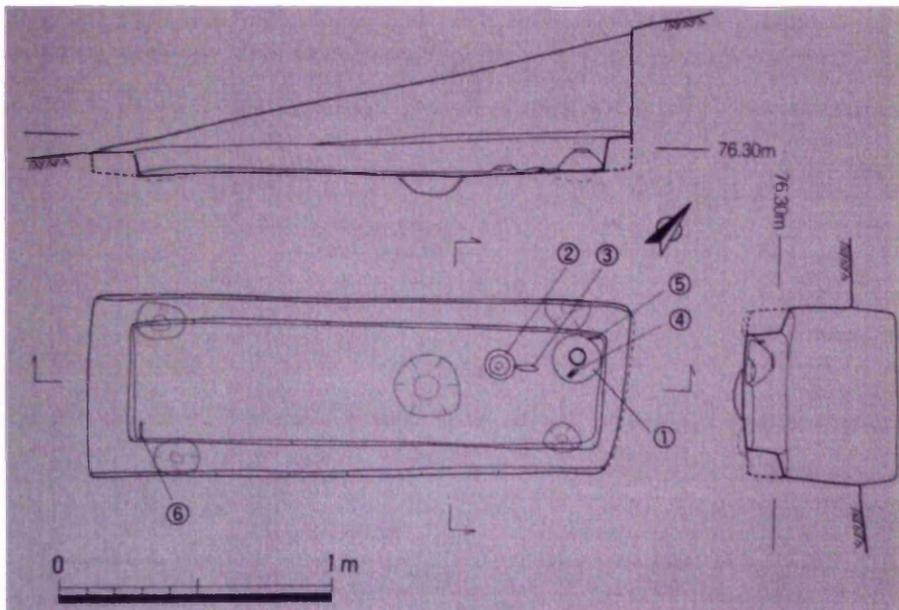
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 265.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 137.

Contents: bronze spoon, iron scissors.

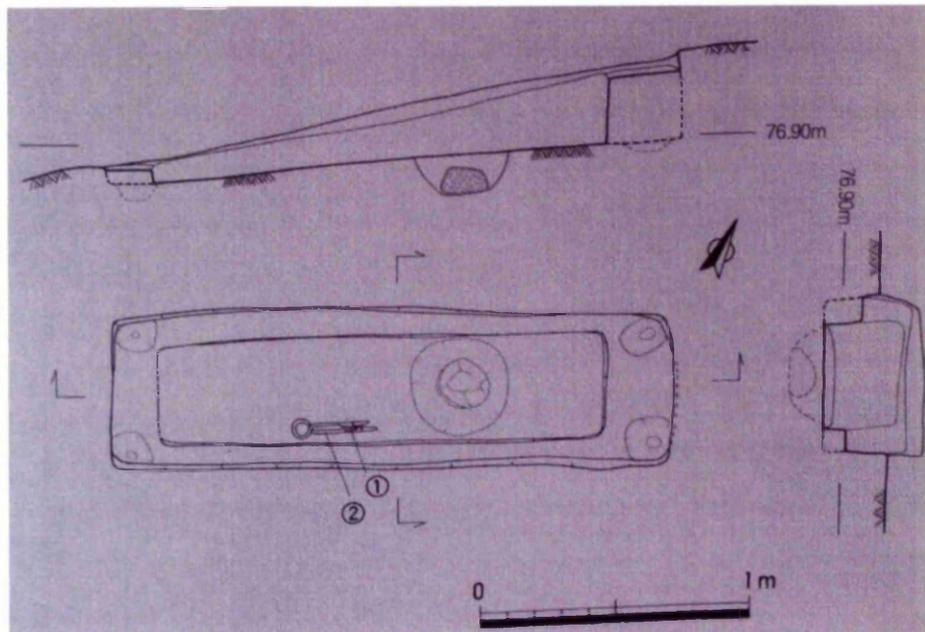
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 266.)



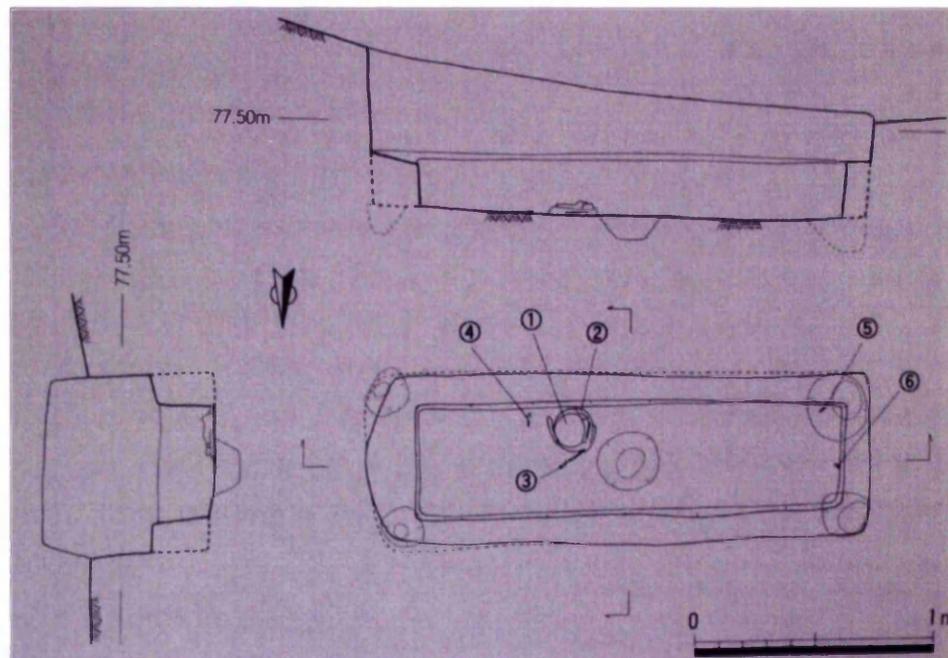
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 148.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon, bronze hairpin.

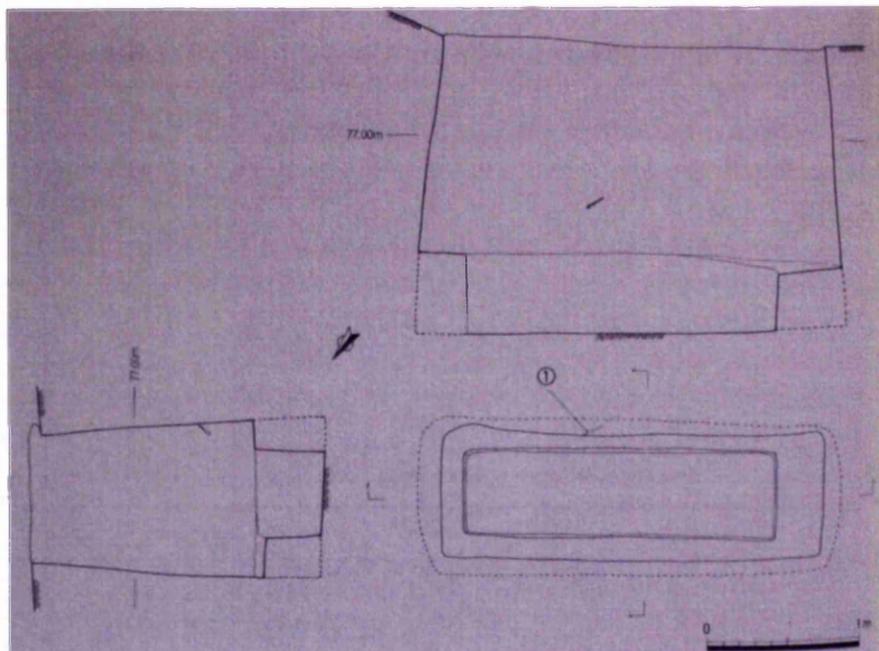
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 278.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 149.  
Contents: iron scissors, bronze fragment.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 281.)



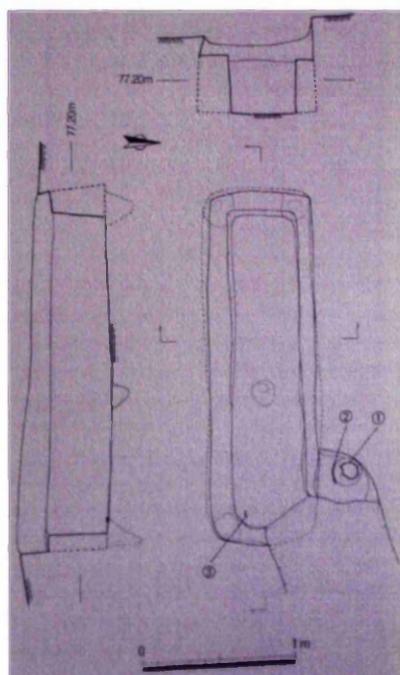
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 151.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 283.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 152.

Contents: bronze spoon.

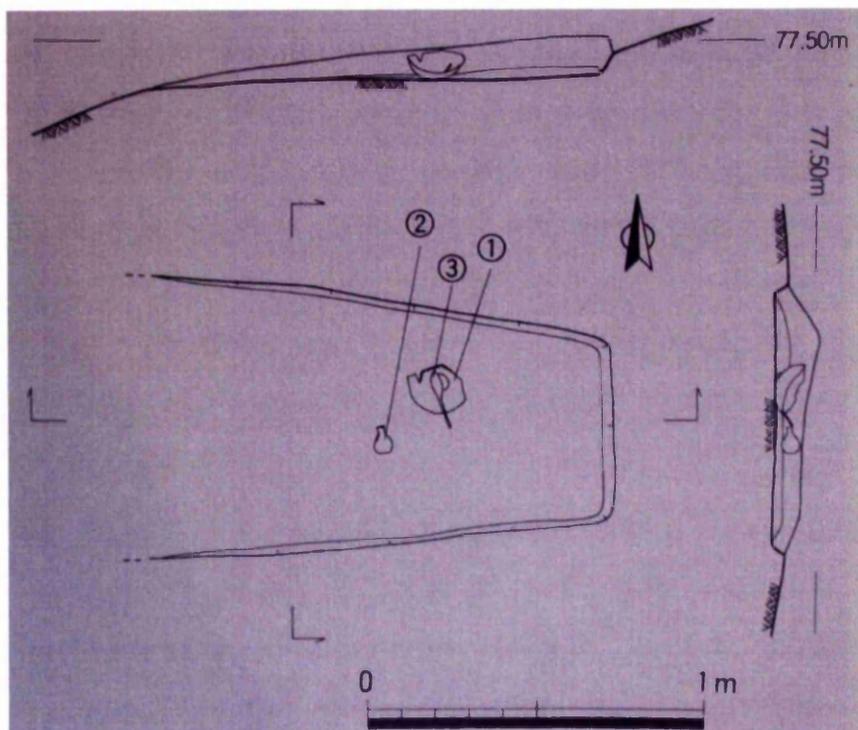
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 286.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 153.

Contents: black ware ceramic, bronze spoon, bronze hairpin.

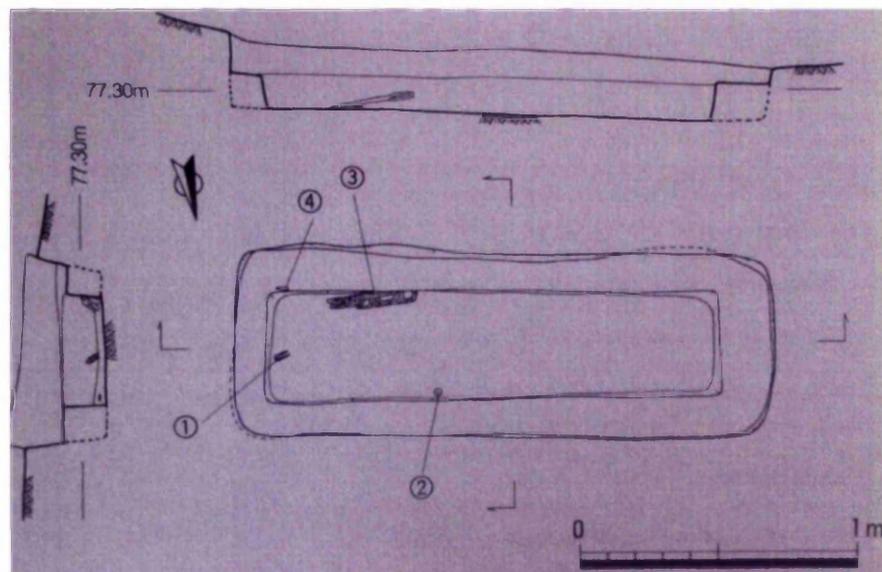
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 288.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 154.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon.

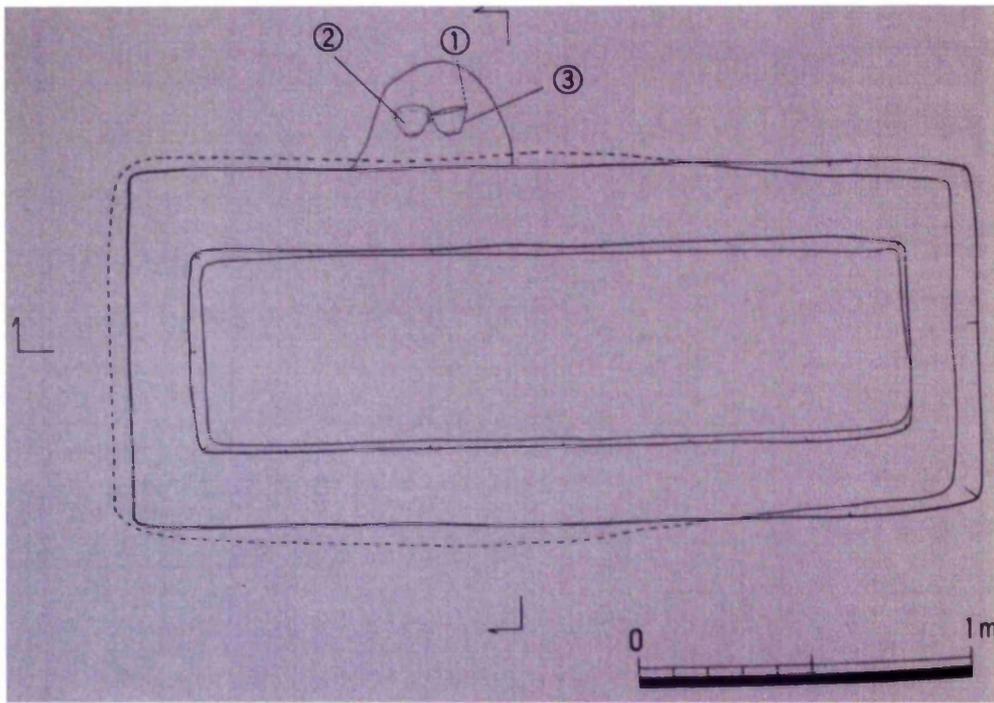
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 290.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 155.

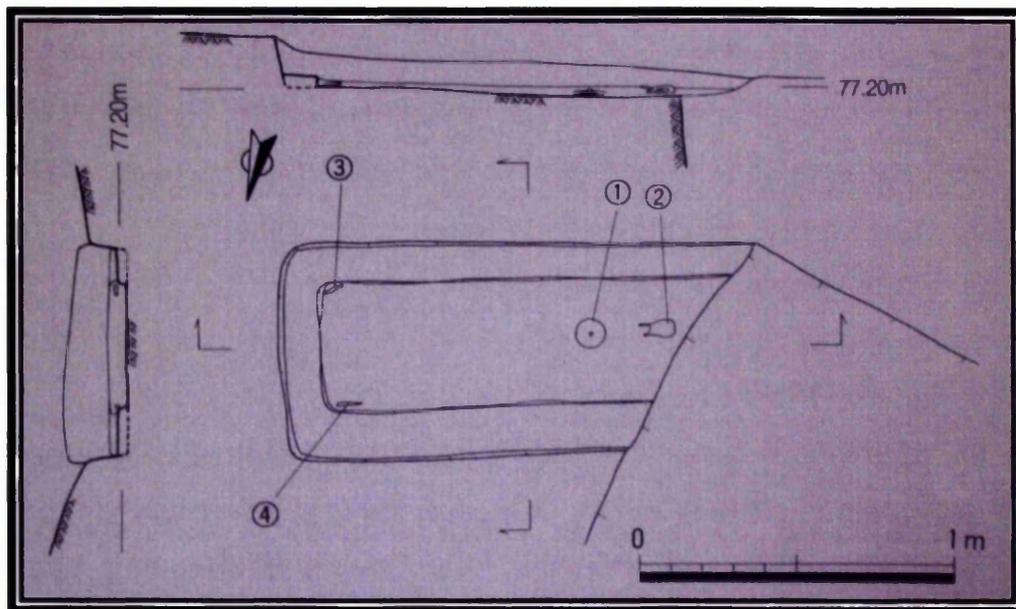
Contents: iron scissors, bronze hairpin, bronze coin.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 292.)



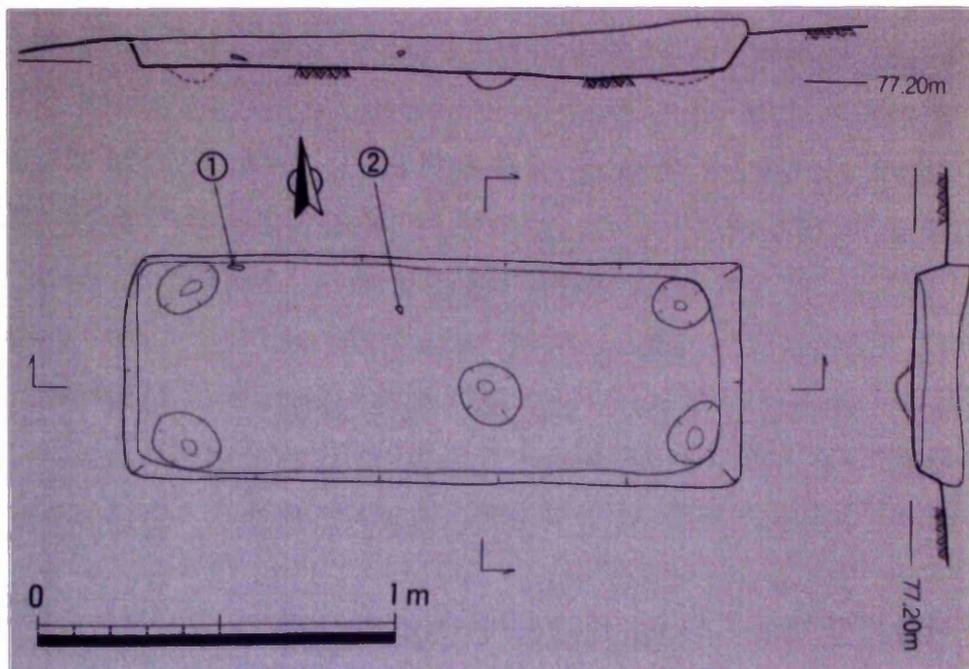
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 156.

Contents: two white ware ceramics, bronze spoon.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 294.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 157.

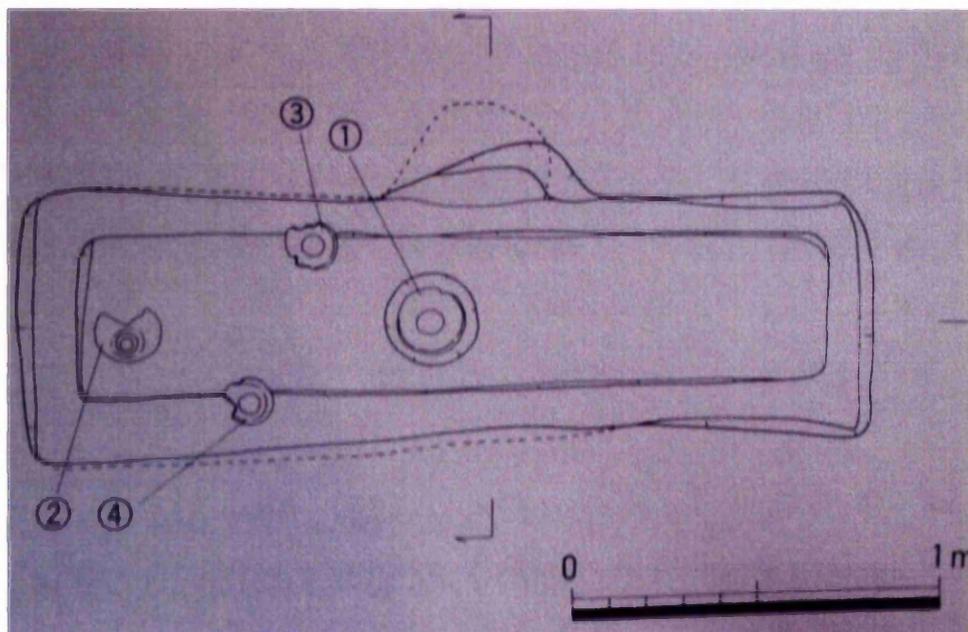
Contents: bronze mirror, iron scissors.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 296.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'ôngju, North Ch'ungch'ôngg province. Earthen pit tomb no. 159.

Contents: bronze fragment.

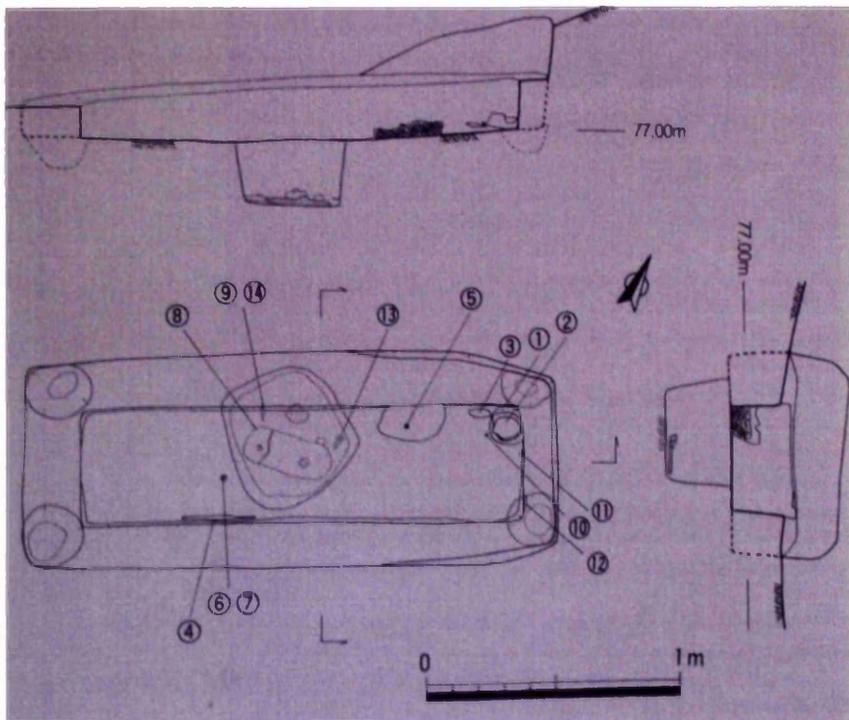
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 299.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'ôngju, North Ch'ungch'ôngg province. Earthen pit tomb no. 160.

Contents: four white ware ceramics.

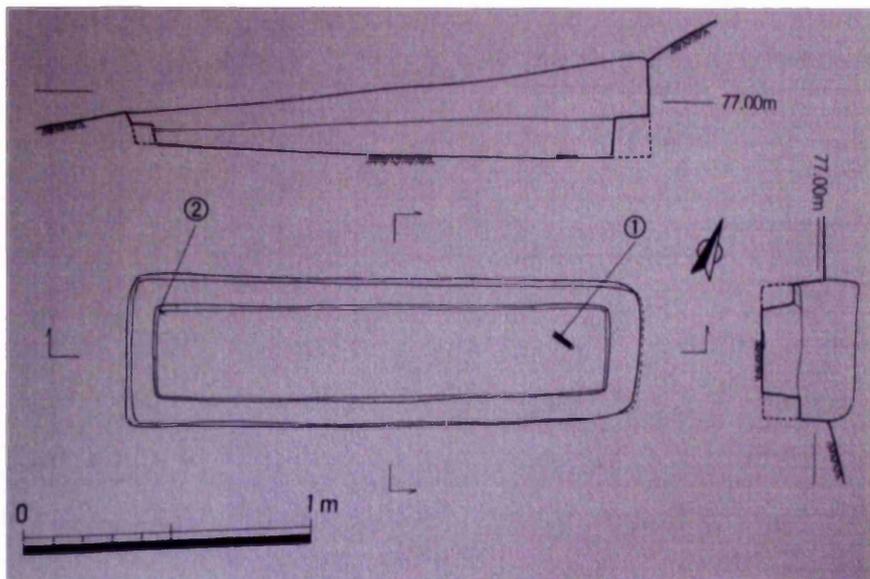
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 301.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 163.

Contents: two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, glass bead, bronze knife, iron fragment, four bronze coins.

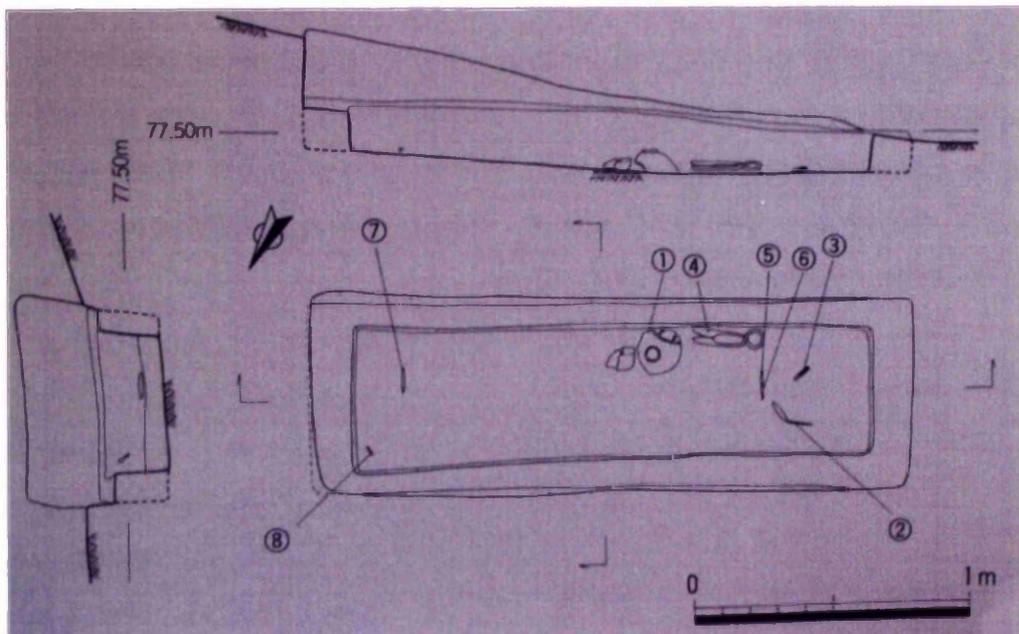
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 305.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 165.

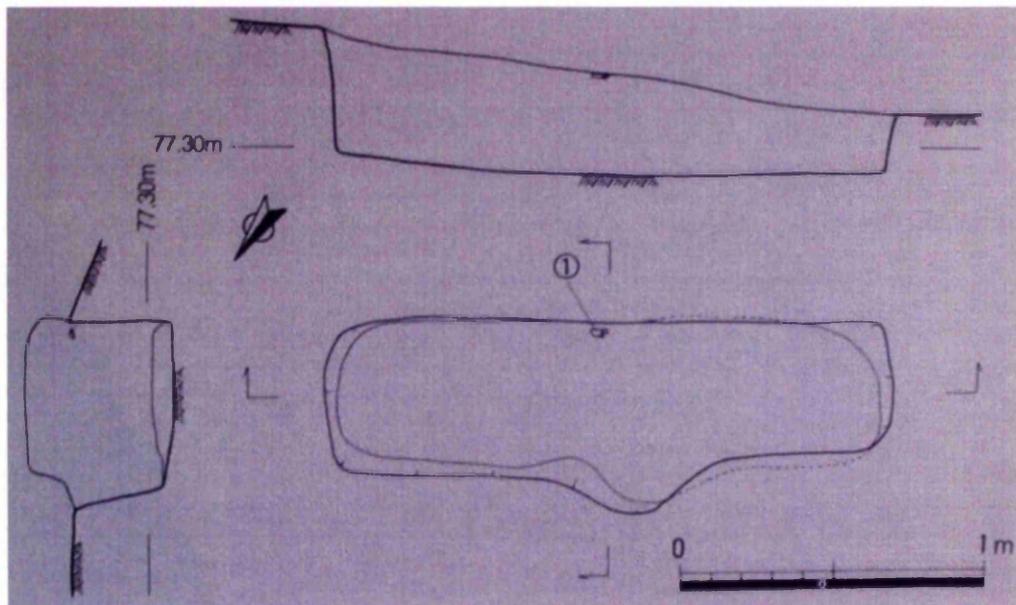
Contents: bronze hairpin.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 310.)



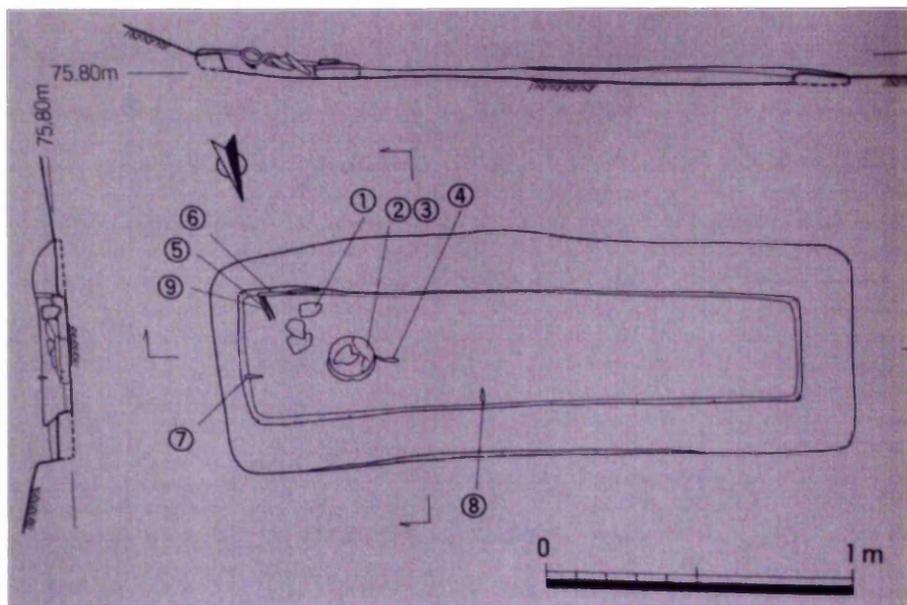
Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'ongju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 167.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 313.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'ongju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 169.

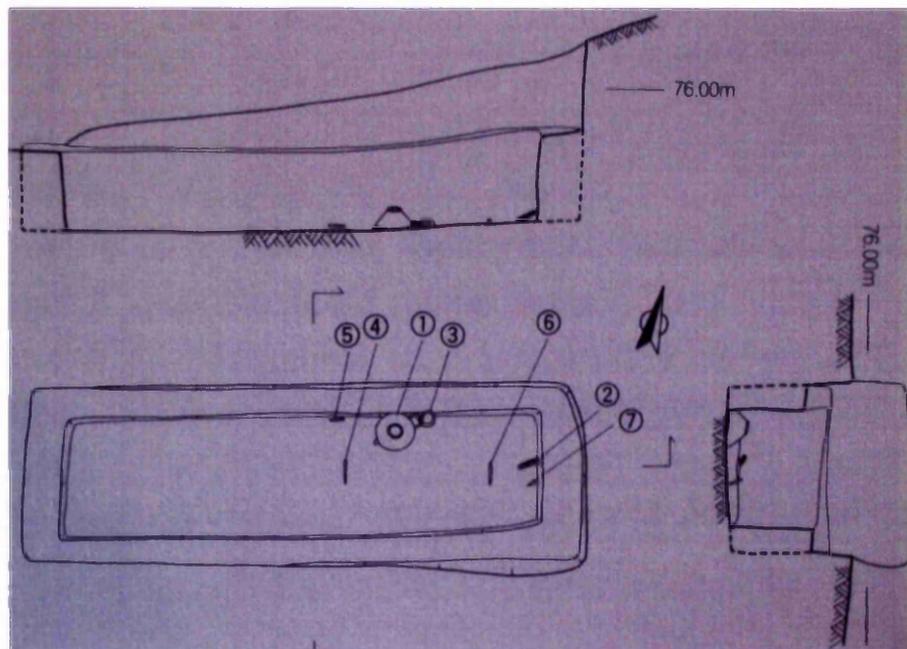
Contents: bronze spoon.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 316.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 175.

Contents: earthen ware ceramic, two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin.

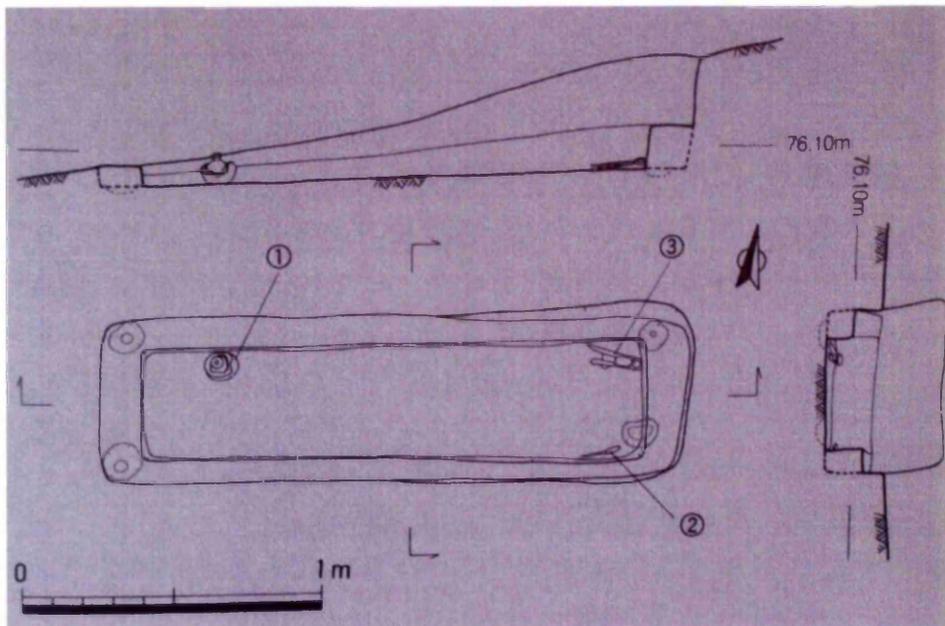
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 322.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 176.

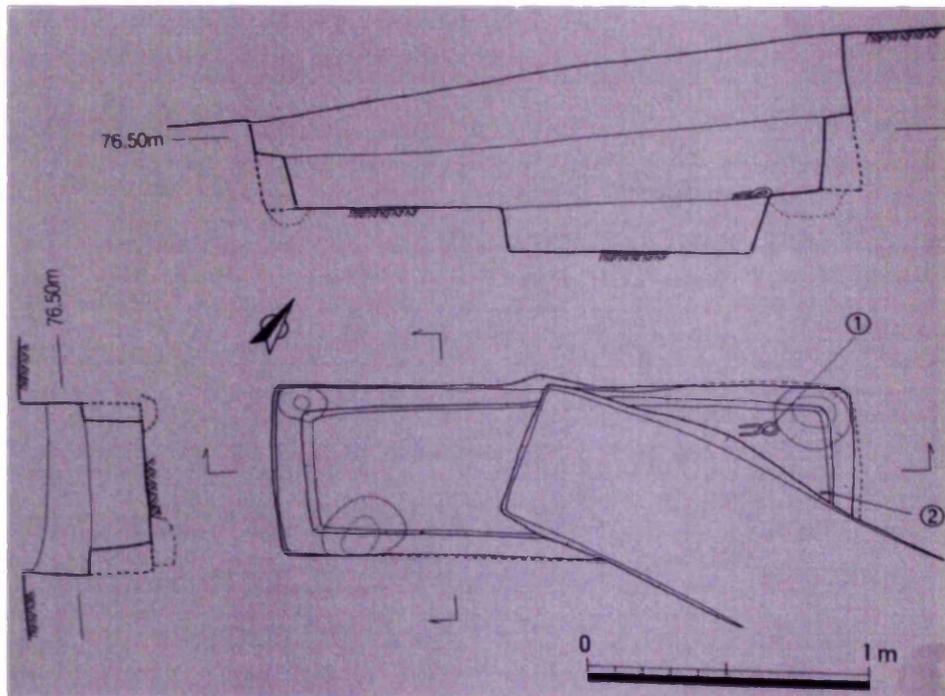
Contents: celadon ceramic, iron scissors, bronze hairpin.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 325.)



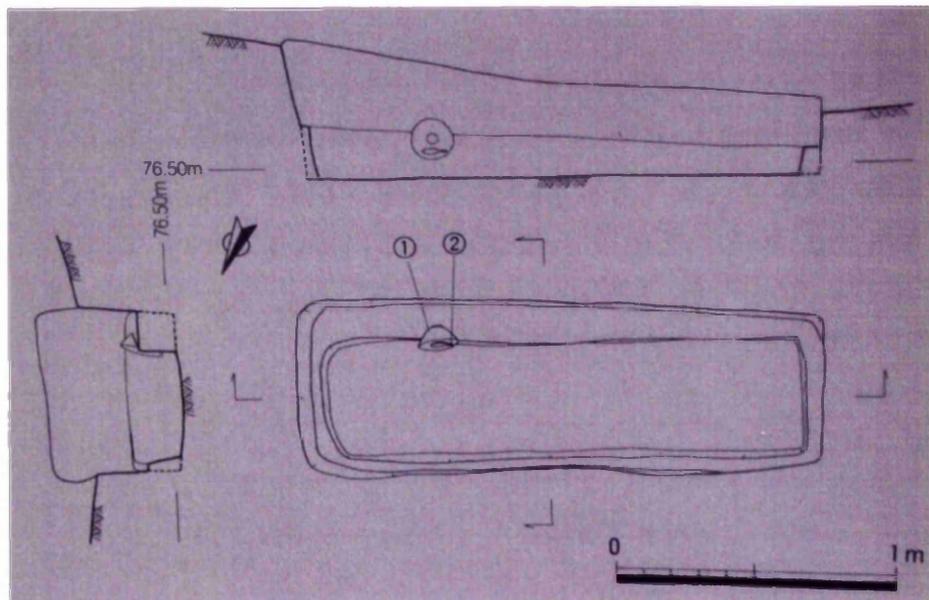
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 177.

Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, iron scissors.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 327.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 179.

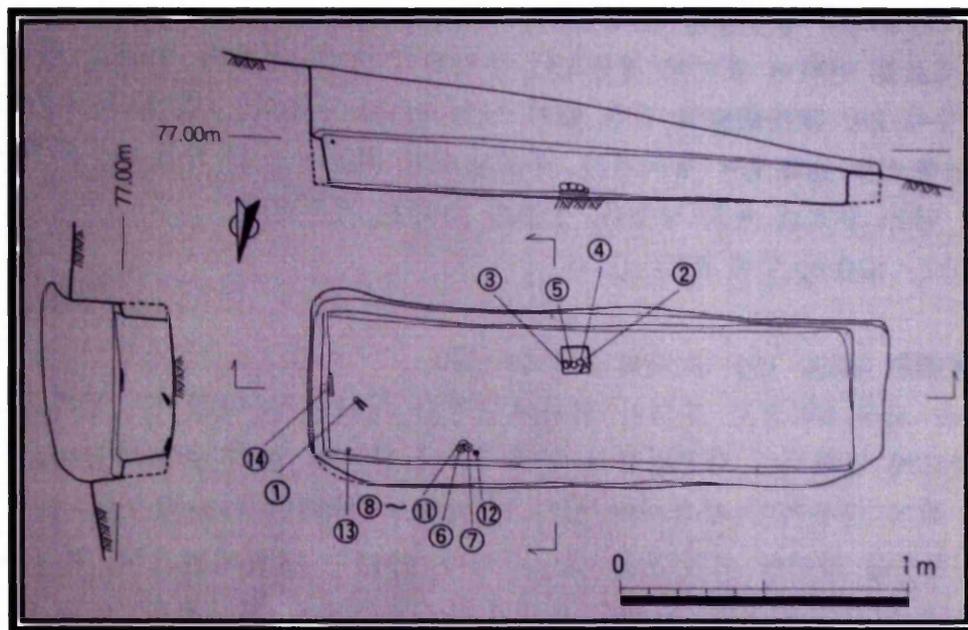
Contents: iron scissors.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 330.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 180.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

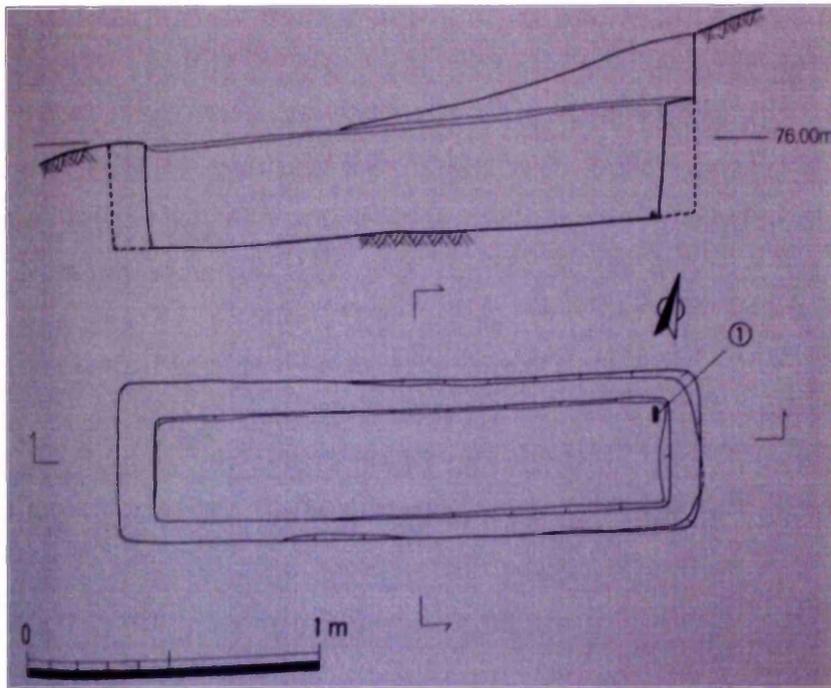
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 332.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 181.

Contents: bronze mirror, bronze hairpin, bead of unspecified material, bronze bell, six bronze coins.

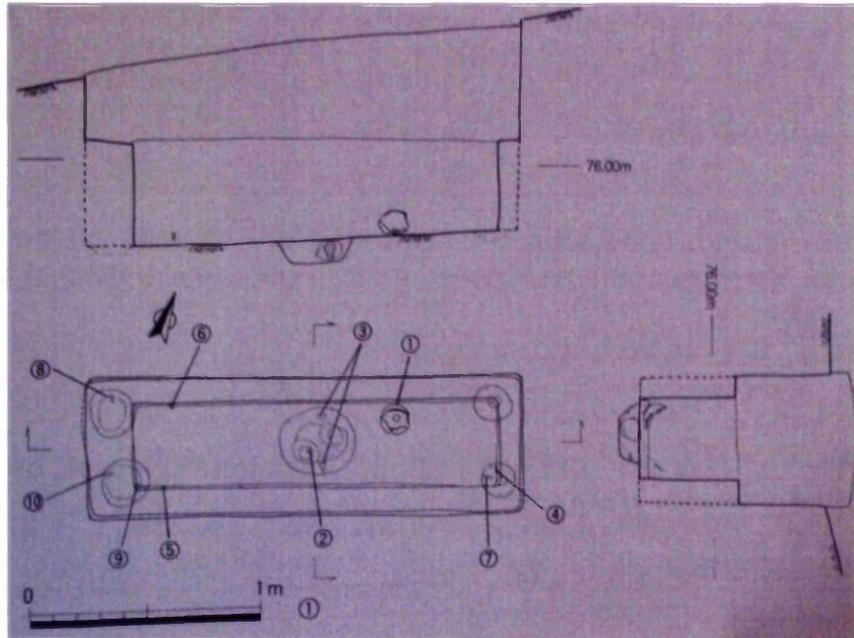
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 333.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 182.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

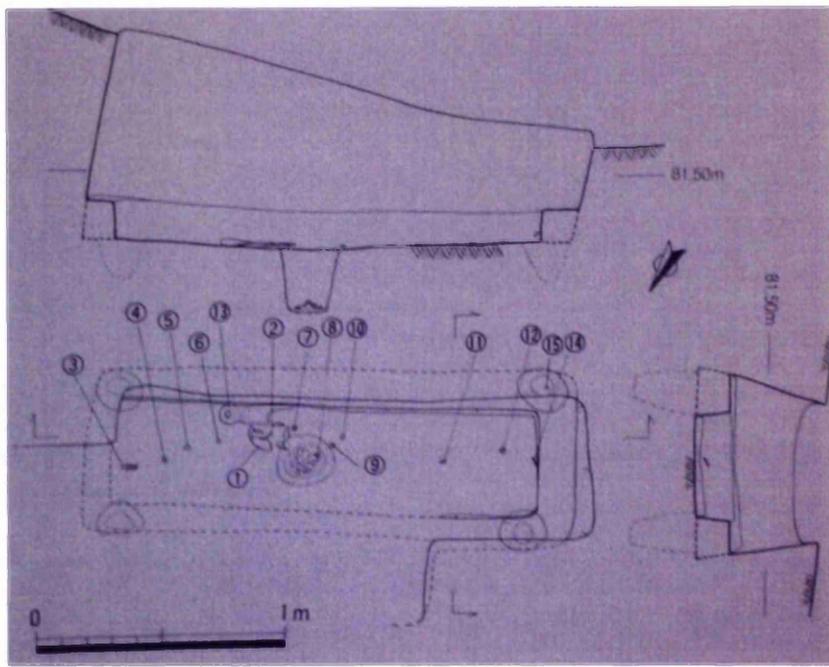
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 337.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 183.

Contents: celadon ceramic, iron fragment, bronze coin.

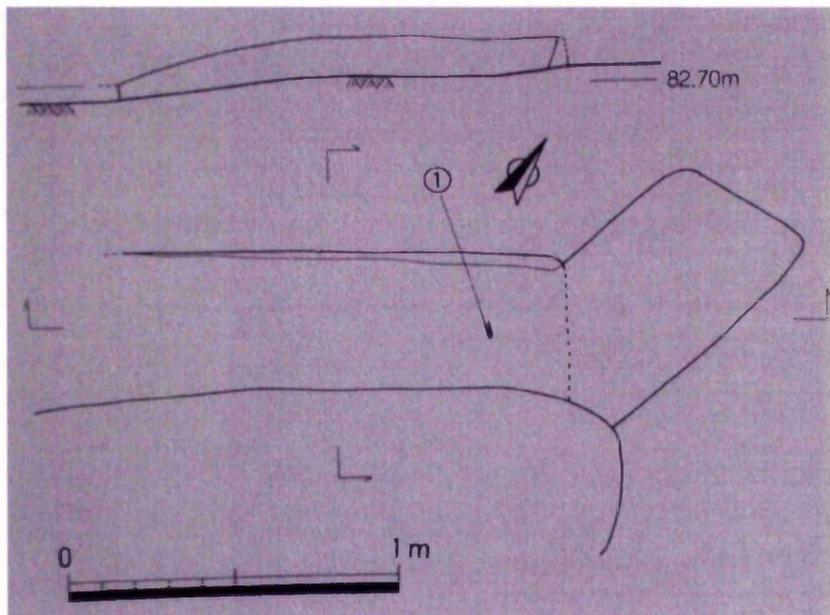
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 339.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 185.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin, nine bronze coins.

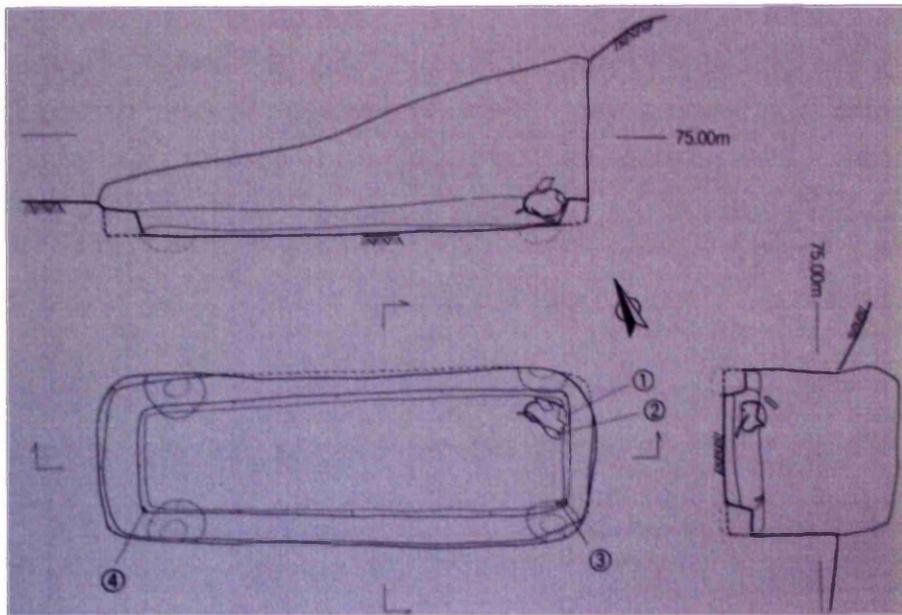
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 342.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 193.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

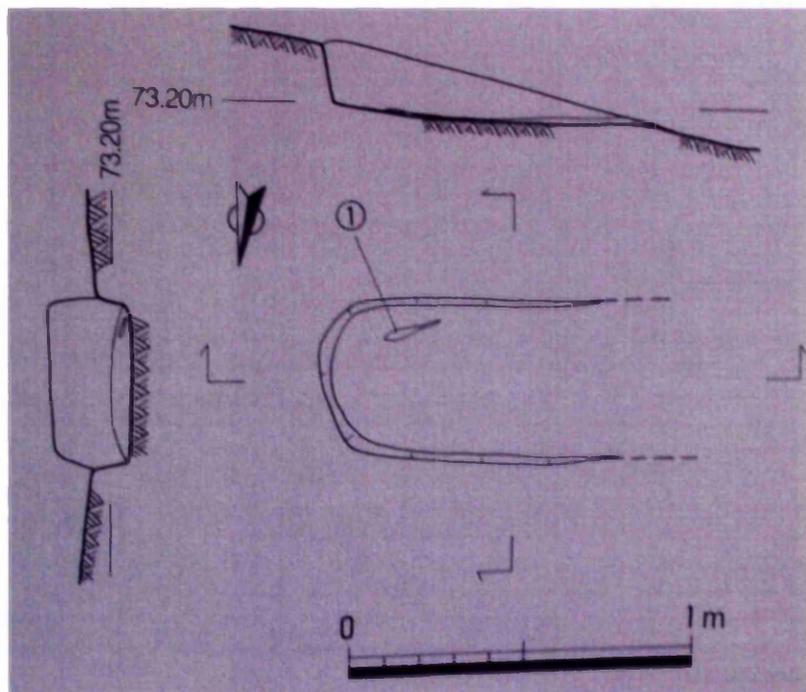
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 352.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 194.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

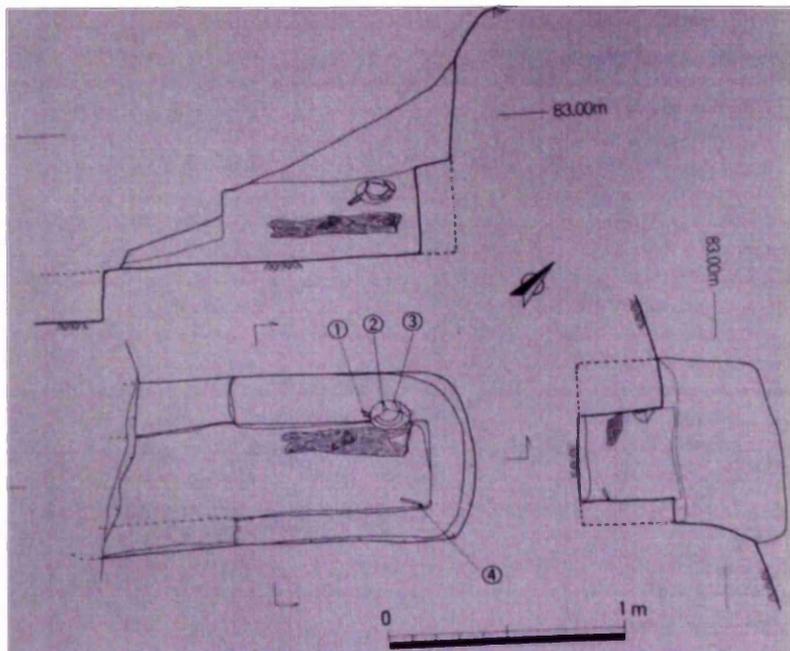
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 353.)



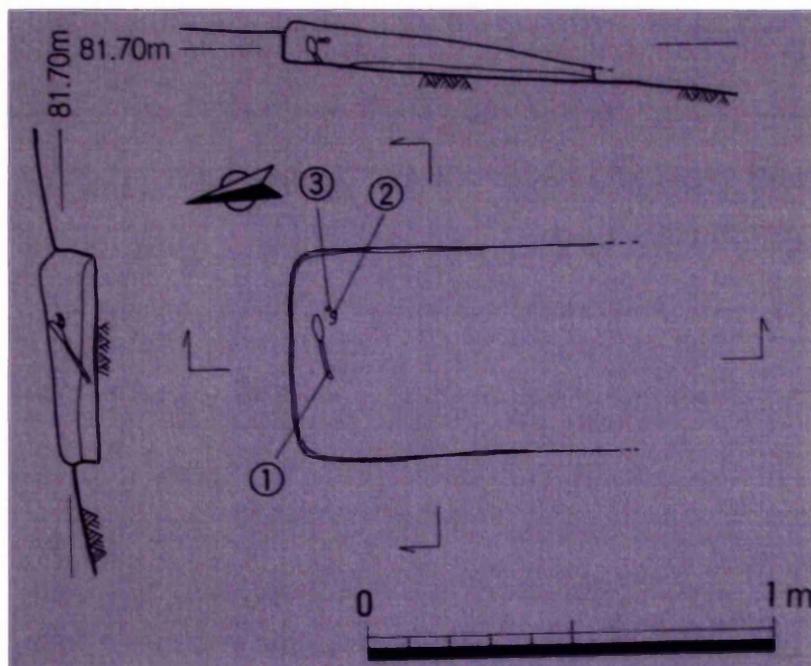
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 195.

Contents: bronze spoon.

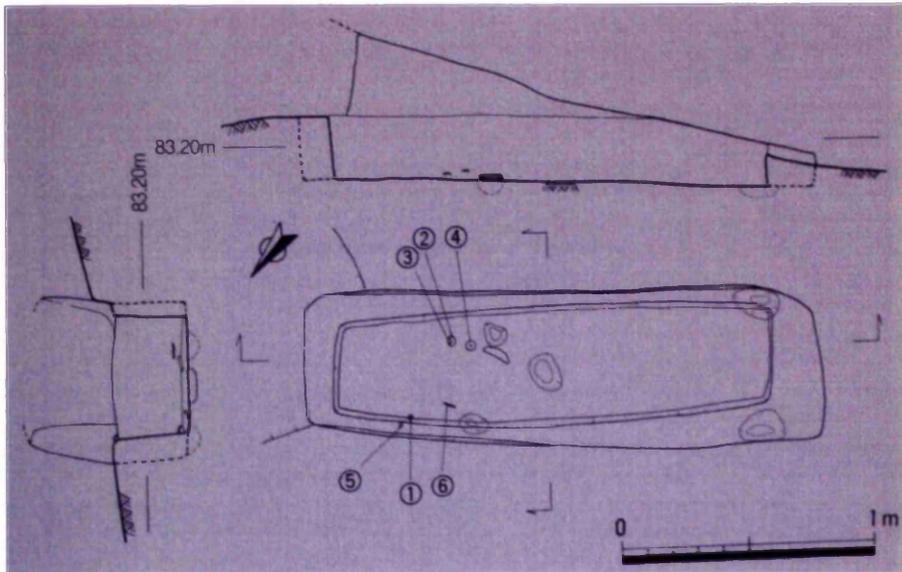
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 355.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 196.  
Contents: white ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 356.)



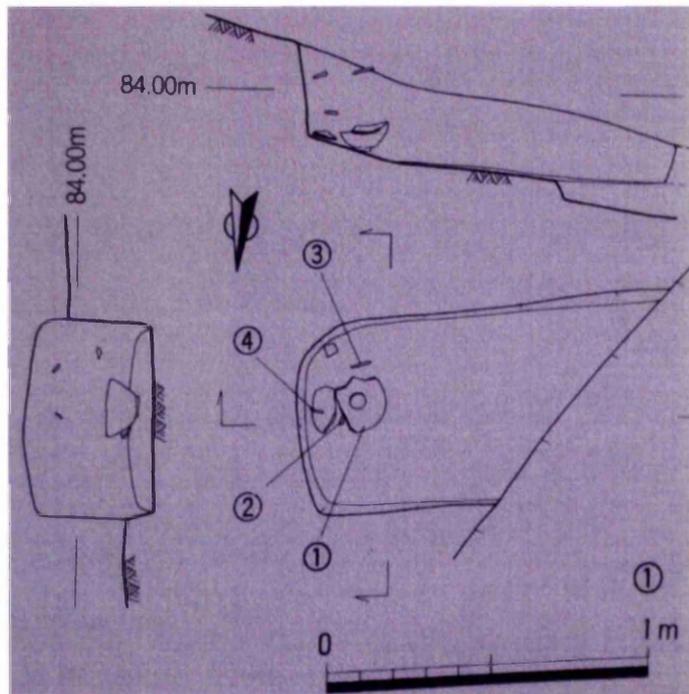
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 197.  
Contents: bronze spoon, bead of unspecified material, bronze fragment.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 358.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 201.

Contents: four bronze coins.

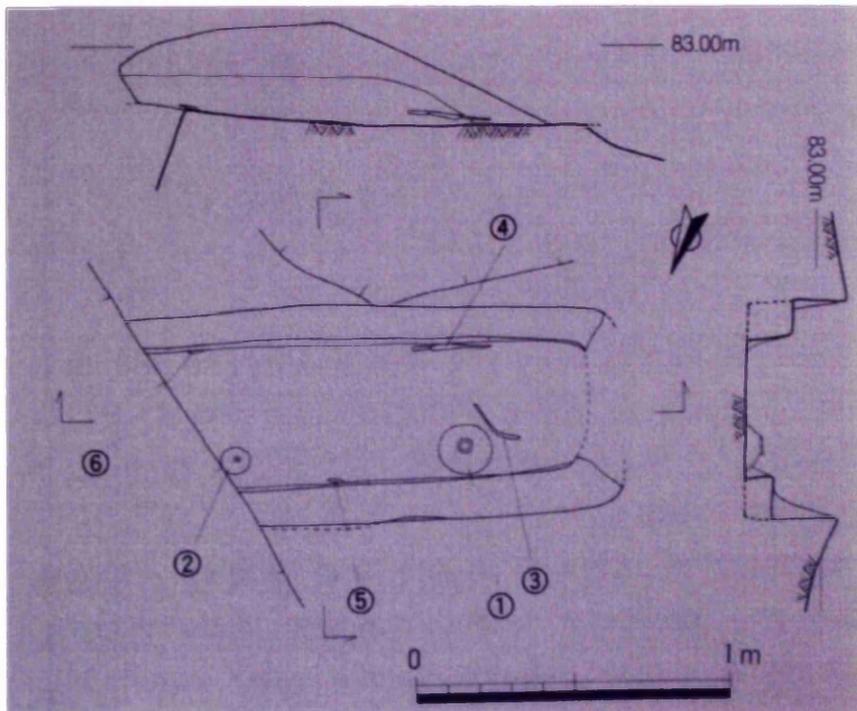
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 363.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 204.

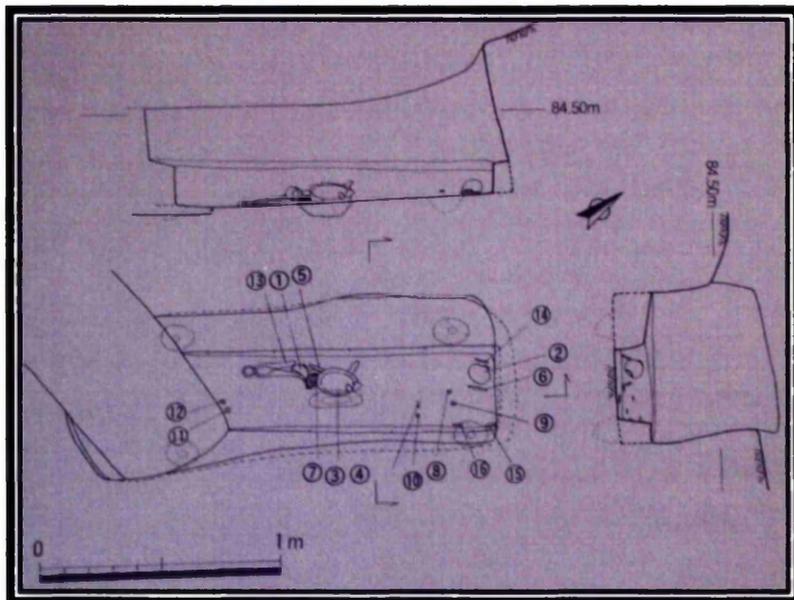
Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 367.)



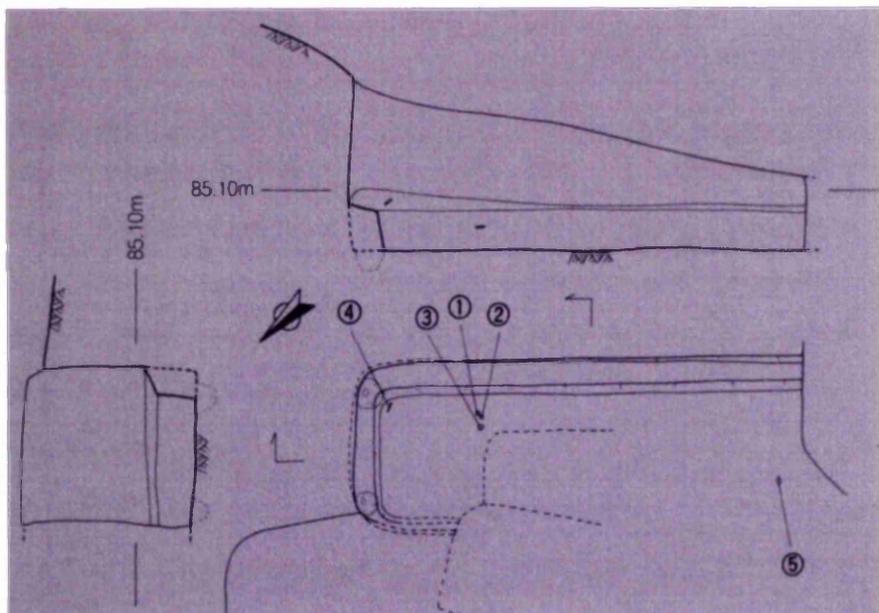
Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 206.

Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, iron scissors.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 370.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 207.

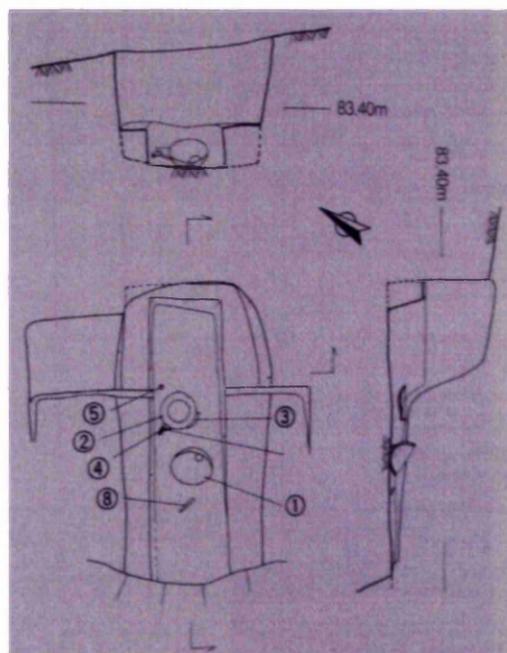
Contents: bronze mirror, celadon ceramic, black ware ceramic, two bronze vessels, bronze spoon, iron scissors, bronze hairpin, five bronze coins.  
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 372.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 210.

Contents: three bronze coins.

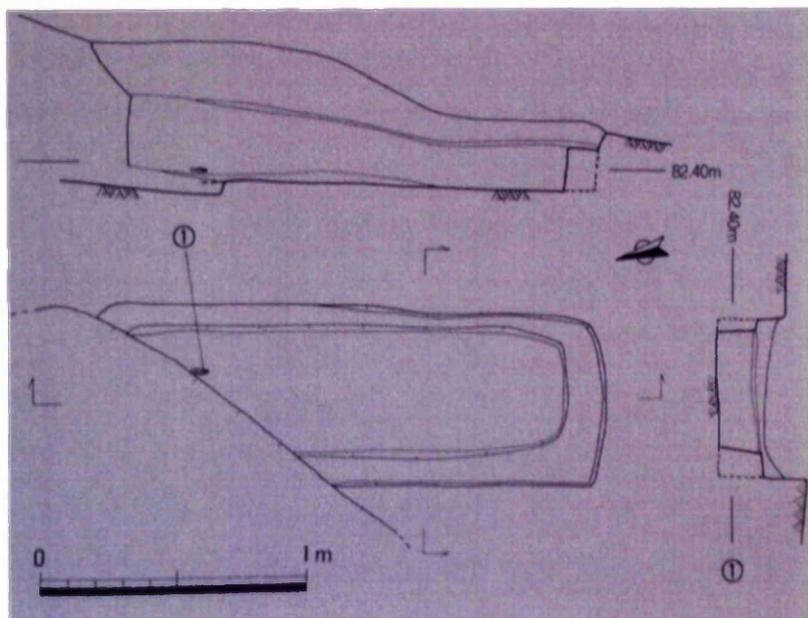
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 379.)



Kümch'øndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 211.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon, bronze hairpin, three bronze coins.

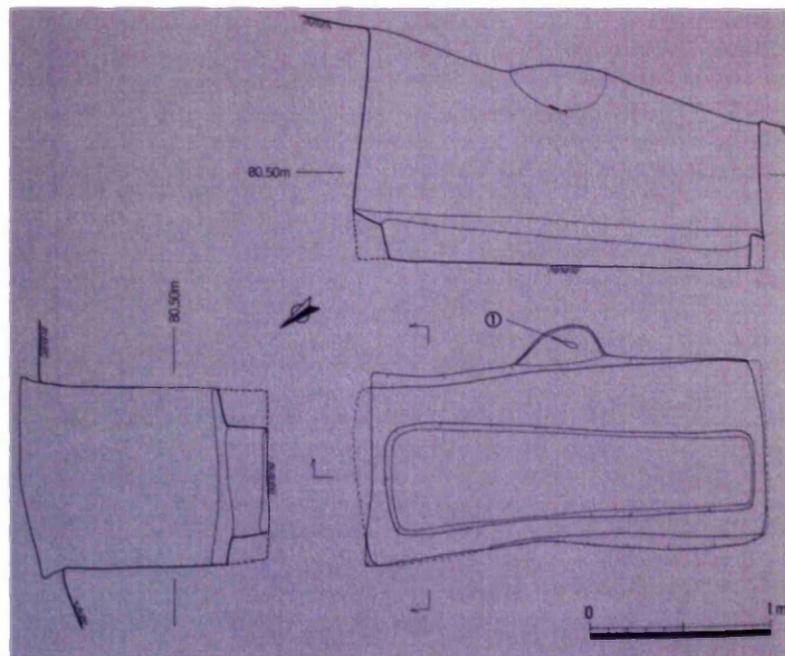
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 381.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 212.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

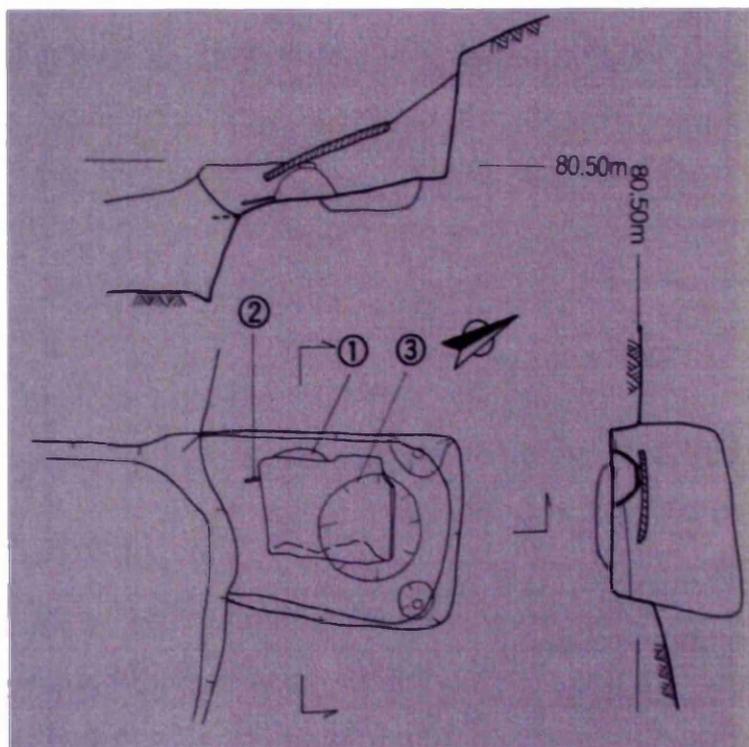
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 383.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 215.

Contents: bronze spoon.

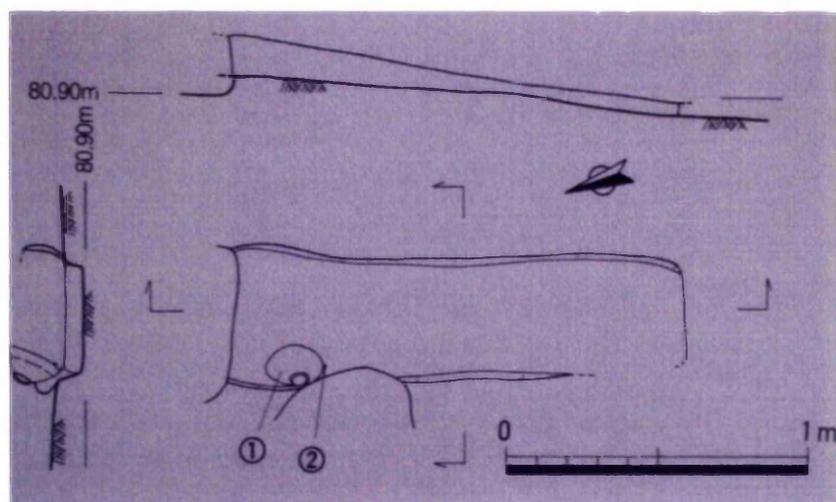
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 386.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 216.

Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon.

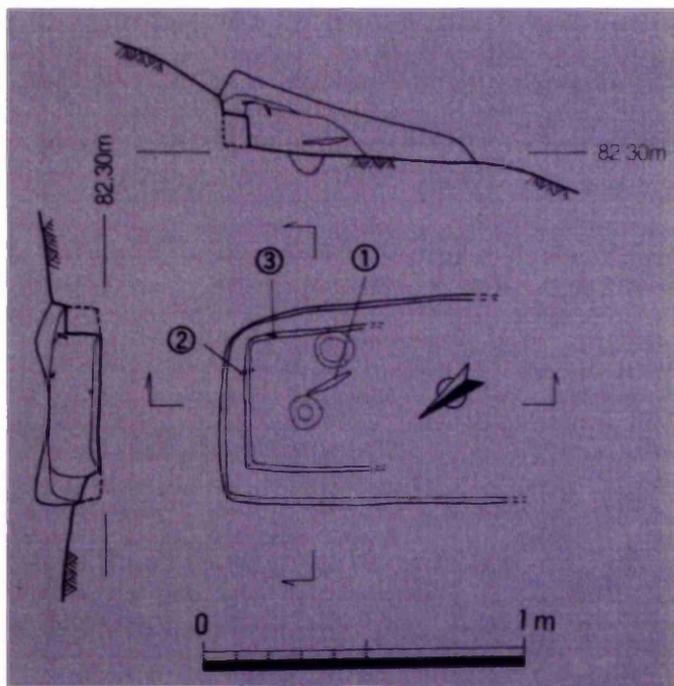
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 387.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 220.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

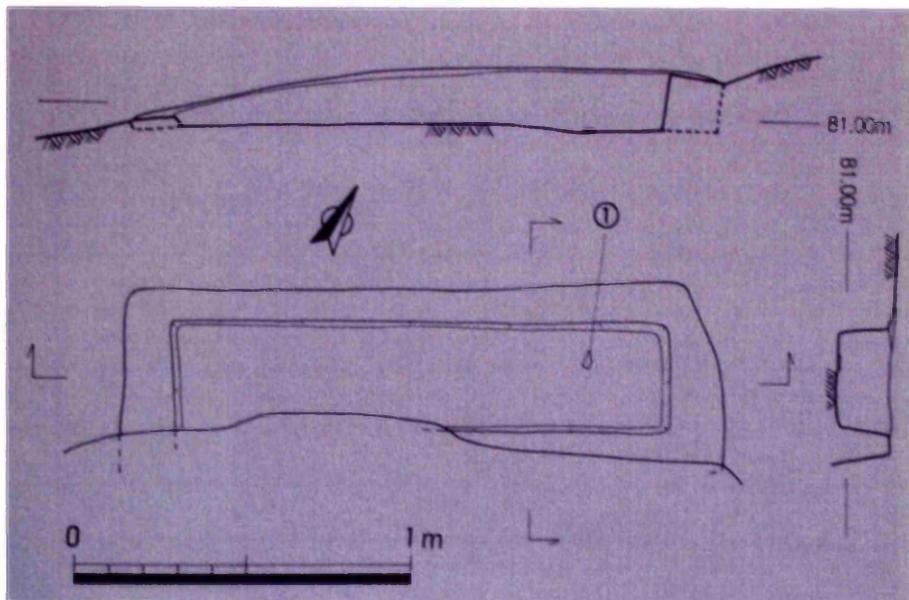
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 392.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 221.

Contents: iron dagger.

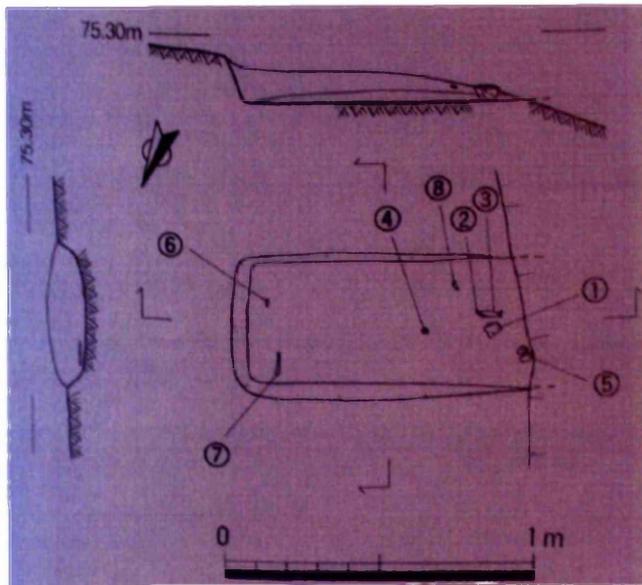
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 394.)



Kümch'öndong II-1, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 222.

Contents: iron fragment.

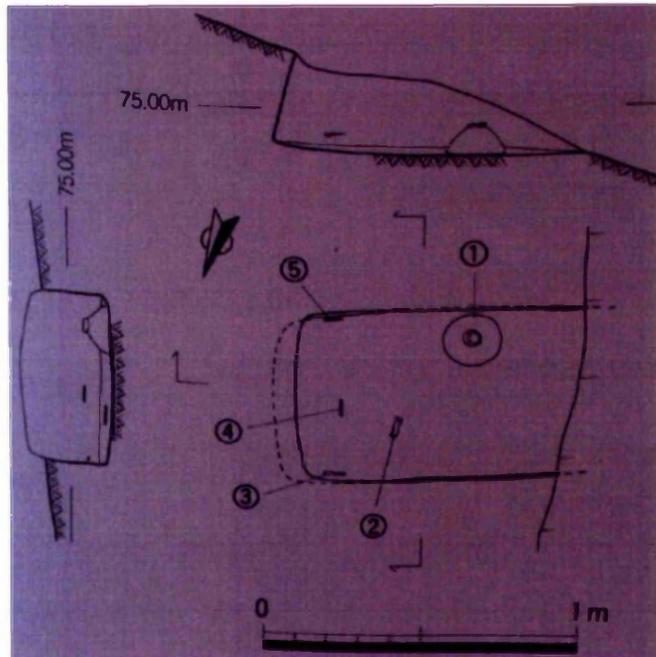
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 2: 395.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-2, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 6.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron fragment, bronze coin.

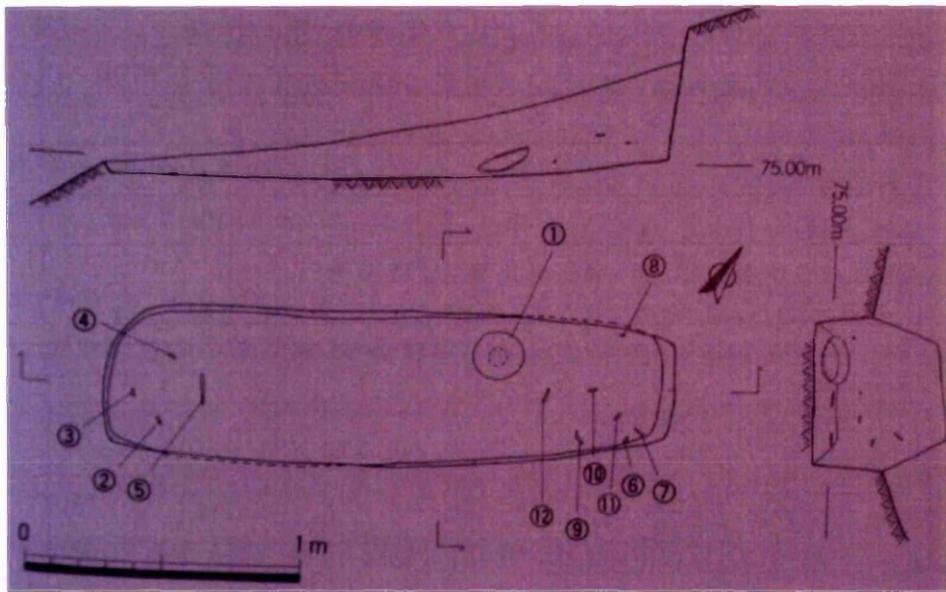
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 403.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-2, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 7.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze fragment.

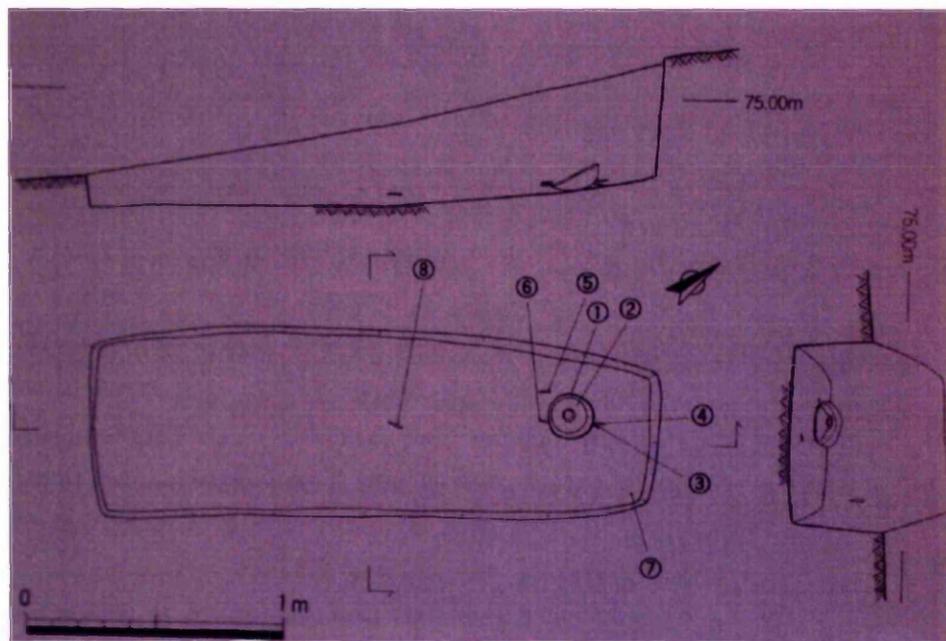
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 405.)



Kümch'öndong II-2, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 8.

Contents: celadon ceramic.

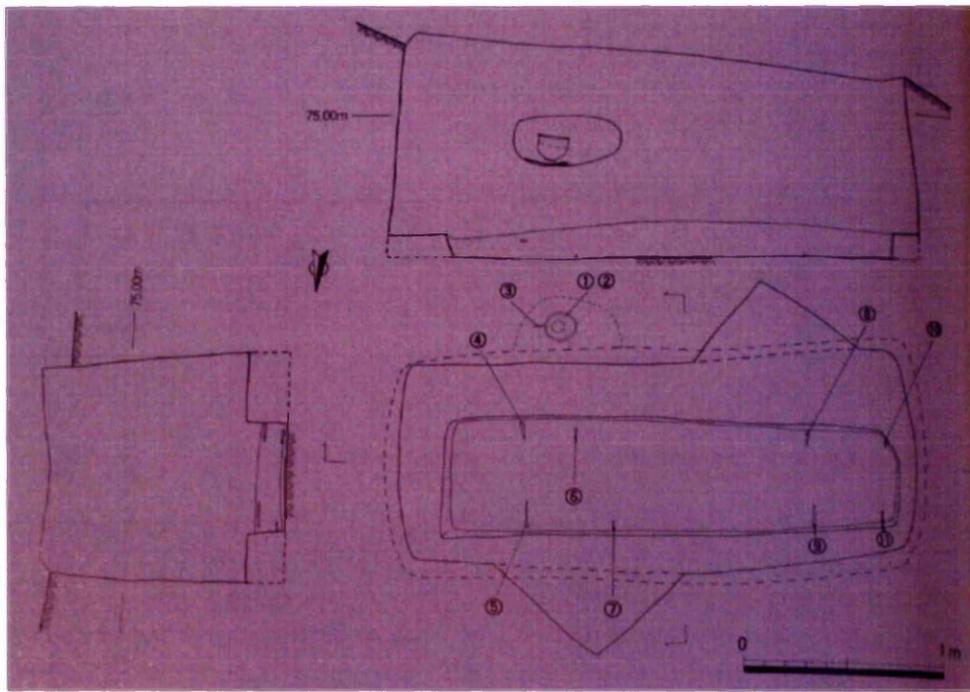
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 407.)



Kümch'öndong II-2, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 9.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon.

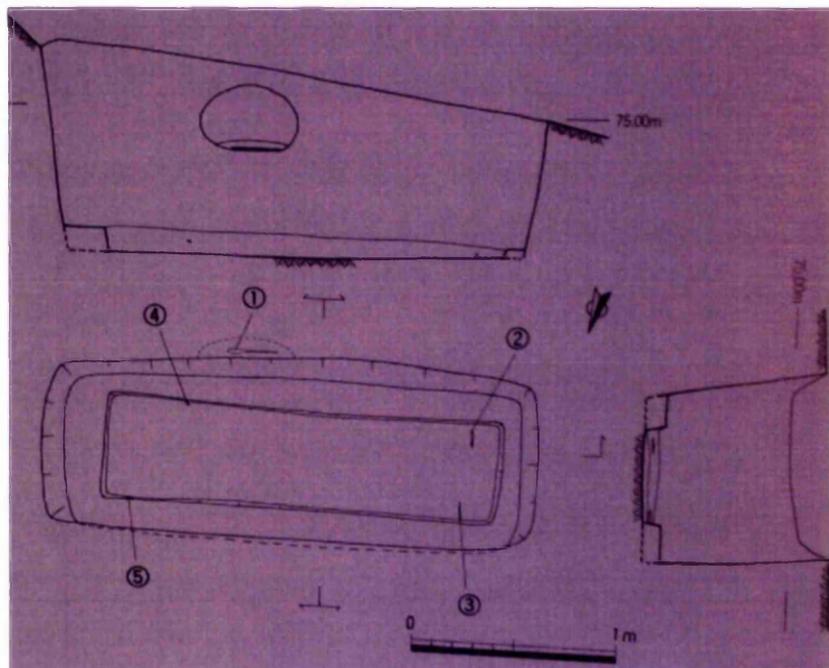
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 410.)



Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 10.

Contents: two white ware ceramics, bronze spoon.

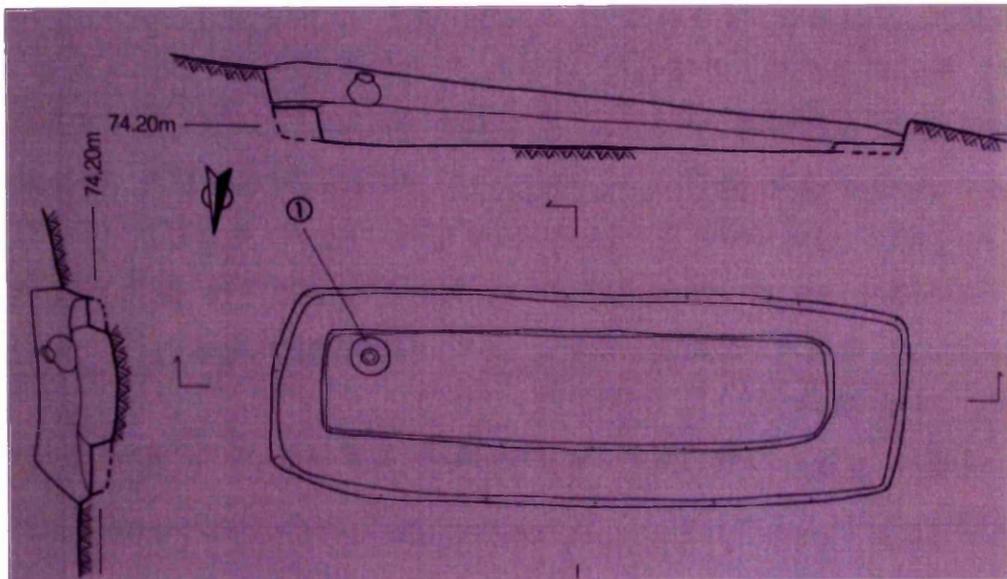
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 412.)



Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 12.

Contents: bronze spoon.

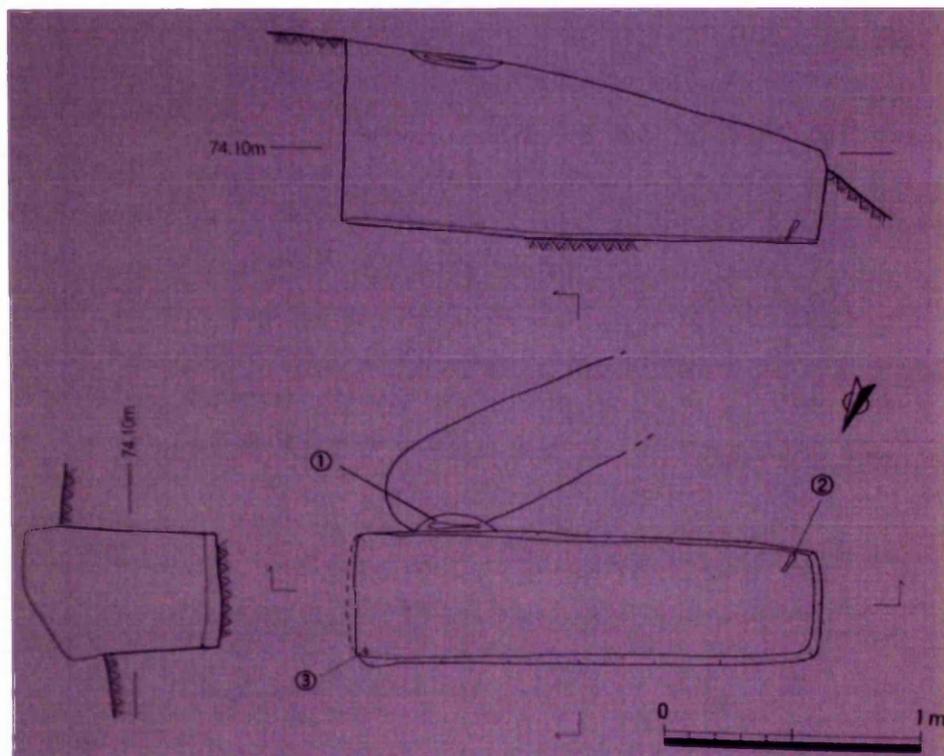
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 416)



Kūmch'ōndong II-2, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 13.

Contents: earthen ware ceramic.

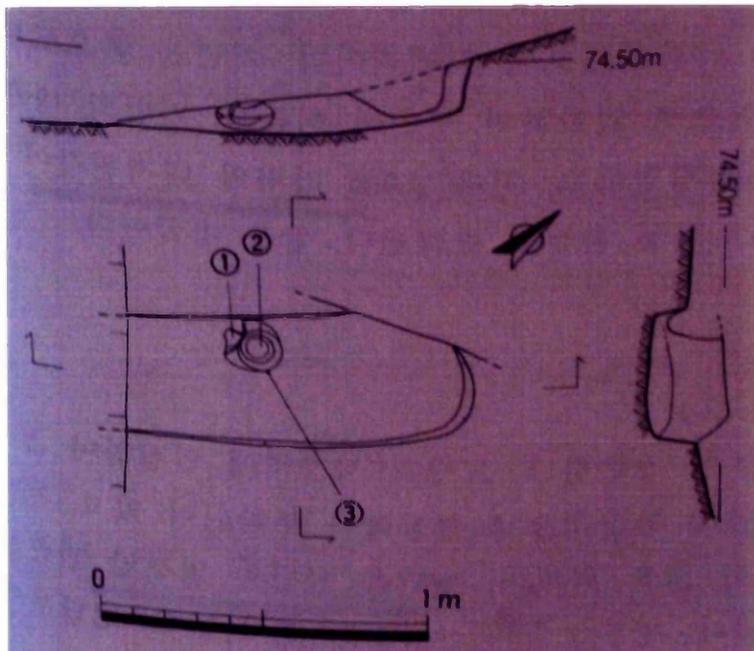
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 418.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-2, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 14.

Contents: bronze spoon.

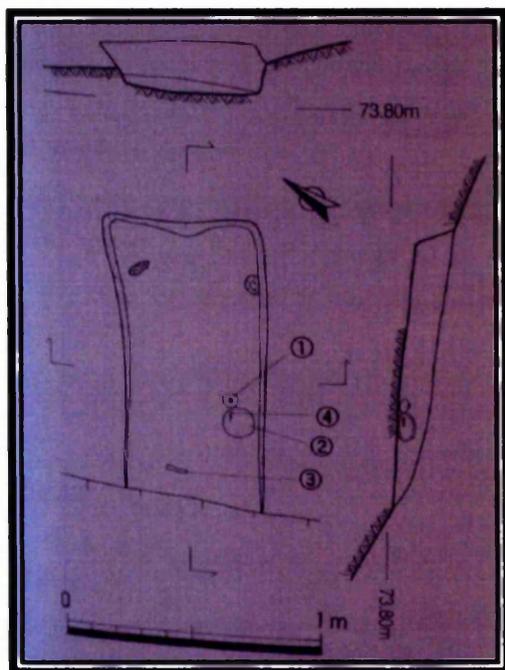
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 420.)



Kümch'öndong II-2, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 15.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon.

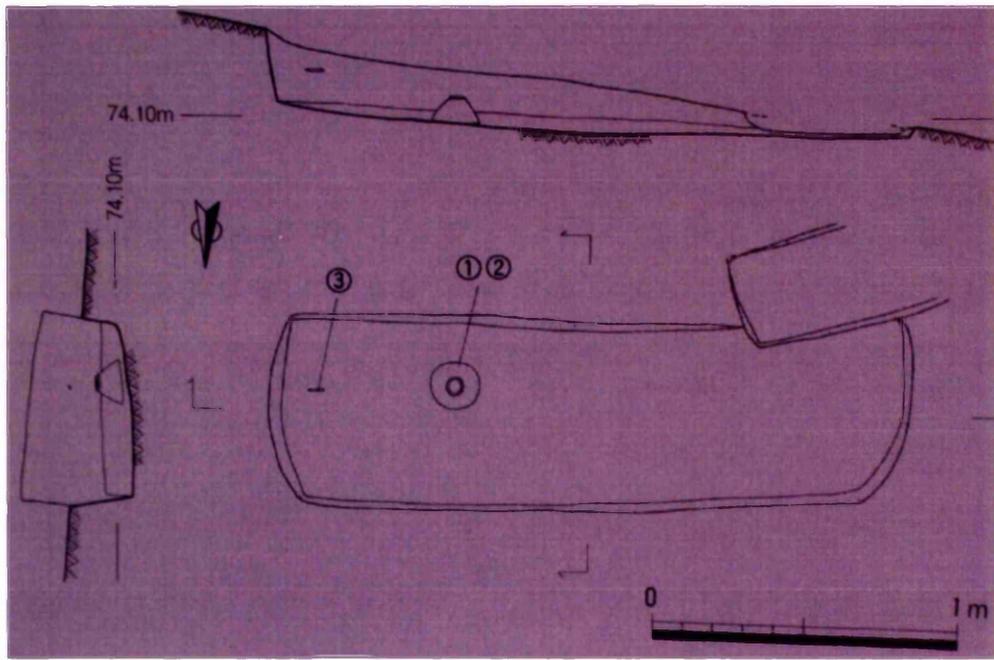
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 421.)



Kümch'öndong II-2, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 16.

Contents: bronze mirror, celadon ceramic, iron scissors.

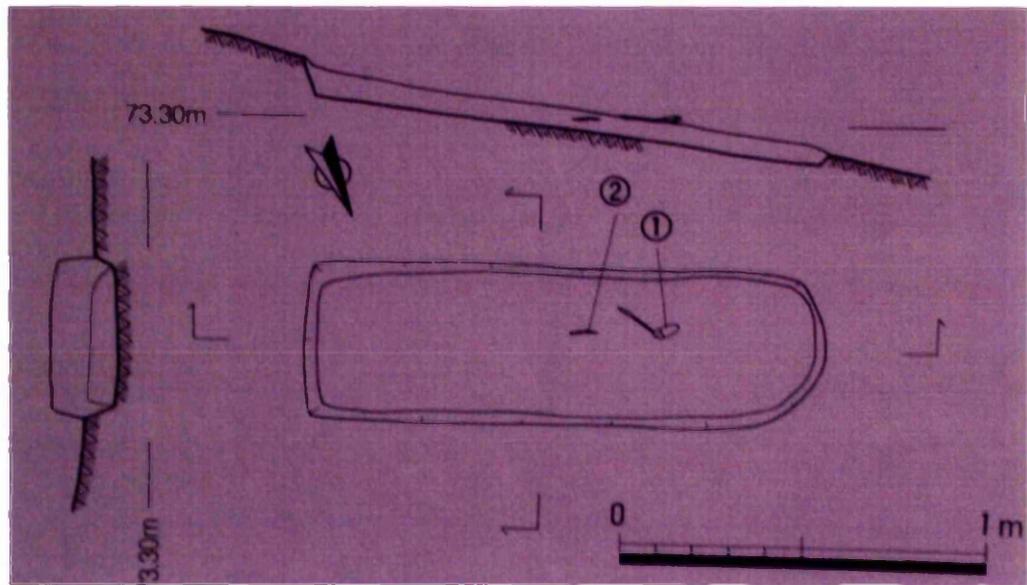
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 423.)



Kümch'öndong II-2, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 17.

Contents: celadon ceramic, bronze spoon.

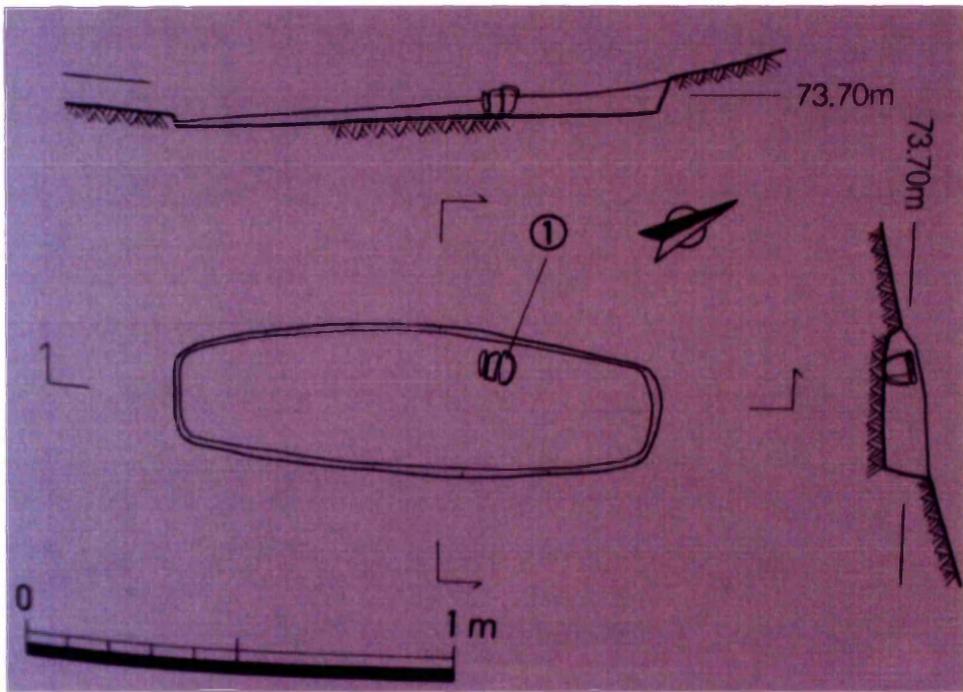
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 426.)



Kümch'öndong II-2, Ch'öngju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 21.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

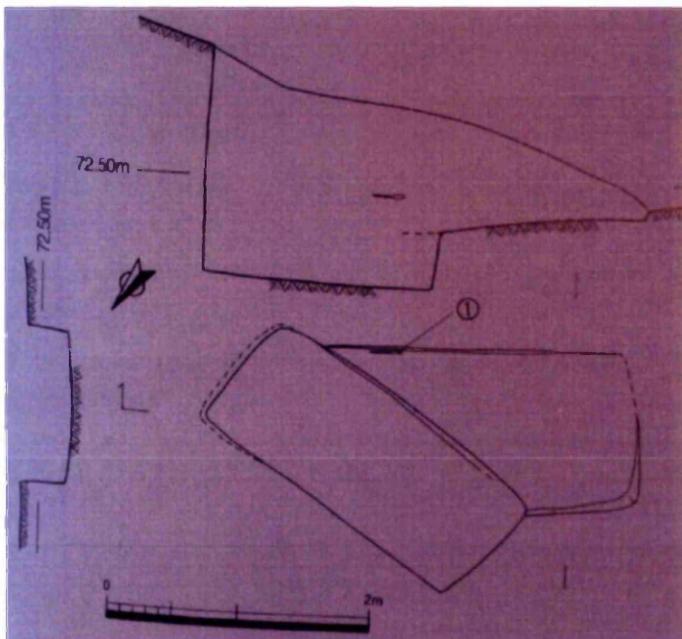
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 430.)



Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 22.

Contents: celadon ceramic.

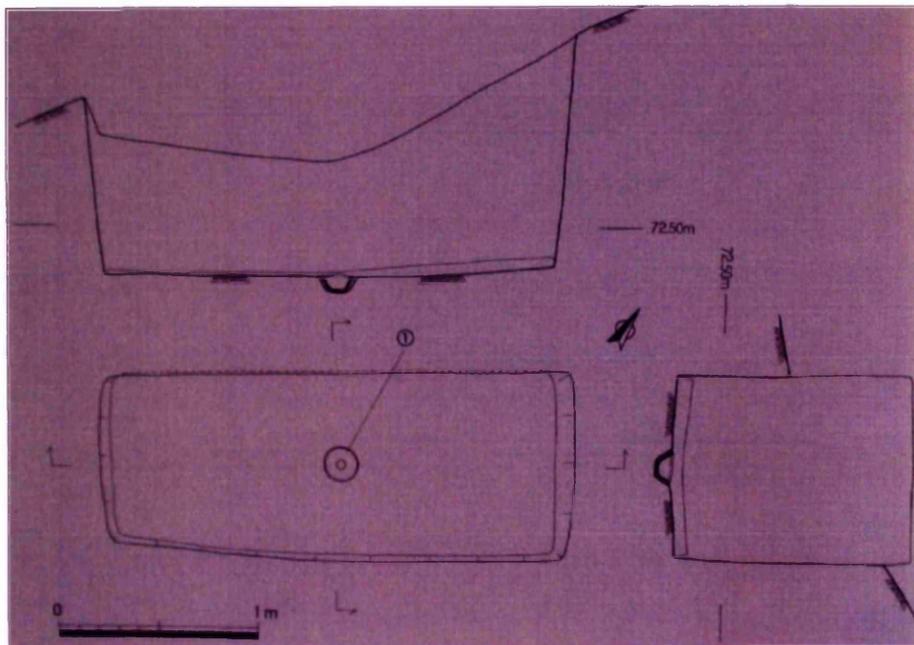
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 431.)



Kŭmch'ŏndong II-2, Ch'ŏngju, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 25.

Contents: bronze spoon.

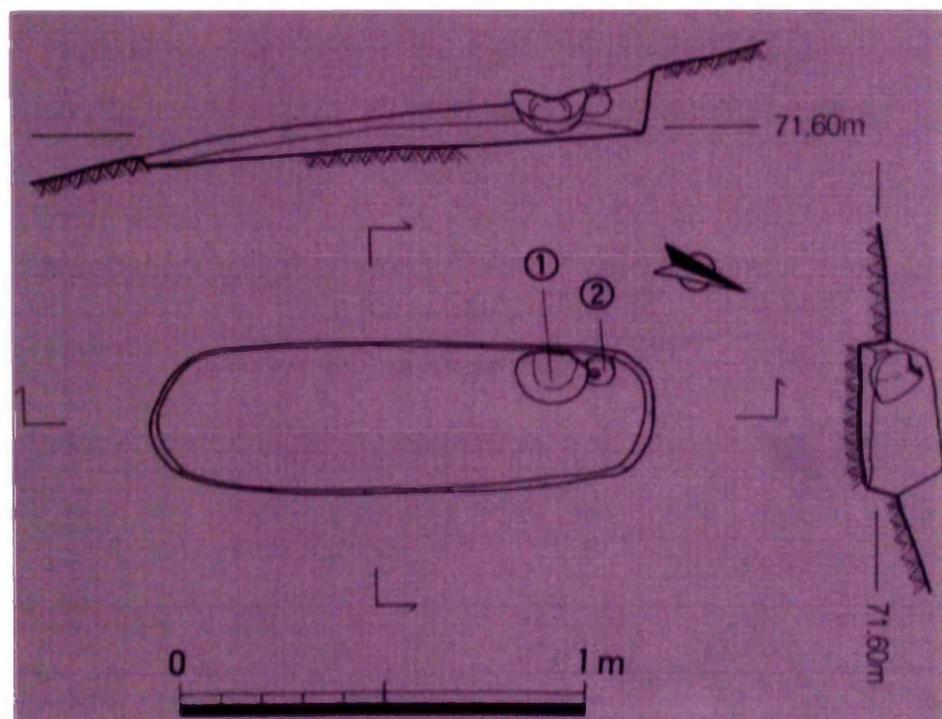
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 435.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-2, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 26.

Contents: white ware ceramic.

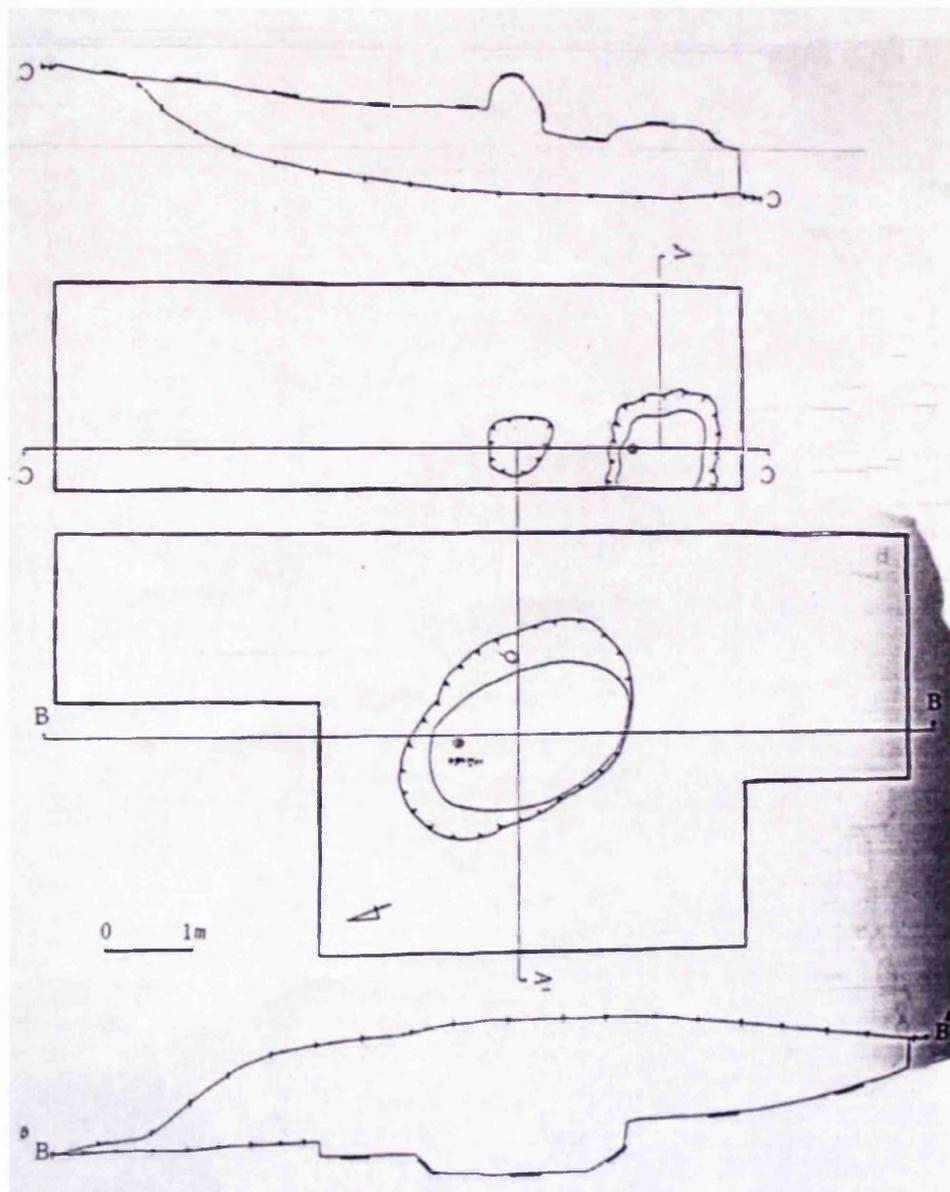
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 436.)



Kūmch'ōndong II-2, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 28.

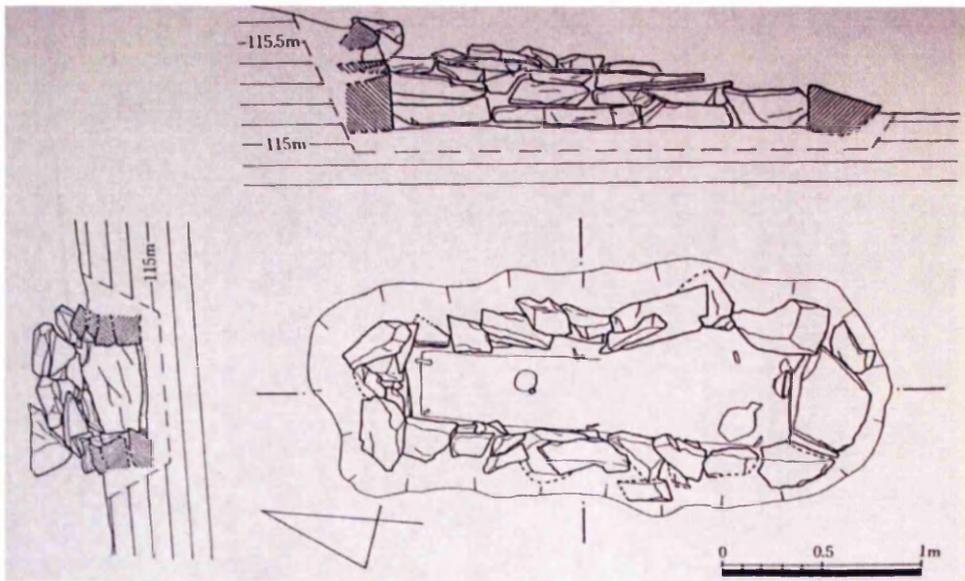
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, Koryō punch'ōng ceramic.

(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 2: 438.)

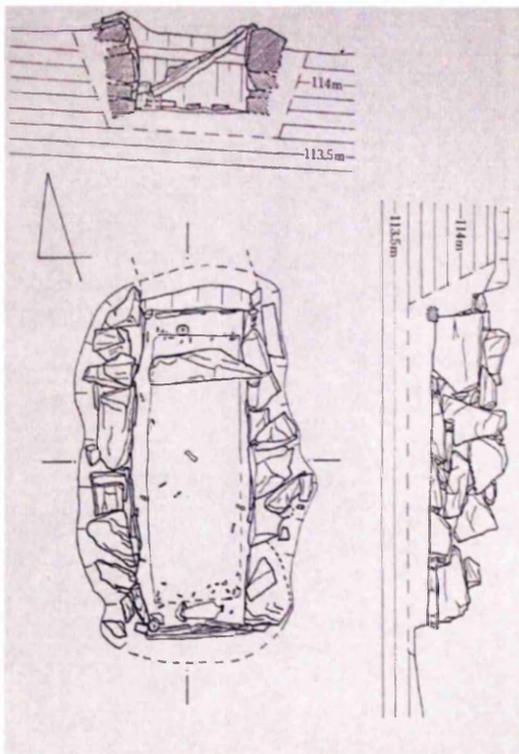


Ch'un'gungni, Kwangjugun, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 1.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, white ware ceramic.  
(After Kim Pyōng-mo *et al.* 1988: 216.)

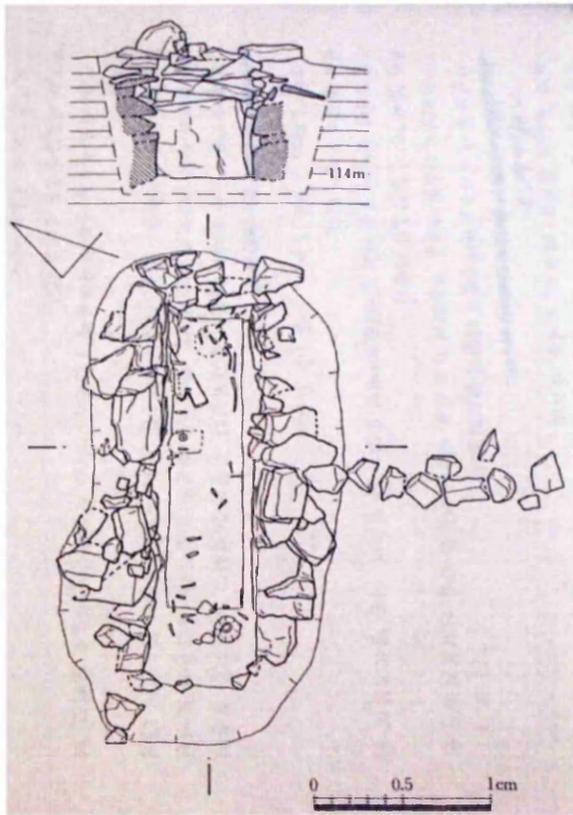
Graves no. 2 and no. 3 are not illustrated in the excavation report.



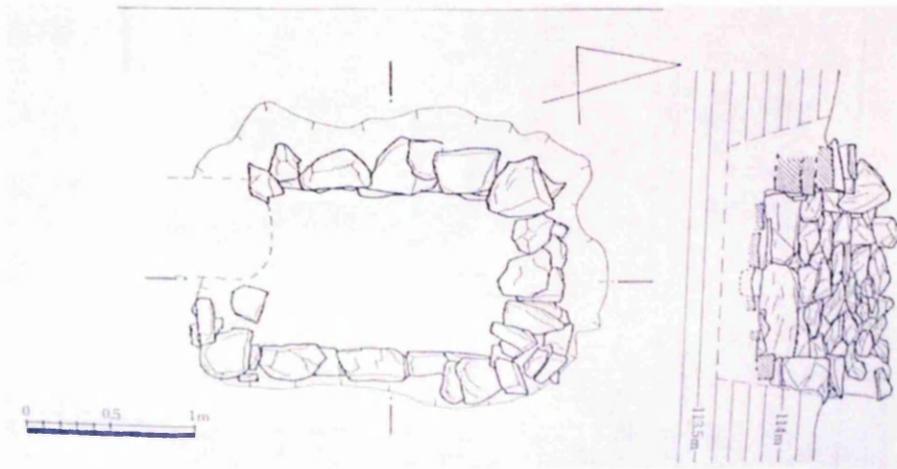
Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 5.  
Contents: four celadon ceramics, iron fragment.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 45.)



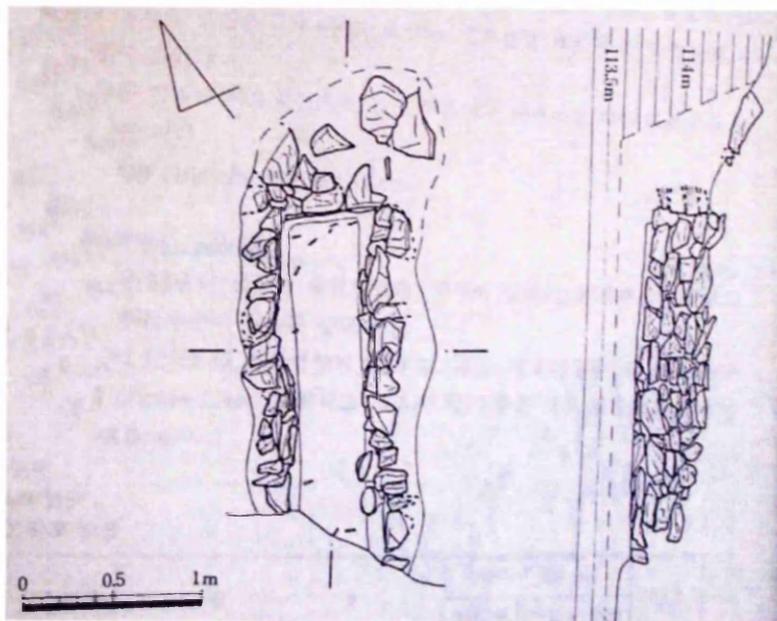
Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 7.  
Contents: three celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, two iron fragments,  
five bronze coins.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 52.)



Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 9.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, two jade beads, iron fragment, bronze coin.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 63.)



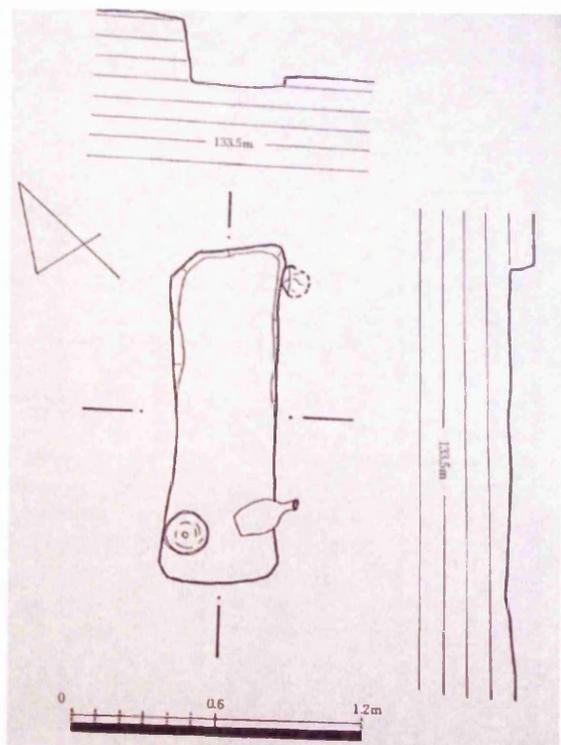
Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 10.  
Contents: three celadon ceramics, white ware ceramic.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 70.)



Tanwǒldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ǒng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 11.

Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic.

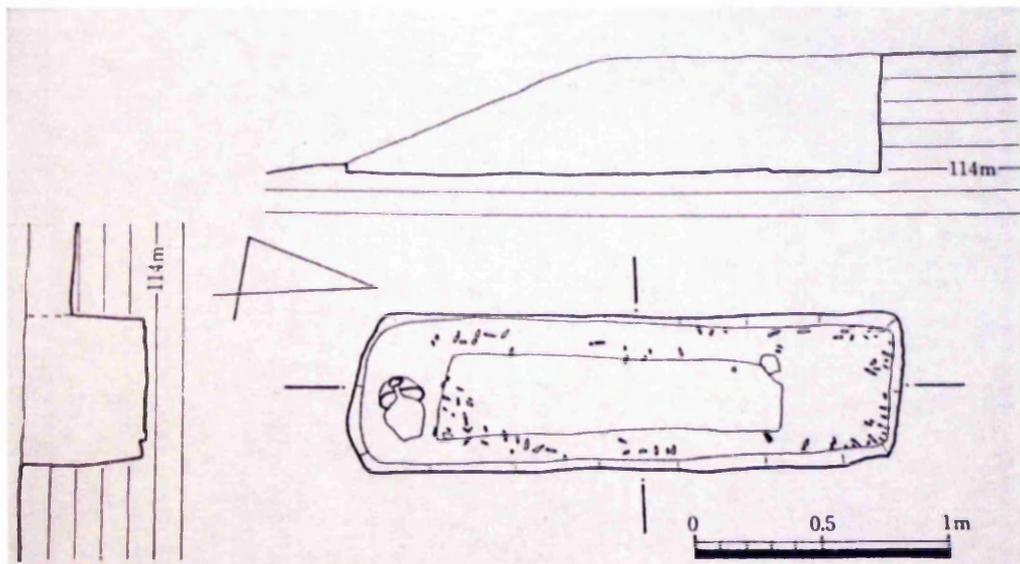
(After Kil Kyǒng-t'aek and Hwang Chǒng-a 1992: 72.)



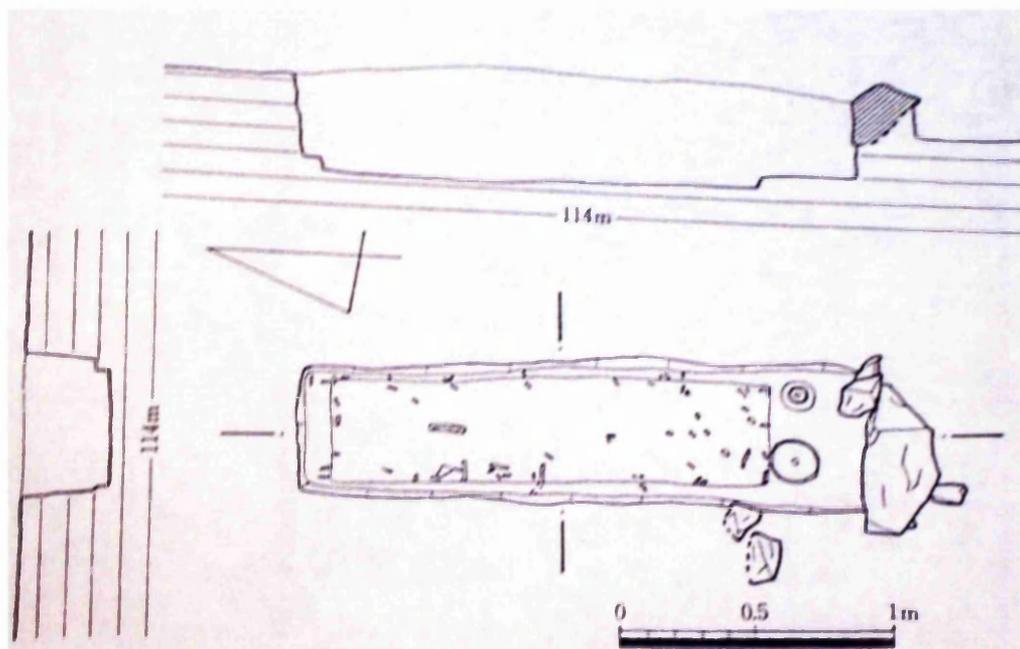
Tanwǒldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'ǒng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 12.

Contents: two celadon ceramics.

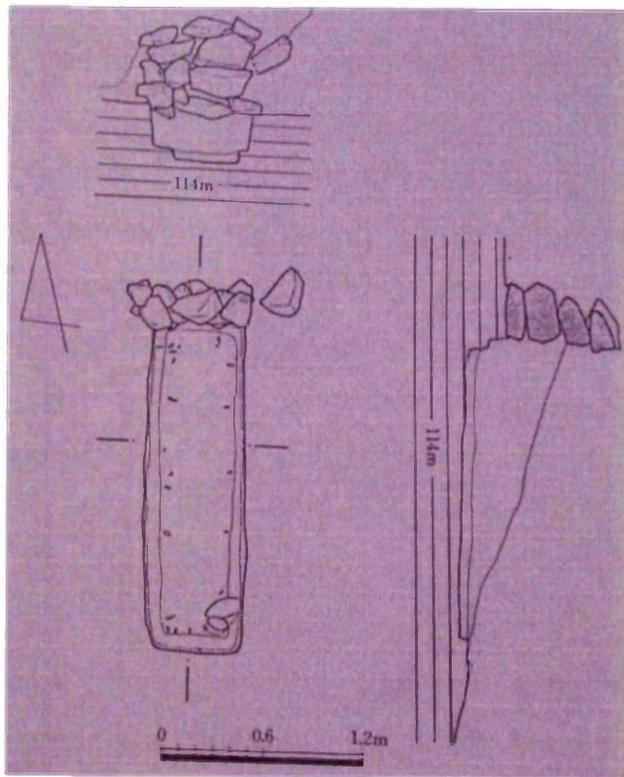
(After Kil Kyǒng-t'aek and Hwang Chǒng-a 1992: 76.)



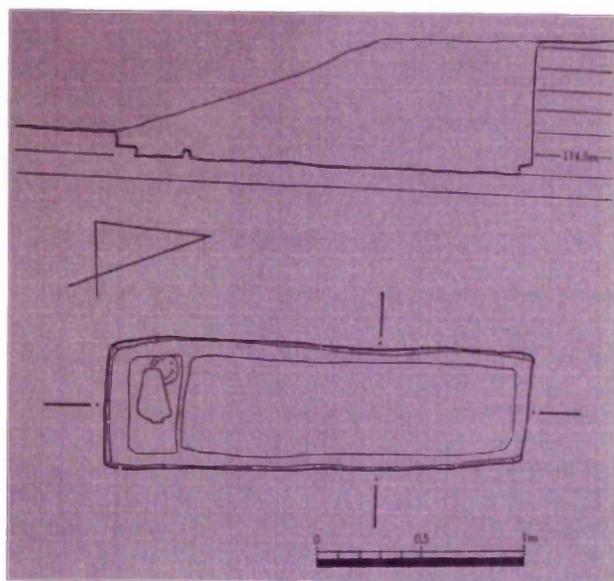
Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 13.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 78.)



Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 14.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, iron fragment.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 83.)

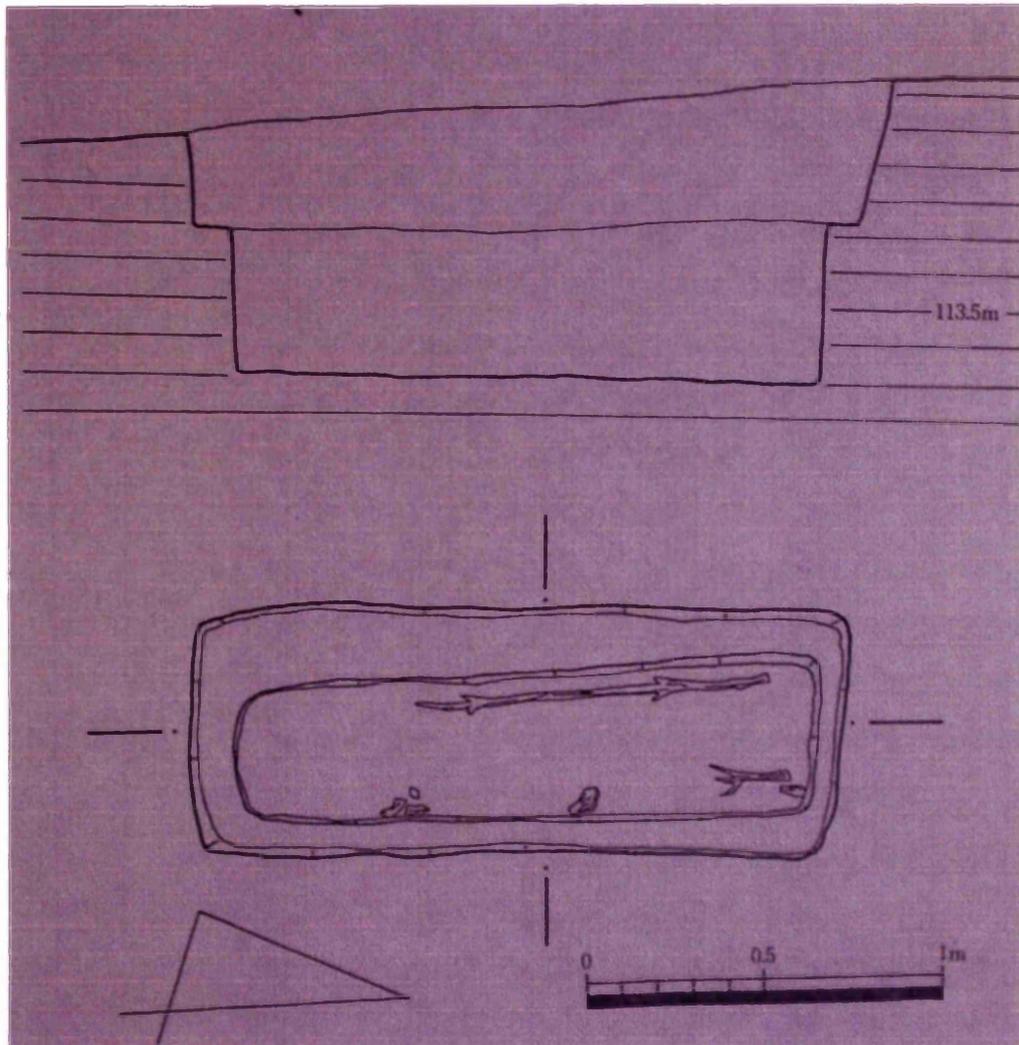


Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 16.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 91.)



Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 17.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, four bronze coins.  
(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 96.)

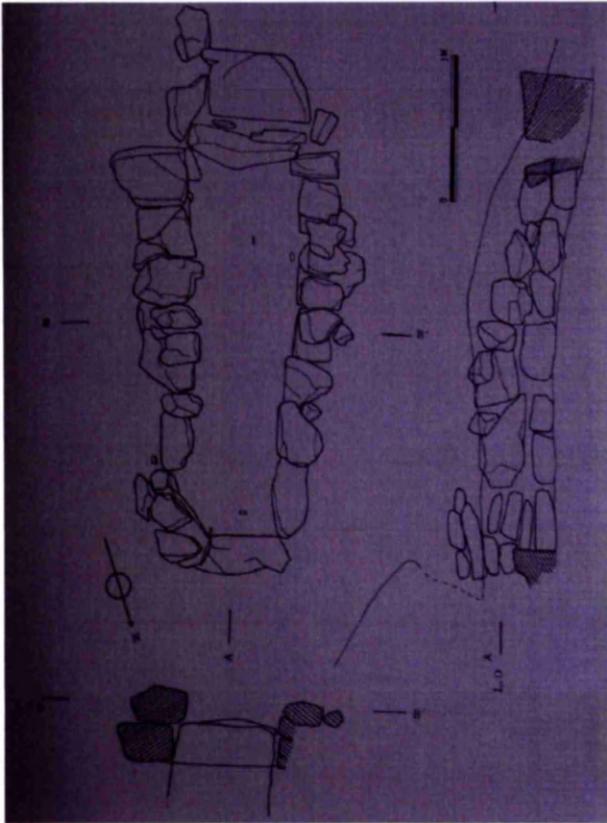
Grave no. 18 is not illustrated in the excavation report.



Tanwöldong, Ch'ungju, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb, no. 19.

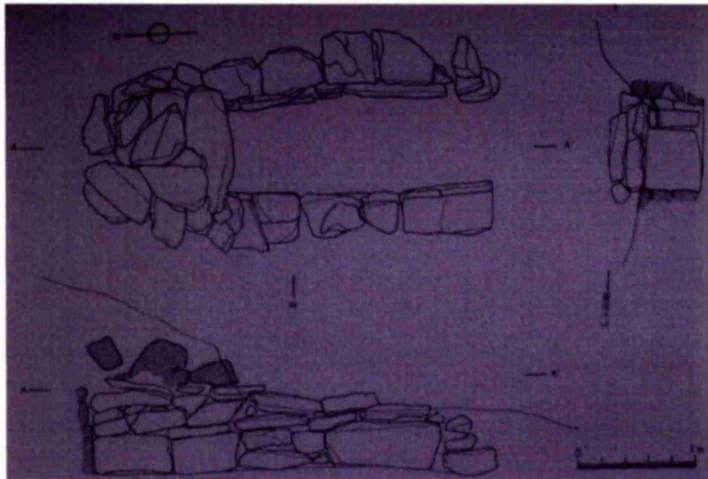
Contents: jade bead, three bronze coins.

(After Kil Kyöng-t'aek and Hwang Chöng-a 1992: 99.)



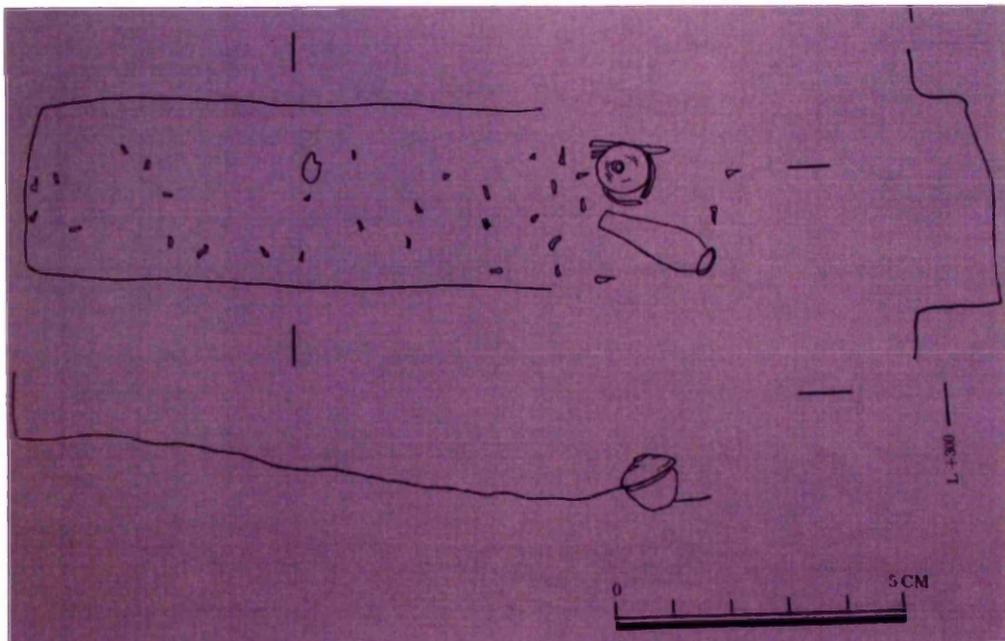
Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 36-1.

Contents: bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
(After Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1991: 135.)



Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 36-3.

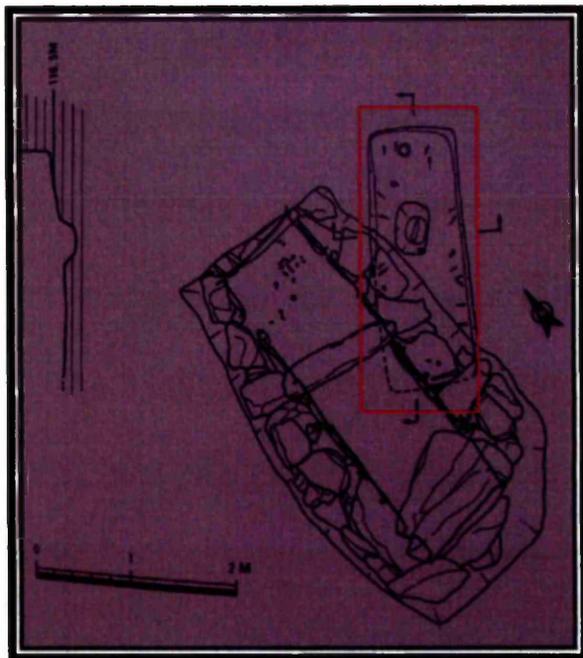
Contents: no burial goods were found.  
(After Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1991: 137.)



Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 36-4.

Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, iron fragment.

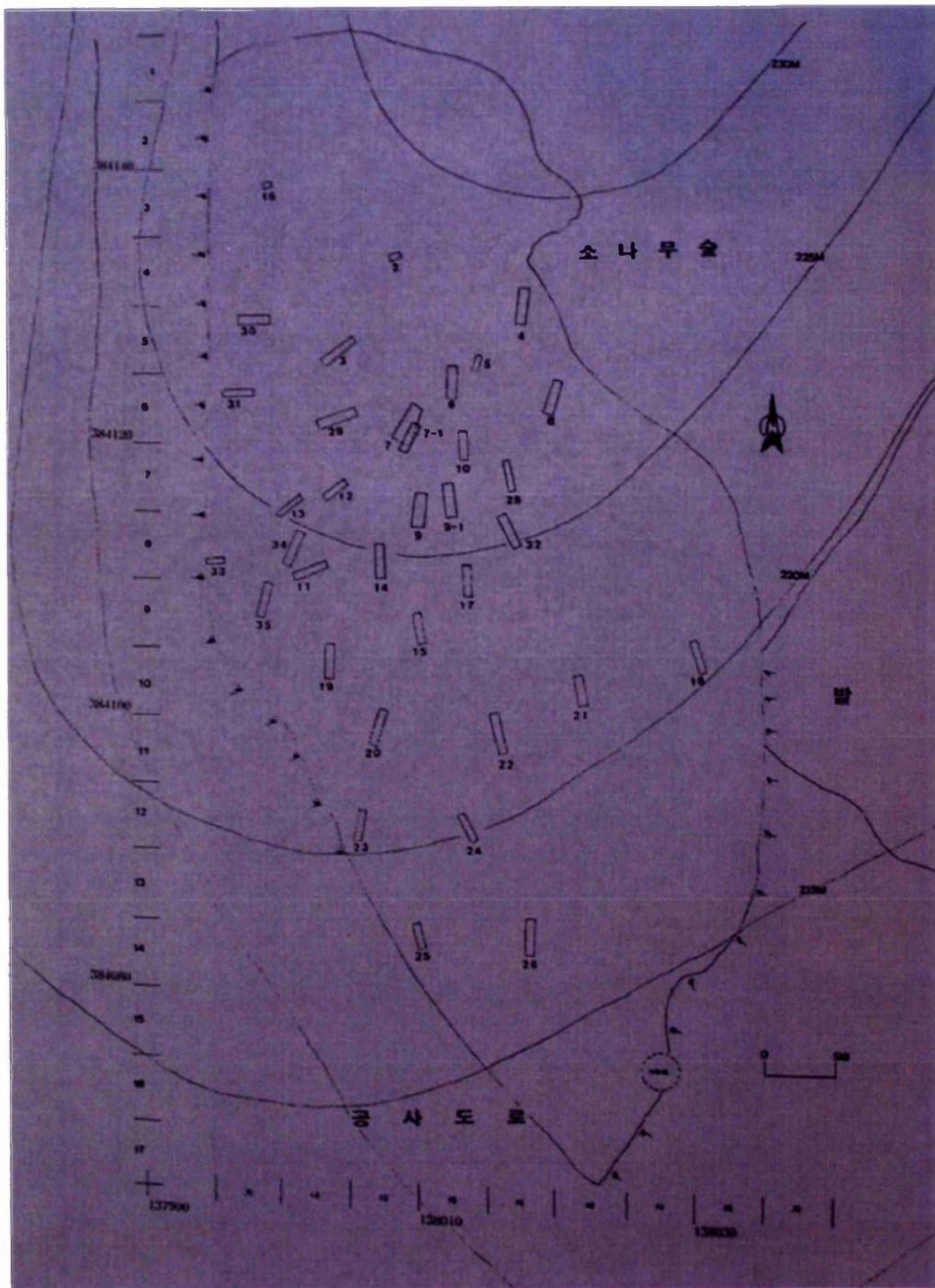
(After Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1991: 138.)



Nuamni, Chungwŏn'gun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 23-1 (outlined in red).

Contents: bronze mirror, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, iron dagger, two iron fragments.

(After Munhwajae yŏn'guso 1992: 117.)



Hyõn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'õng province. Plan of the site.  
(After Sõul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 10.)

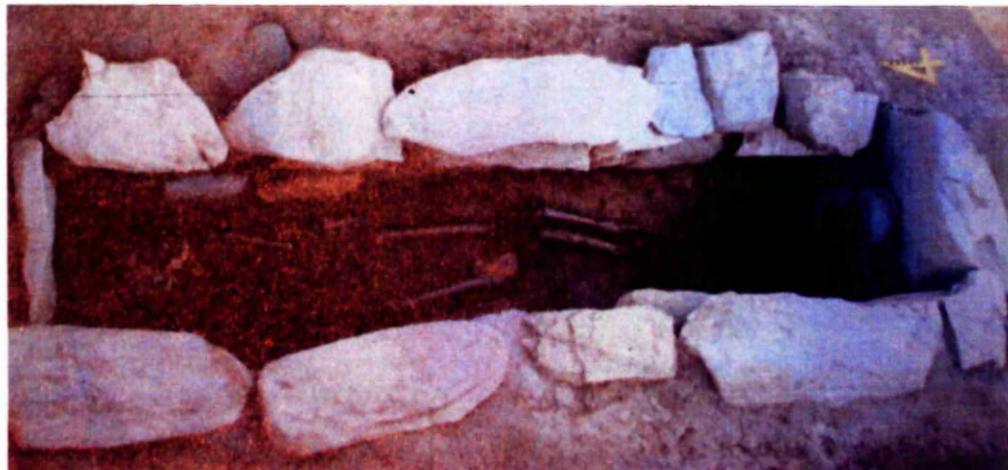
The following graves are not illustrated in the excavation report: 2 to 8, 9-1, 10 to 11, 13 to 16, 18 to 20, 22 to 26, 28 to 29, 31 to 35.



Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 12.

Contents: bronze mirror, three celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, iron scissors, necklace of unspecified material, deer bone.

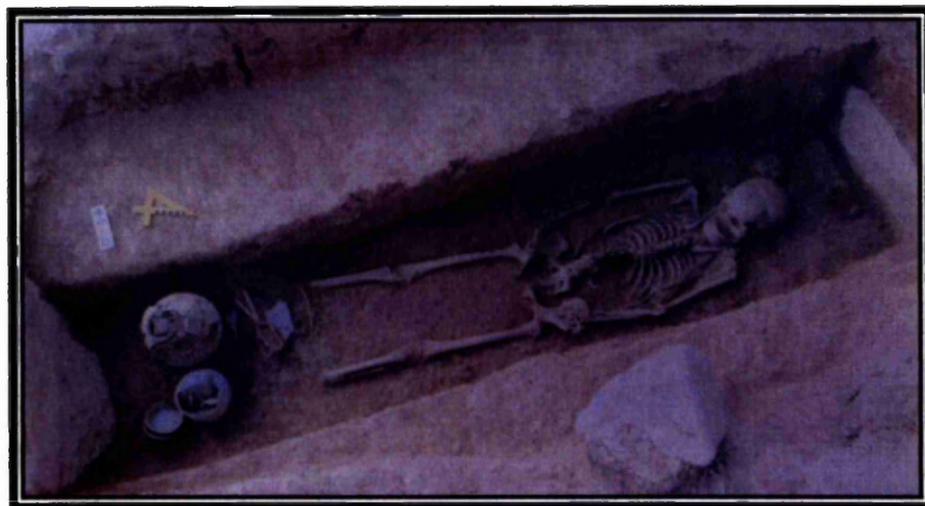
(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 12.)



Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 17.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, iron fragment.

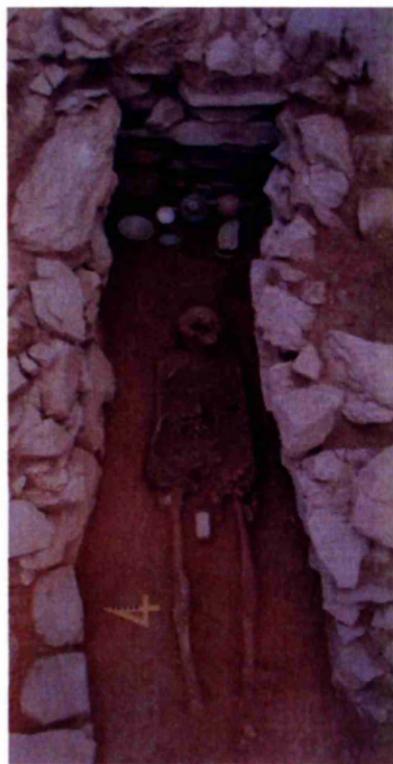
(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 13.)



Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 21.

Contents: bronze mirror, two celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, iron scissors, bronze hairpin, bead of unspecified material.

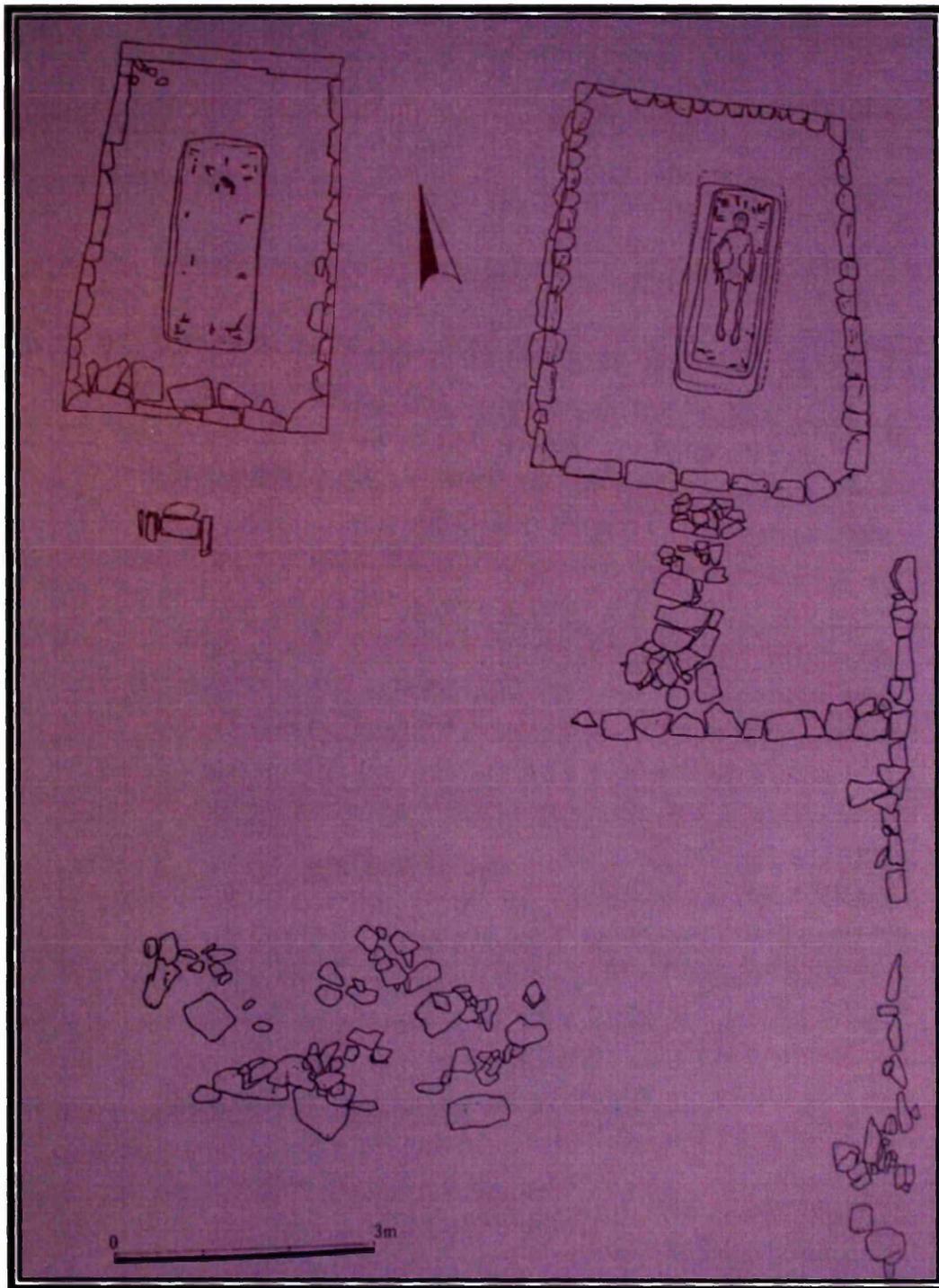
(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 14.)



Hyŏn'gongni, Tanyanggun, North Ch'ungch'ŏng province. Stone-lined tomb no. 30.

Contents: four celadon ceramics, white ware ceramic, bronze fragment.

(After Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1997: 13.)

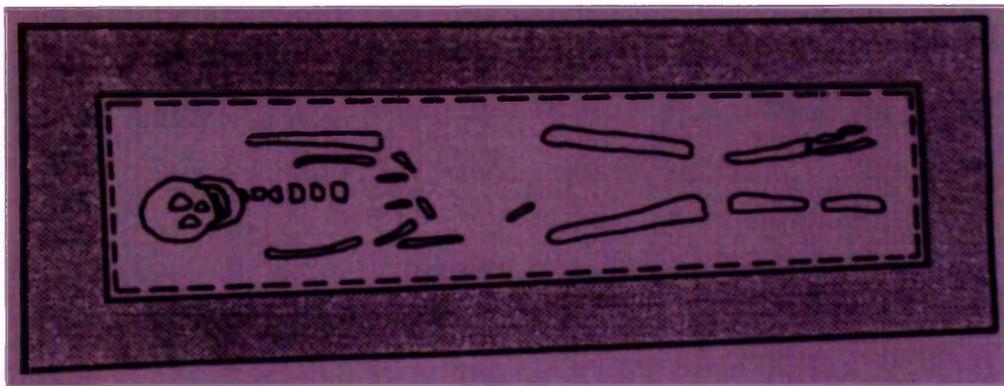


Songnari, Hwasōnggun, Kyōnggi province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 1 (right) and earthen pit tomb no. 1-1 (left).

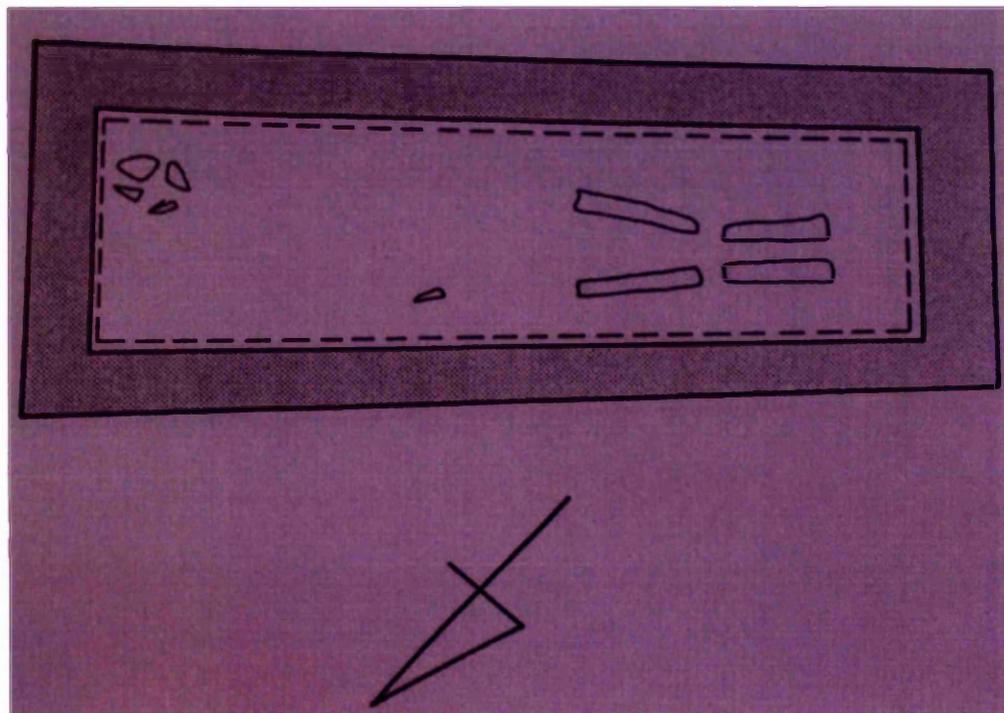
Contents of no. 1: bronze mirror, iron scissors, bronze finger ring, lacquered comb, iron fragment.

Contents of no. 1-1: no burial goods were found.

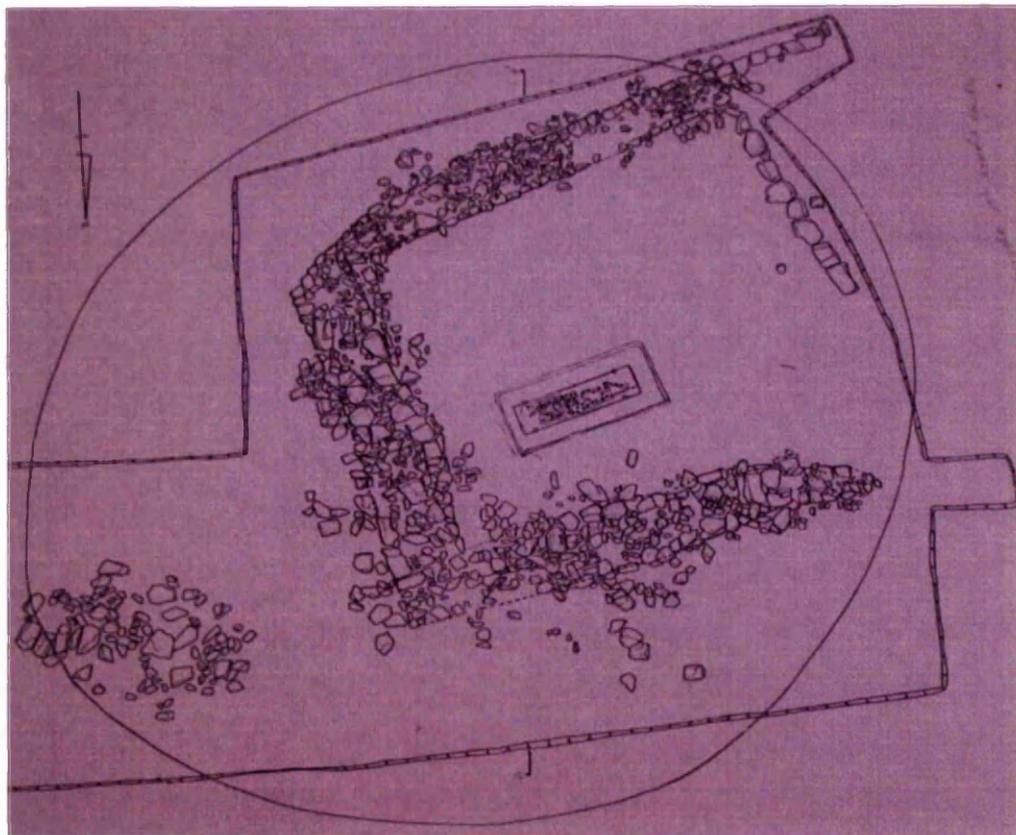
(After Yun Se-yōn and Kim U-rim 1995: 22.)



Kup'ori, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 2-16.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, white ware ceramic.  
(After Yun Nae-hyŏn *et al.* 1995: 180.)



Kup'ori, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 3-2.  
Contents: white ware ceramic.  
(After Yun Nae-hyŏn *et al.* 1995: 194.)



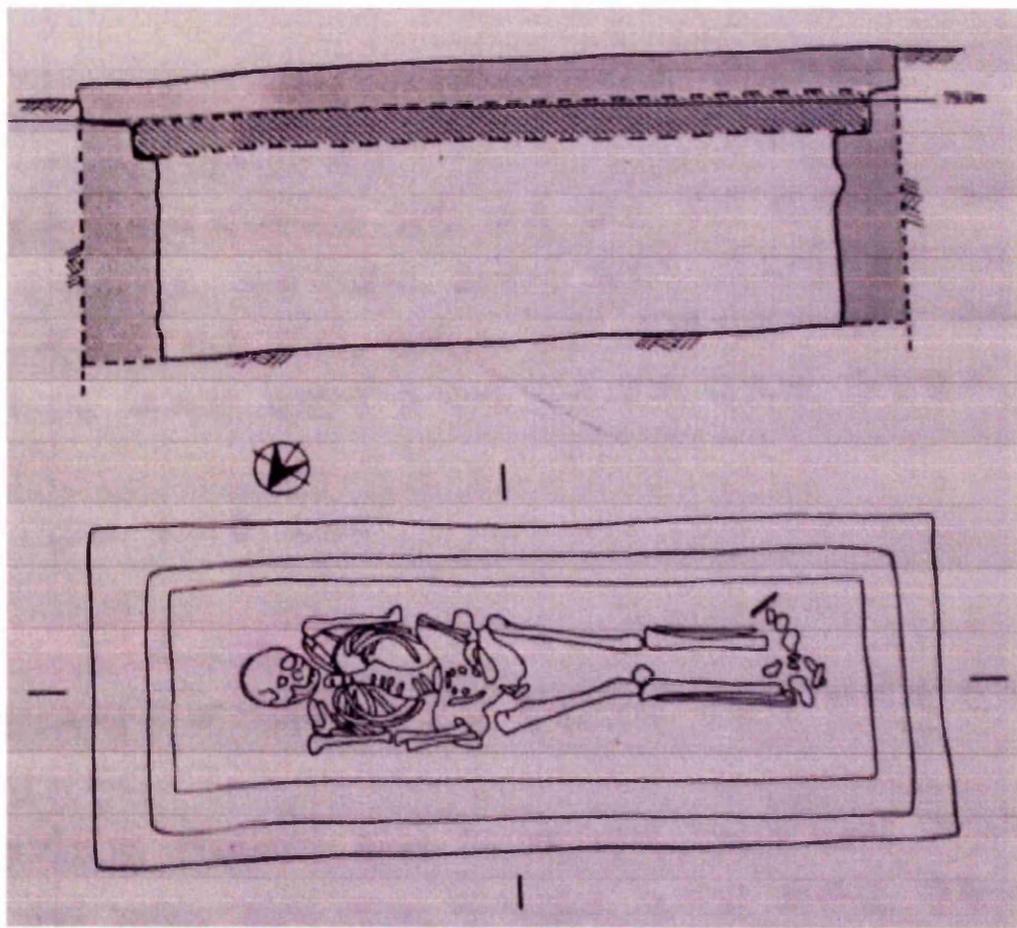
Panwŏlmyŏn, Hwasŏnggun, Kyŏnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 1.  
Contents: bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, forty one bronze coins.  
(After Munhwajae kwalliguk 1978: fig. 1.)



Maeryongni, Yöjugun, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. C-1.  
Contents: three celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks.  
(After Hallim taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1988: 156.)



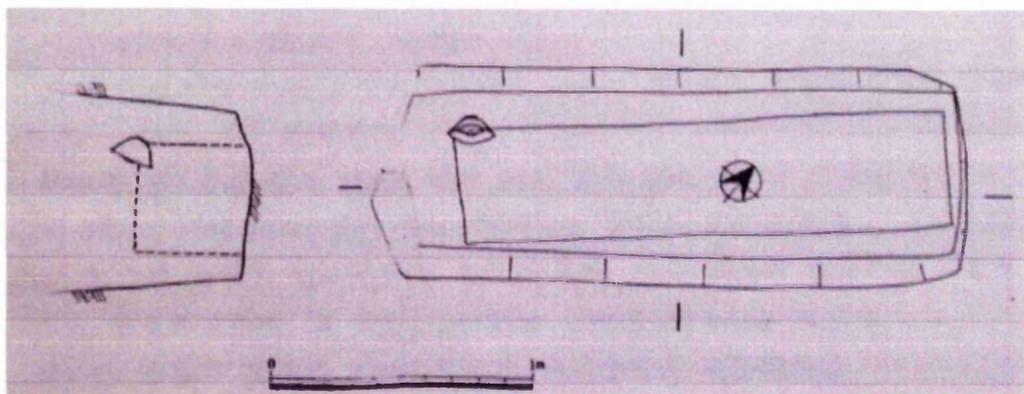
Maeryongni, Yöju-gun, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. C-2.  
Contents: iron scissors, amber bead.  
(After Hallim taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1988: 165.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 1.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

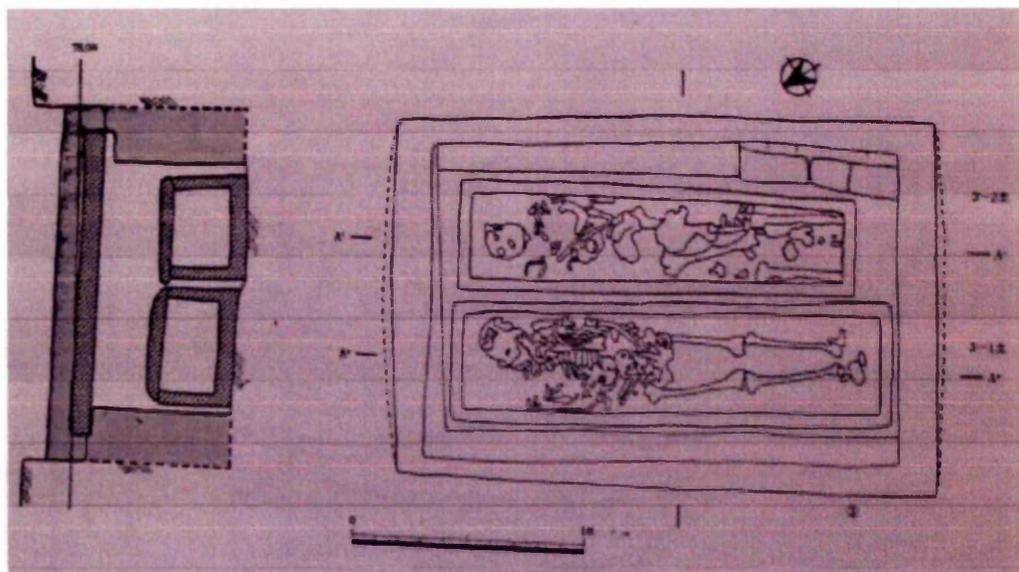
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 30.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 2.

Contents: two white ware ceramics.

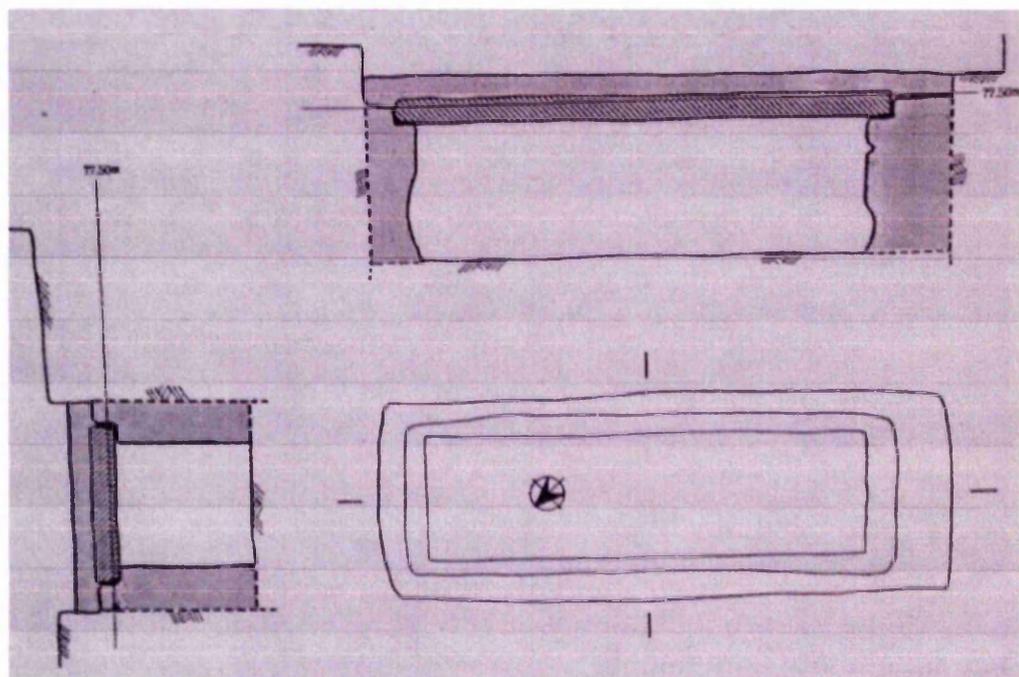
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 3.0)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 3.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

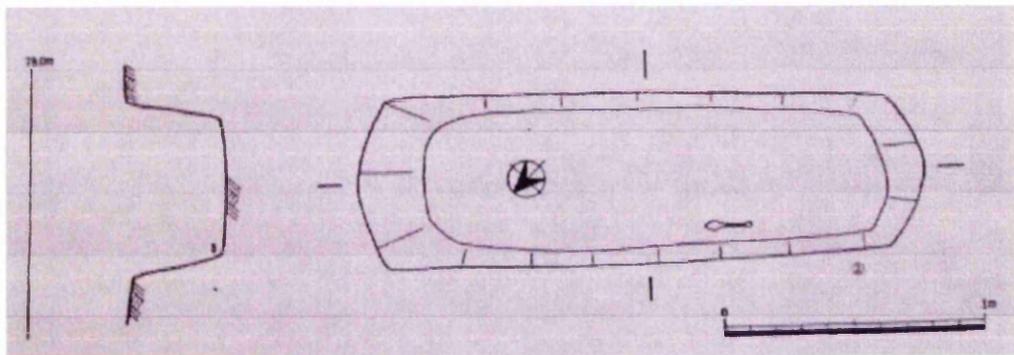
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 31.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 4.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

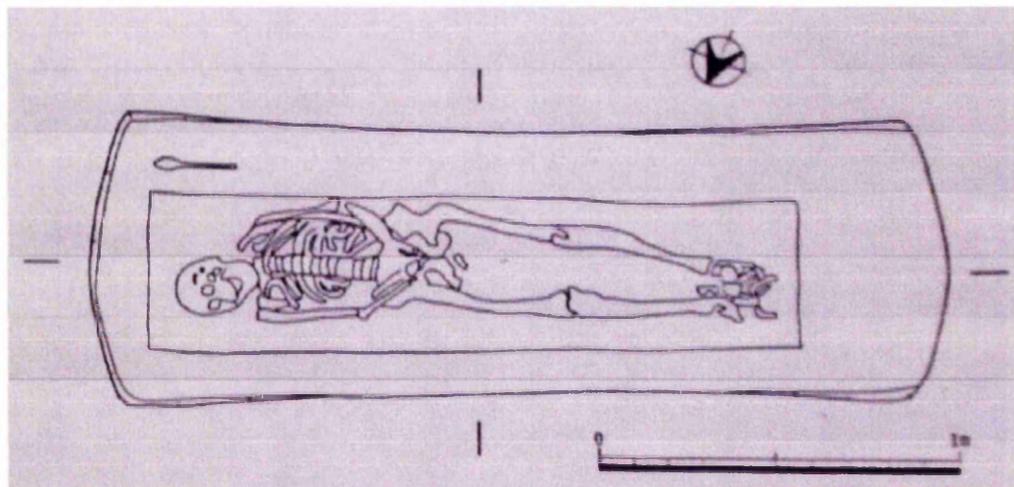
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 33.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 5.

Contents: two celadon ceramics, bronze spoon.

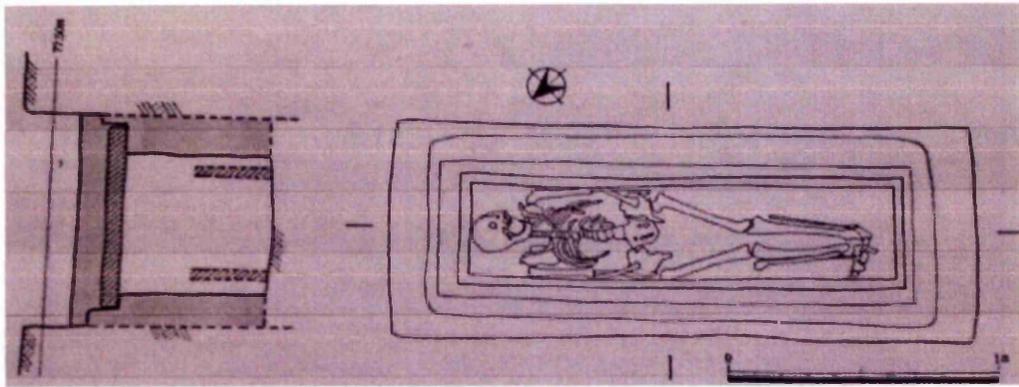
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 33.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 6.

Contents: bronze spoon.

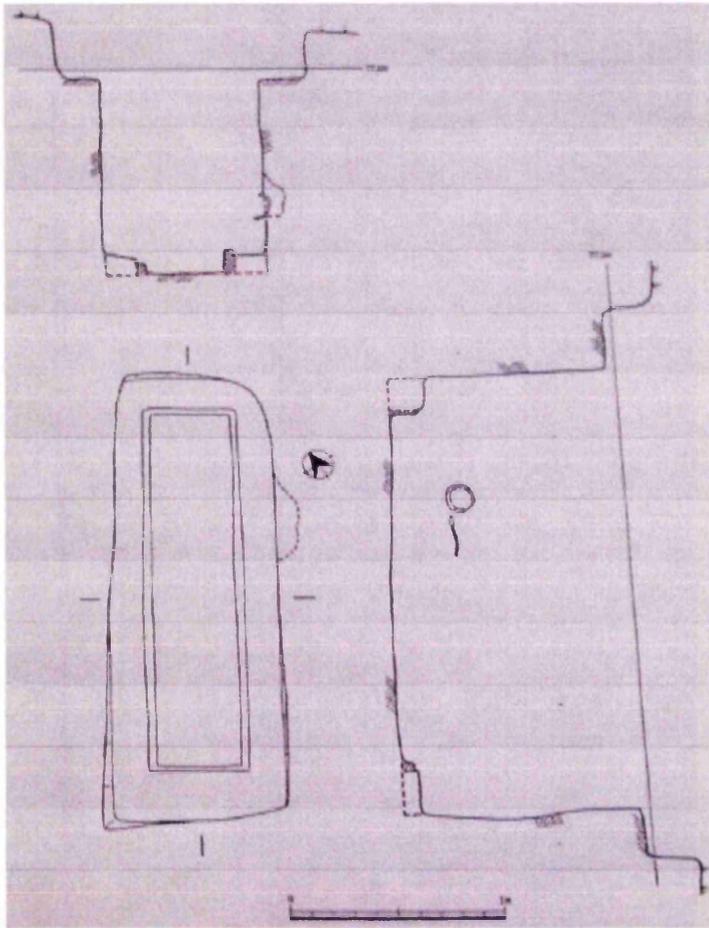
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 35.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 7.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

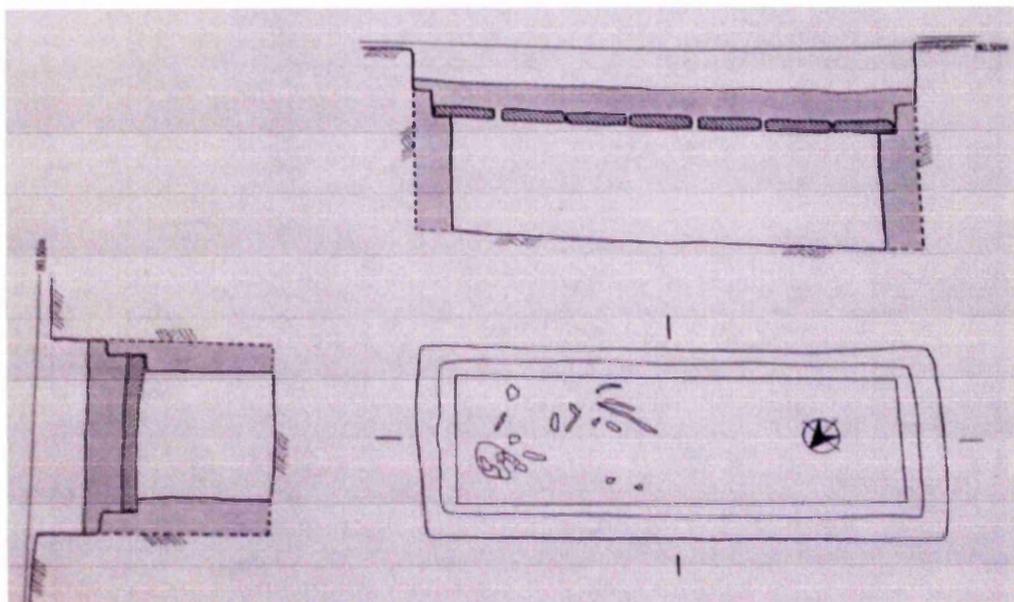
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 37.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 8.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

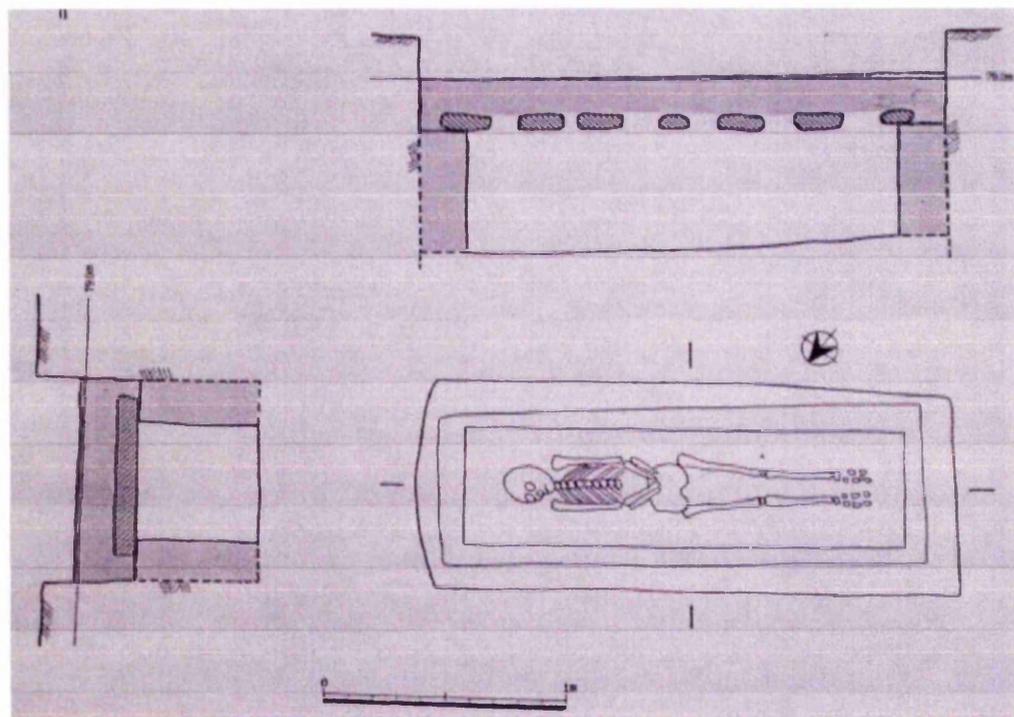
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 38.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 9.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

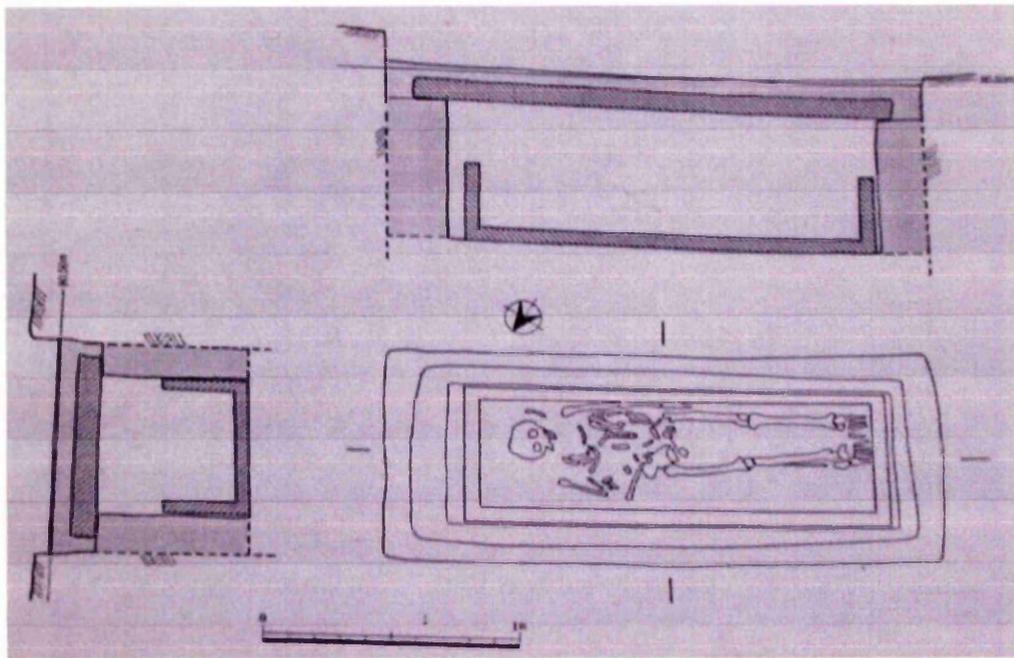
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 40.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 10.

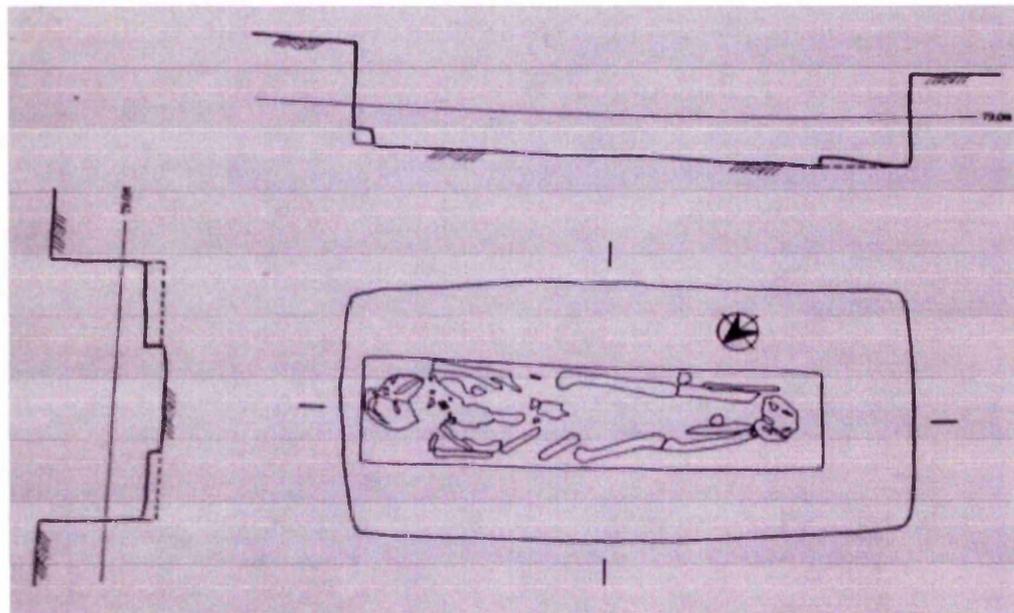
Contents: no burial goods were found.

(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 40.)



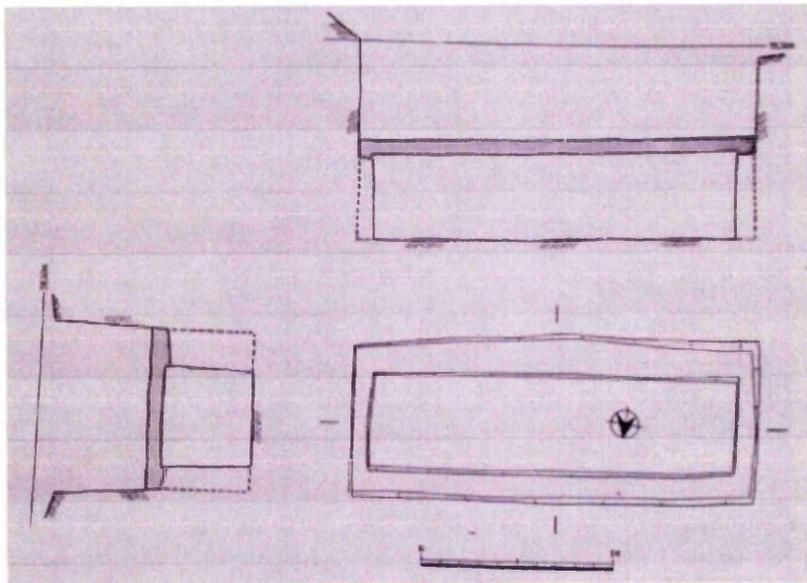
Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 11.

Contents: Koryö punch'öng ceramic, bronze spoon.  
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 42.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 12.

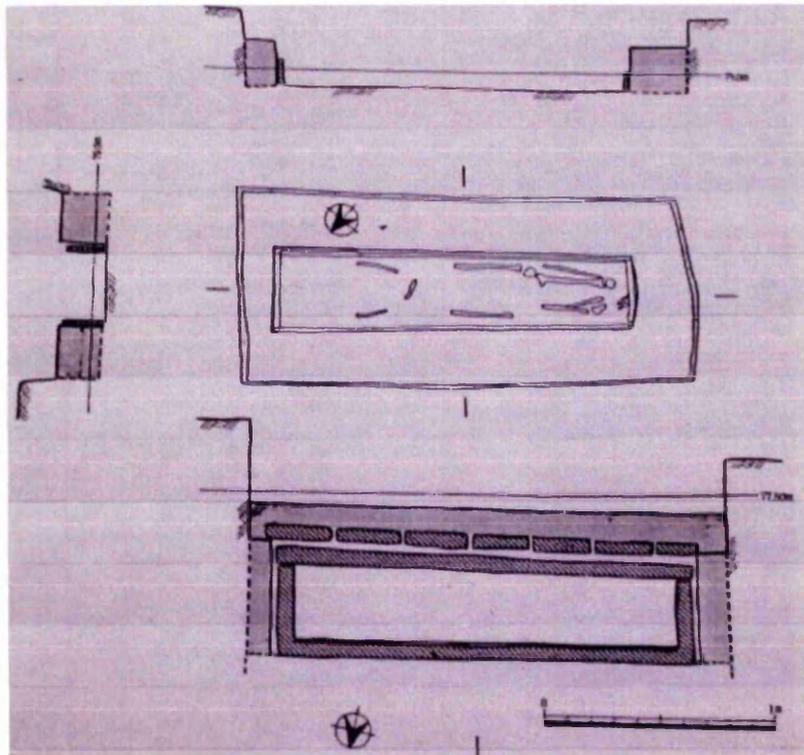
Contents: no burial goods were found.  
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 43.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 13.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

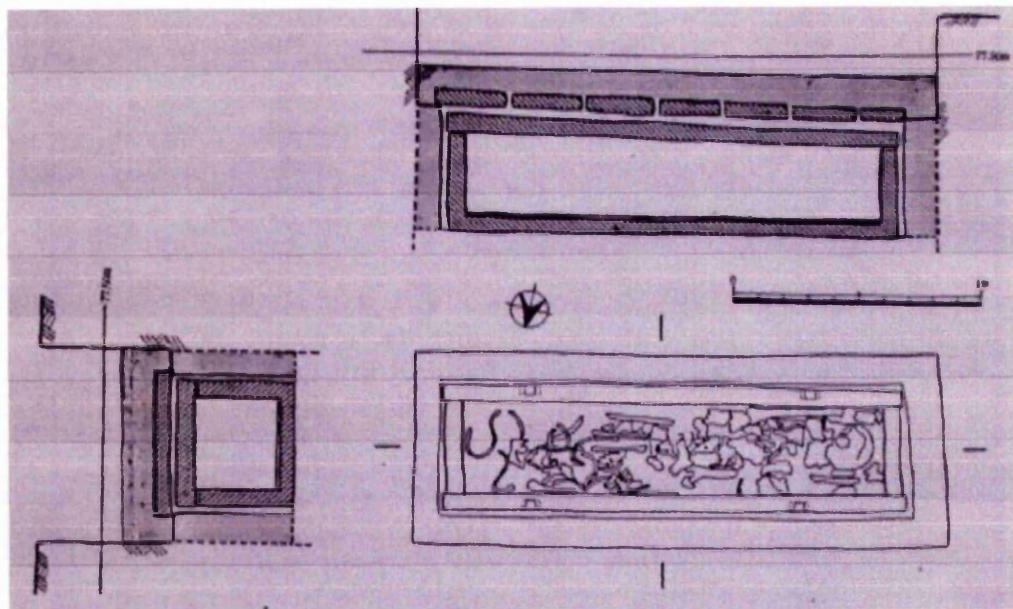
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 43.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 14.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

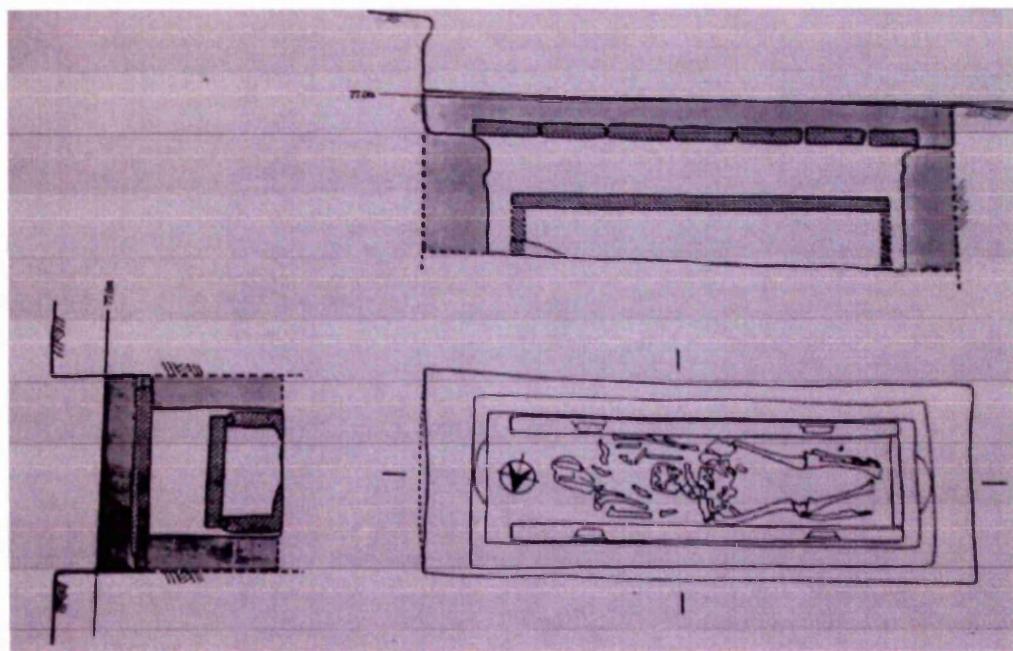
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 45.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 15.

Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.

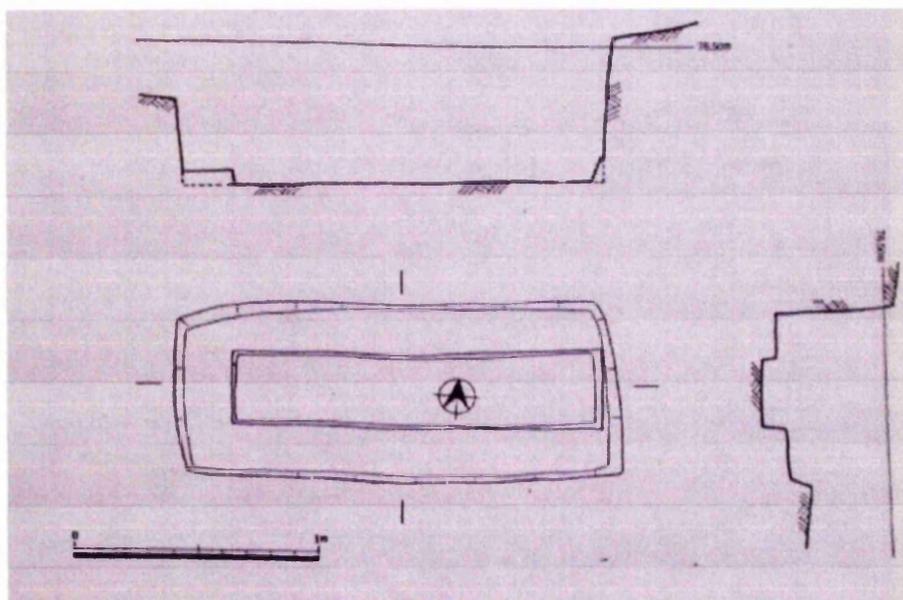
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 45.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Lime-coffin tomb no. 16.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

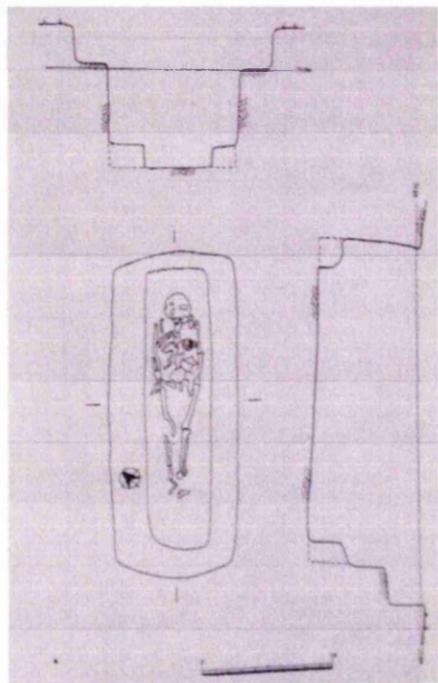
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 47.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 17.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

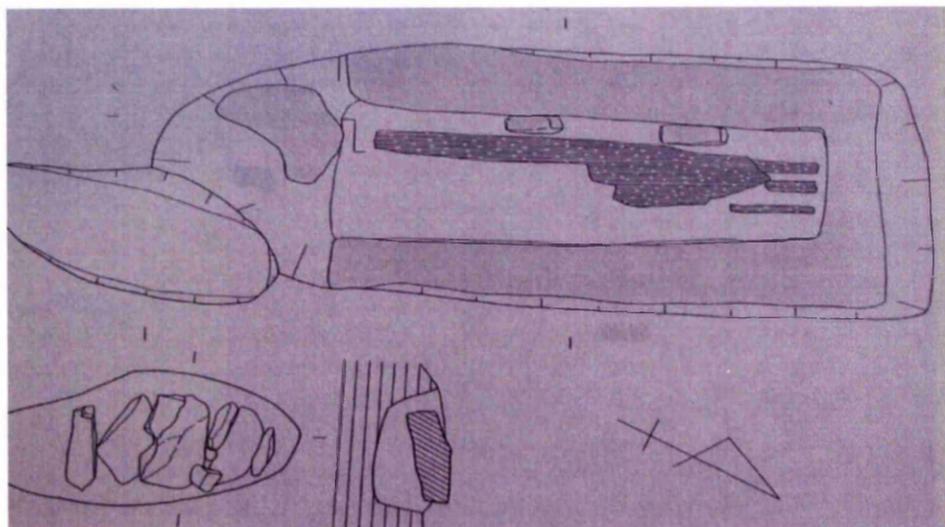
(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 47.)



Söngsöngni, Chinch'ön'gun, North Ch'ungch'öng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 18.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

(After Ch'ungbuk taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1991: 48.)

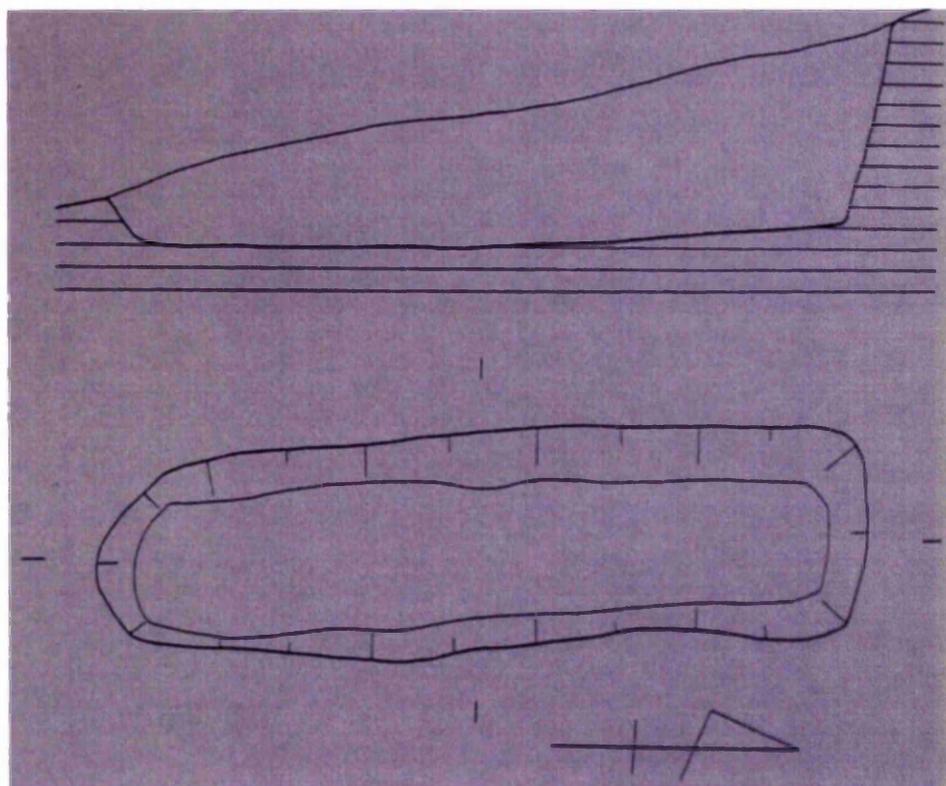


Töksalli, Kimhaegun, South Kyöngsang province. Lime-coffin tombs nos 9-1 (left) and 9 (right).

Contents of no. 9-1: earthen ware ceramic.

Contents of no. 9: earthen ware ceramic.

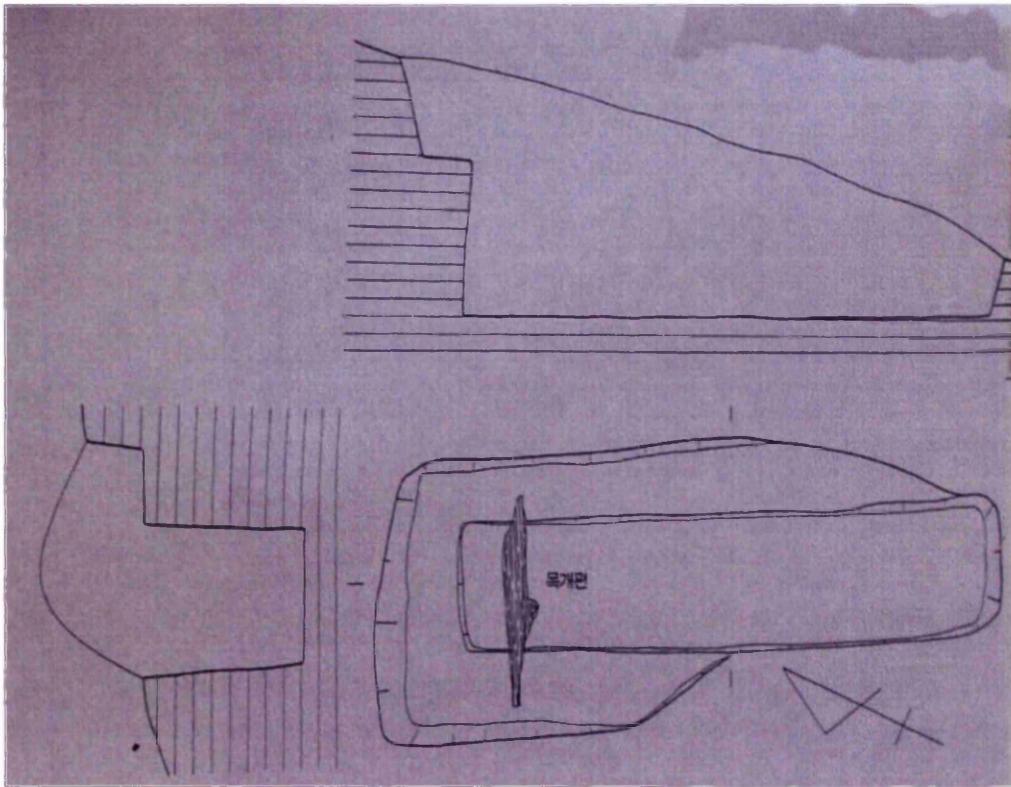
(After Yi Sang-gil *et al.* 1995: 46.)



Töksalli, Kimhaegun, South Kyöngsang province. Earthen pit tomb no. 18.

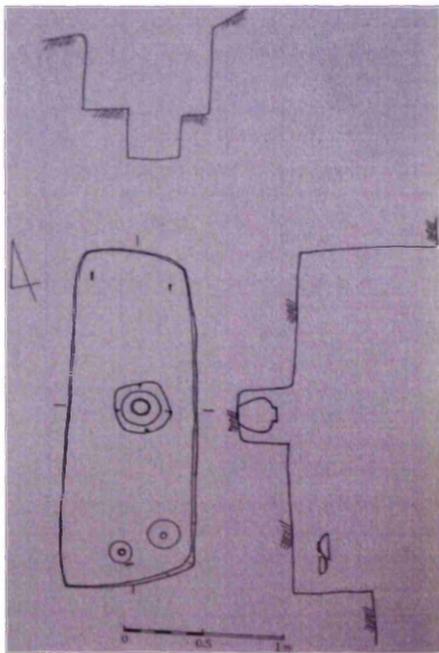
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic.

(After Yi Sang-gil *et al.* 1995: 44.)

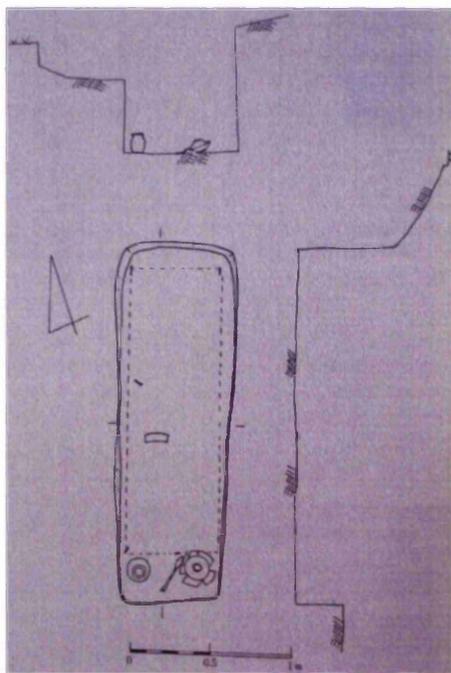


Töksalli, Kimhaegun, South Kyöngsang province. Earthen pit tomb no. 20.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic.  
(After Yi Sang-gil *et al.* 1995: 46.)

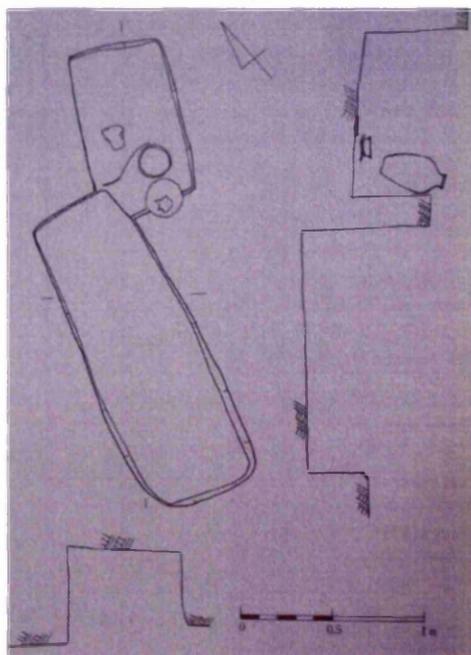
Töksalli, Kimhaegun, South Kyöngsang province. Grave no. 24 is not illustrated.



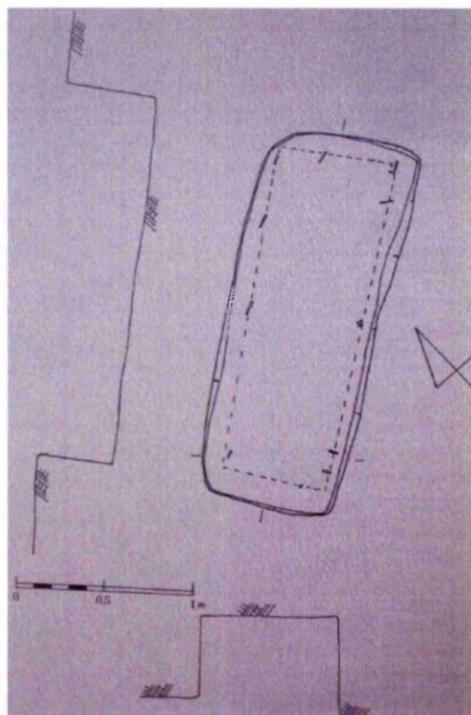
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 2.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, white ware ceramic, Koryö punch'öng ceramic.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 40.)



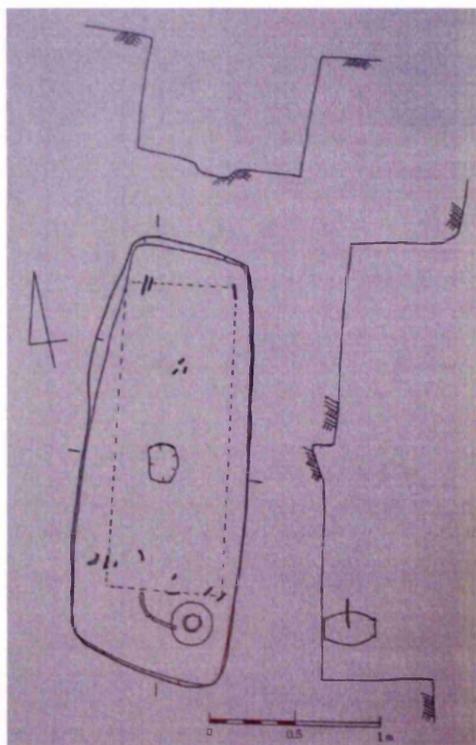
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 3.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, black ware ceramic, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 44.)



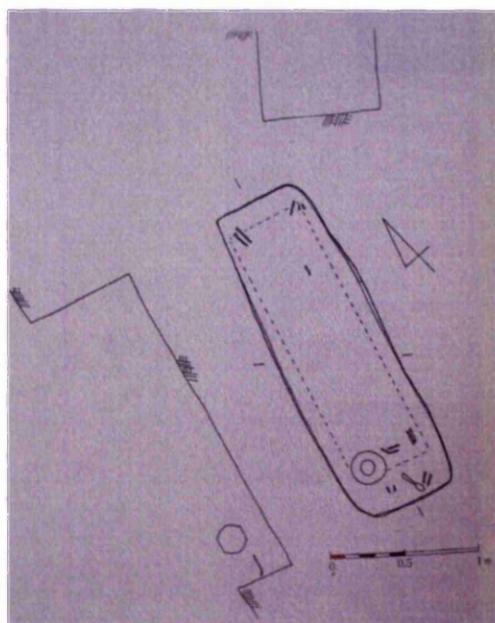
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 4.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 48.)



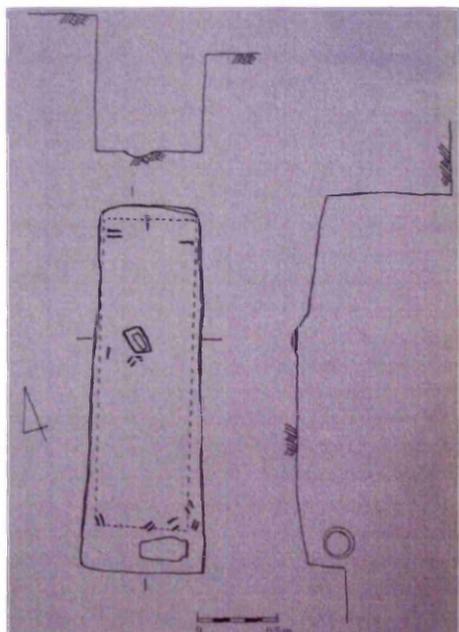
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 5.  
Contents: no burial goods were found.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 53.)



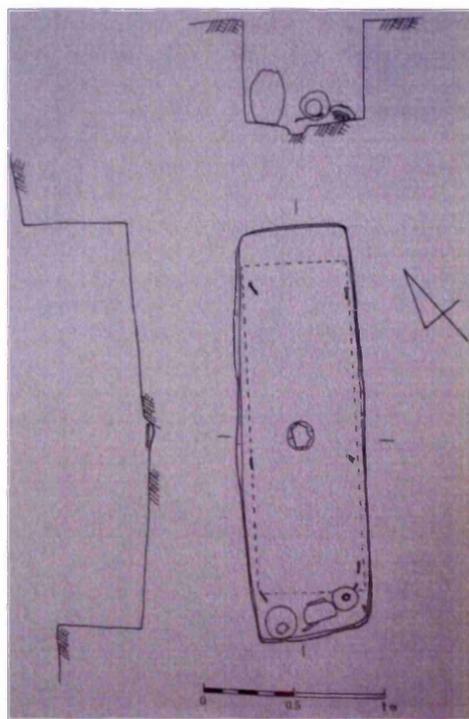
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 6.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 55.)



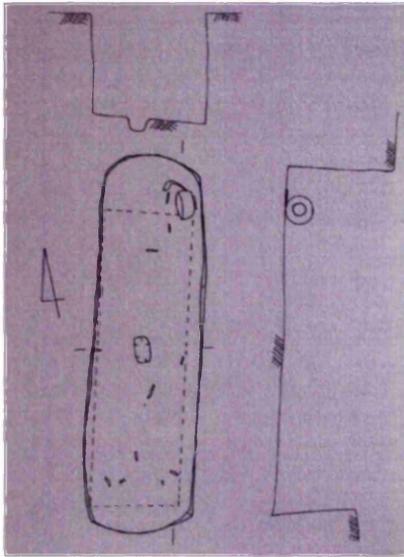
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 7.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 59.)



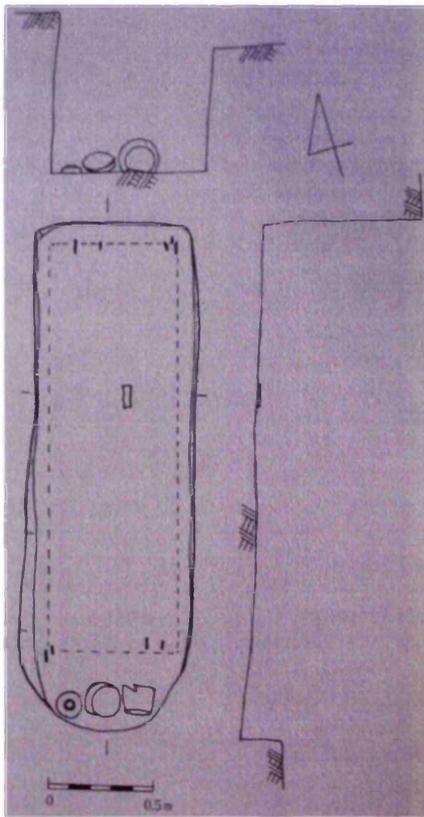
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 8.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, iron sickle / farming tool, bronze coin.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 62.)



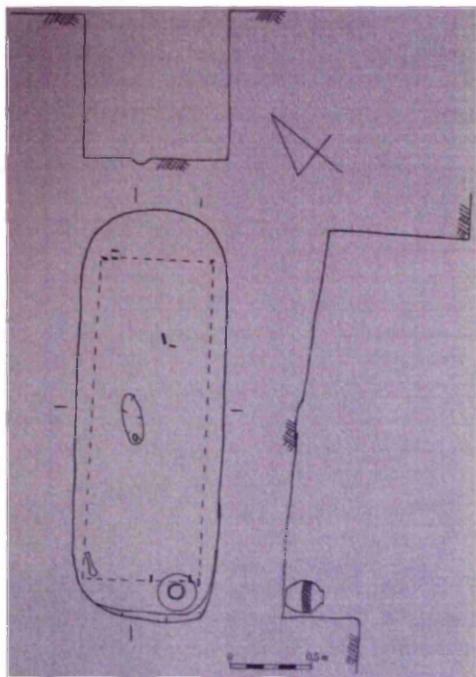
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 9.  
Contents: three celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 66.)



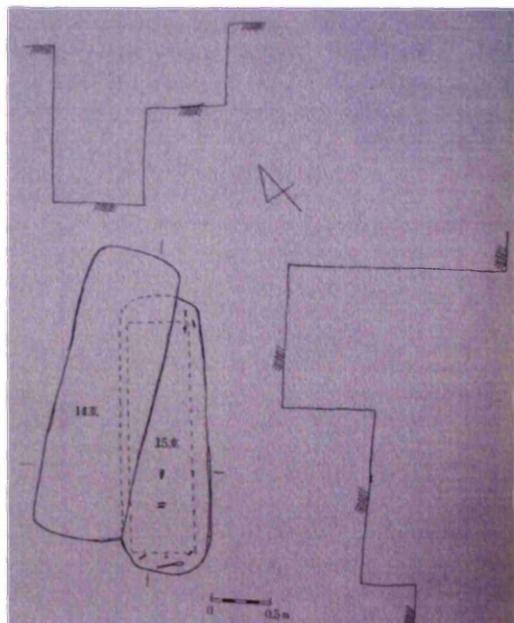
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 10.  
Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 70.)



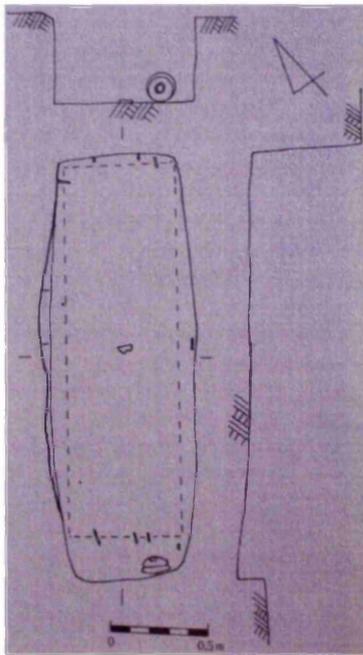
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 12.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon,  
iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 75.)



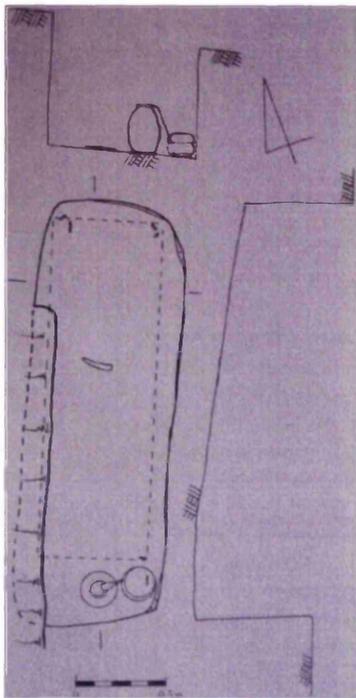
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 13.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulwan 1993: 75.)



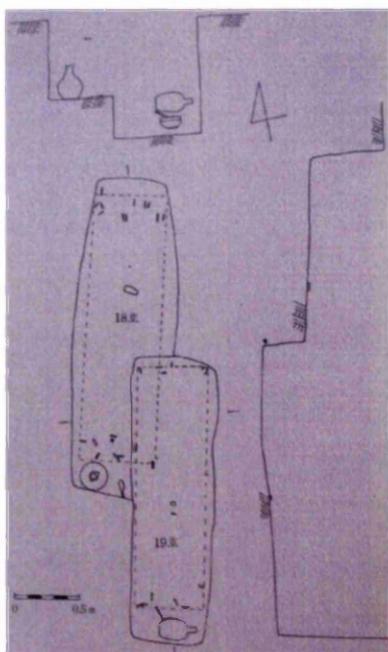
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tombs nos 14 and 15.  
Contents of no. 14: no burial goods were found.  
Contents of no. 15: bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulwan 1993: 82.)



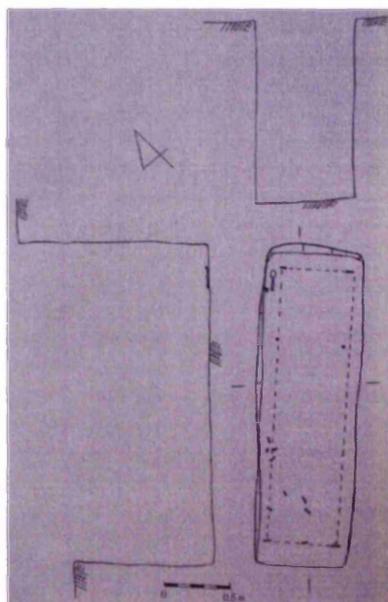
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 16.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang tachakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 85.)



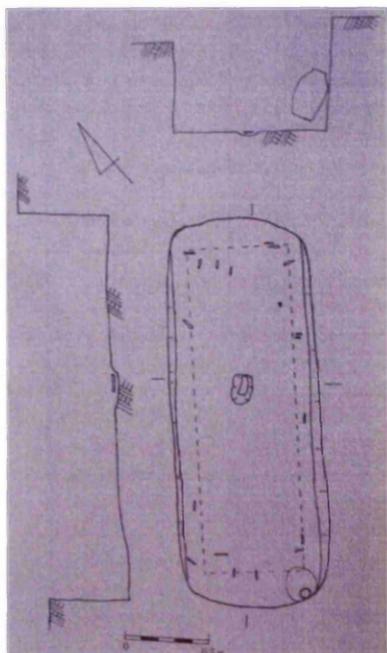
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 17.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang tachakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 88.)



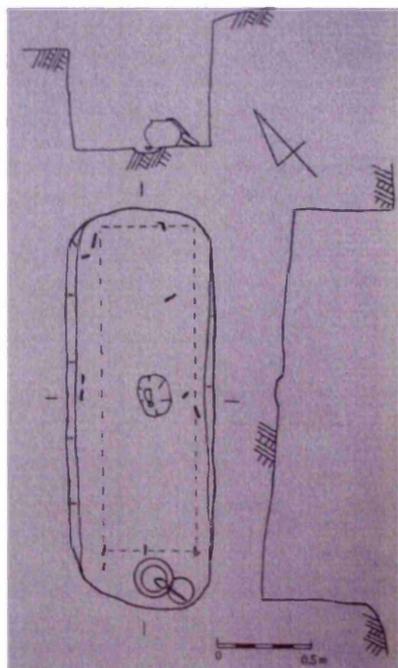
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tombs nos 18 and 19.  
Contents of no. 18: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool, five bronze coins.  
Contents of no. 19: three celadon ceramics, bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 92.)



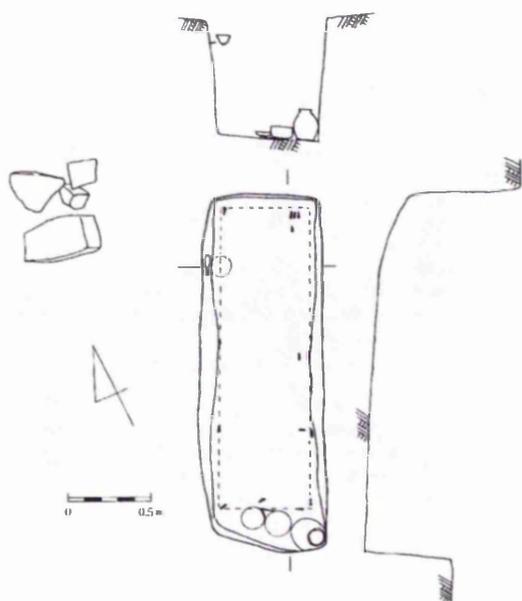
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 20.  
Contents: bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 98.)



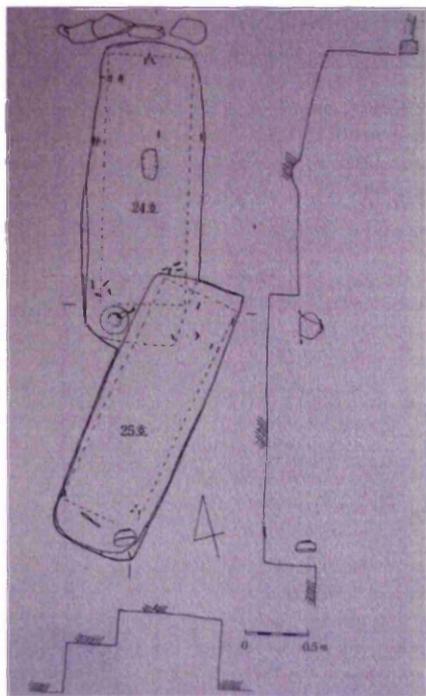
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 21.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 100.)



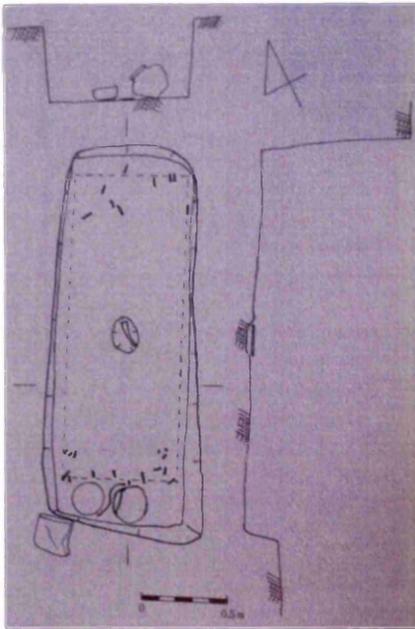
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 22.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 103.)



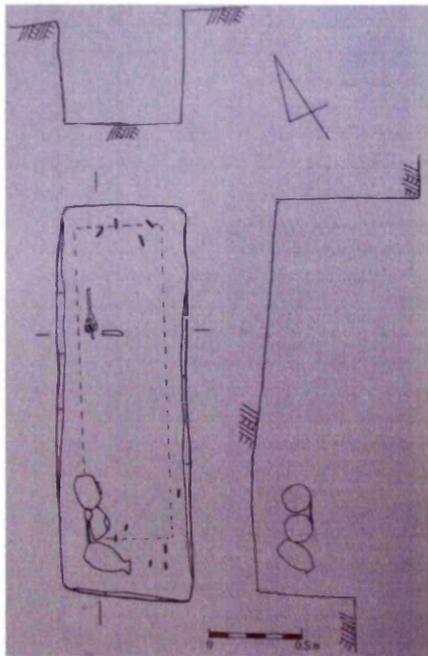
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 23.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, white ware ceramic, bronze vessel, two bronze spoons.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 106.)



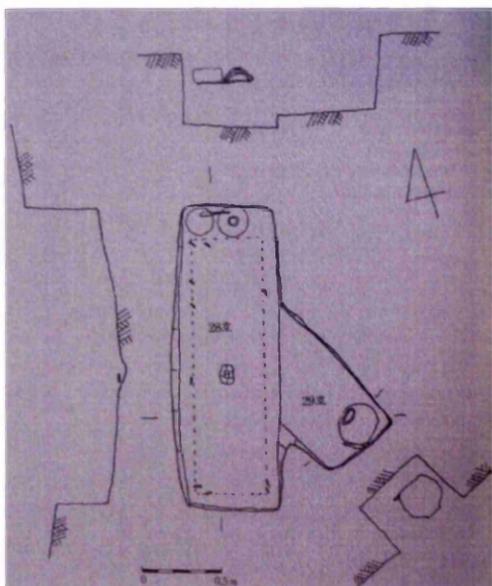
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tombs nos 24 and 25.  
Contents of no. 24: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon.  
Contents of no. 25: bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 110.)



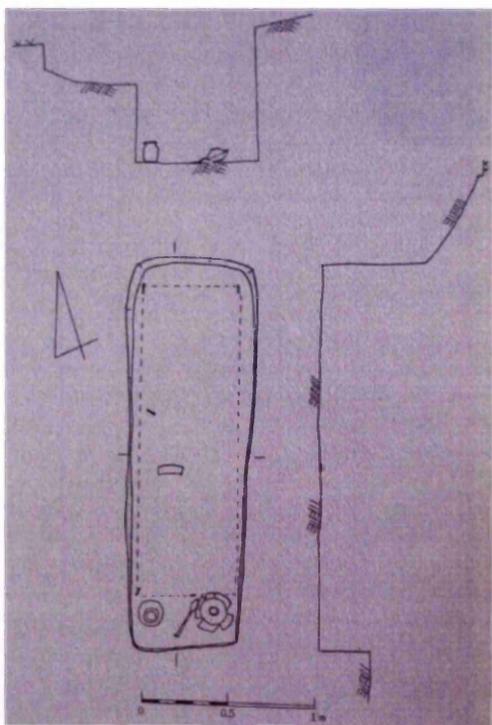
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 26.  
Contents: white ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 115.)



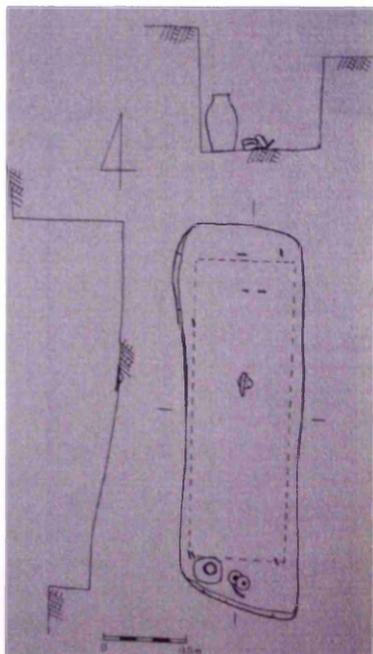
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 27.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, two white ware ceramics, bronze vessel, bronze  
spoon, iron scissors, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 118.)



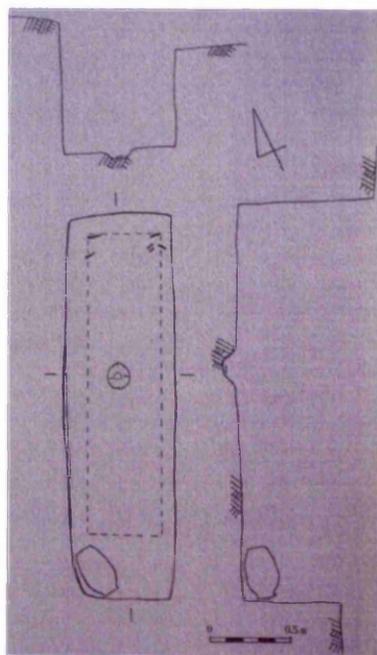
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tombs nos 28 and 29.  
Contents of no. 28: celadon ceramic, three earthen ware ceramics, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
Contents of no. 29: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 122.)



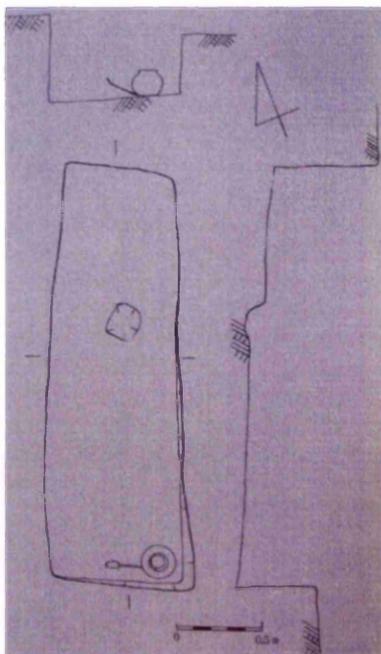
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 30.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, three white ware ceramics, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 128.)



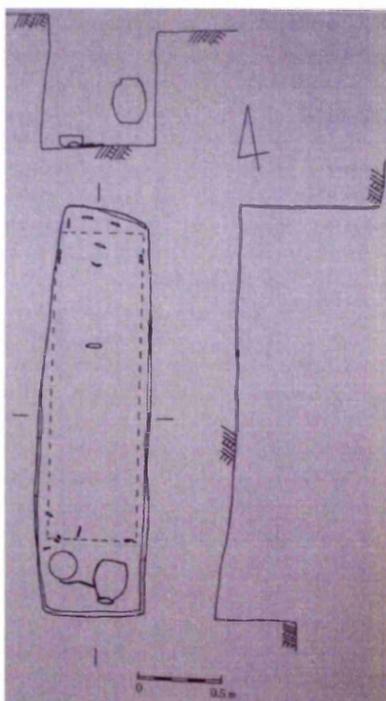
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 31.  
Contents: three celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 133.)



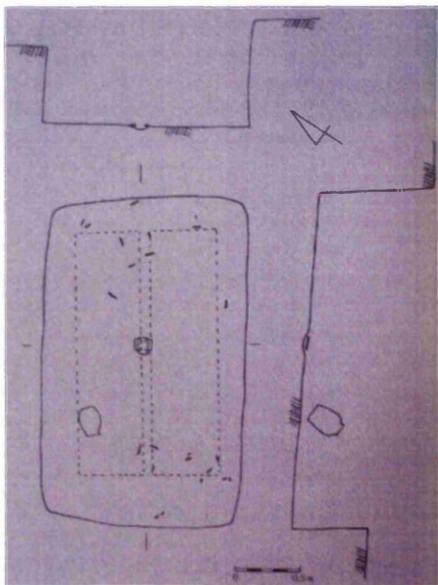
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 32.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 137.)



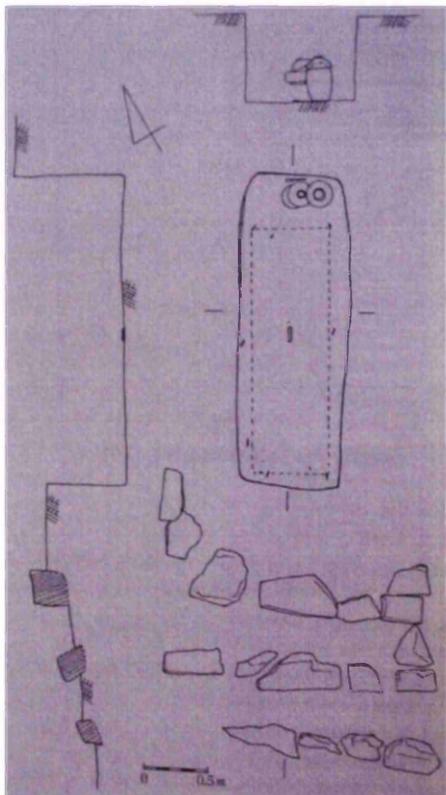
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 33.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 140.)



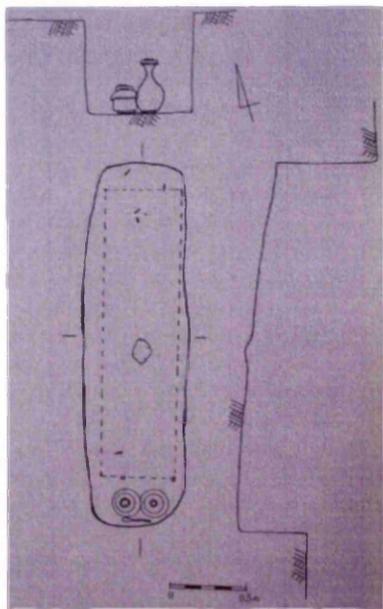
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 34.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 142.)



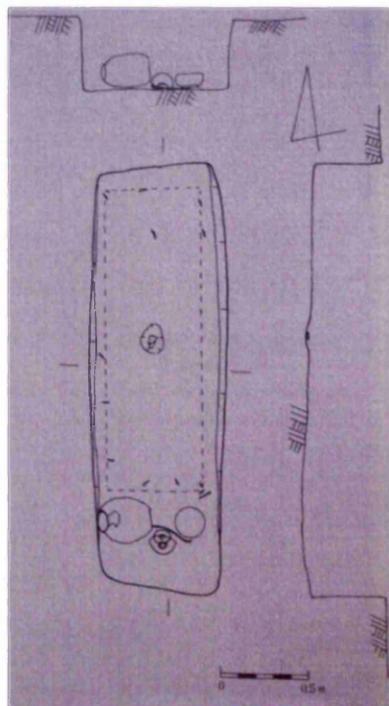
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 35.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, two iron sickles / farming tools.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 146.)



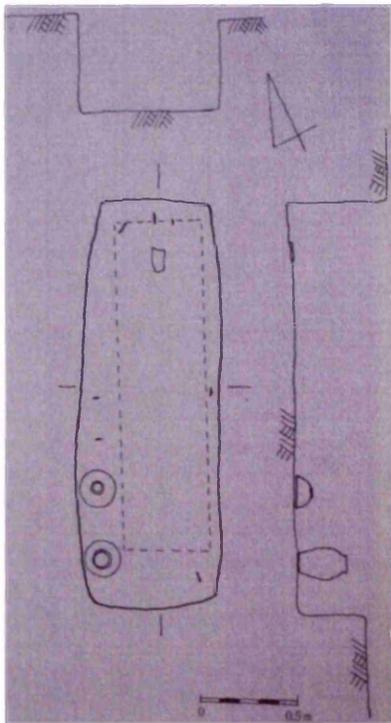
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 36.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, white ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool, two bronze coins.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 149.)



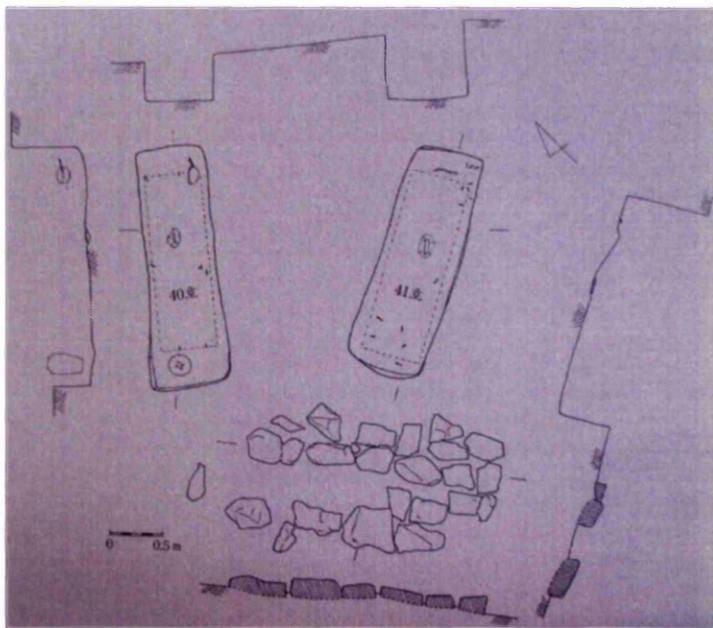
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 37.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, white ware ceramic, two bronze vessels,  
bronze spoon, bronze coin.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 153.)



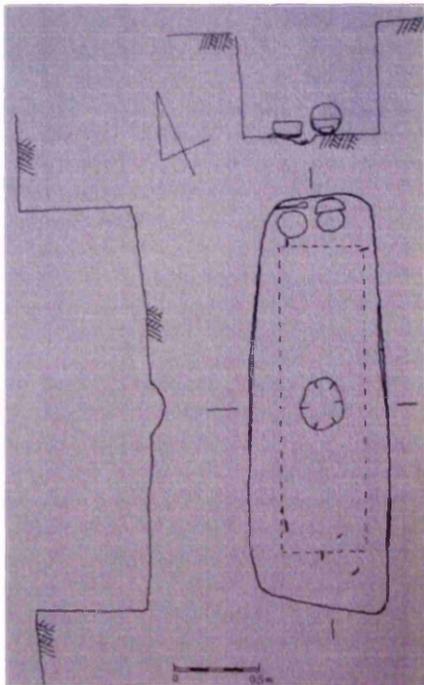
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 38.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze  
spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 157.)



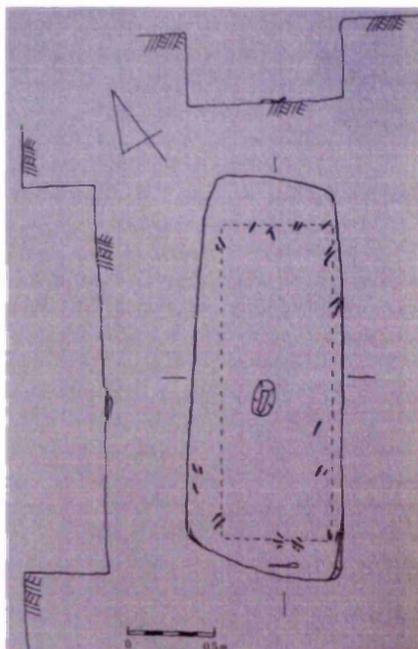
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 39.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 159.)



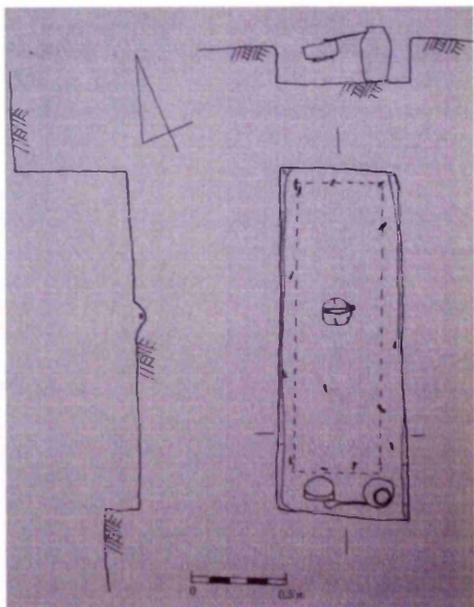
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tombs nos 40 and 41.  
Contents of no. 40: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
Contents of no. 41: bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 164.)



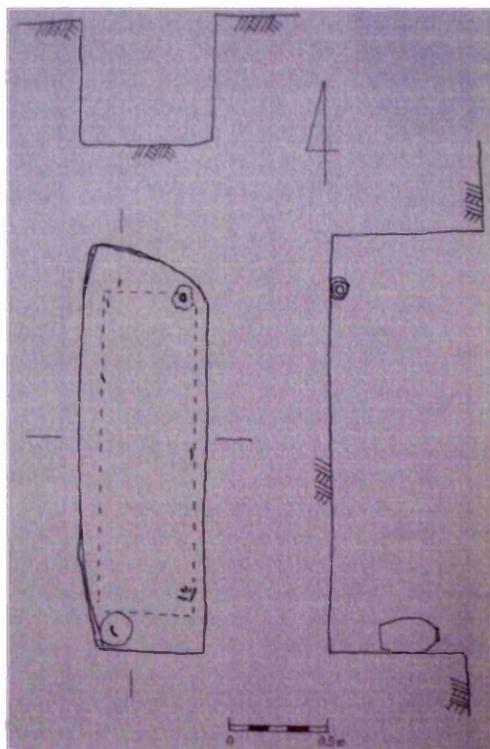
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 42.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, two white ware ceramics, bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 170.)



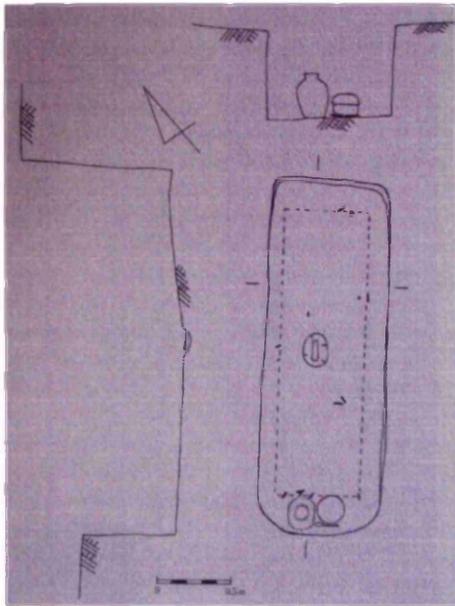
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 43.  
Contents: bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool, bronze coin.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 174.)



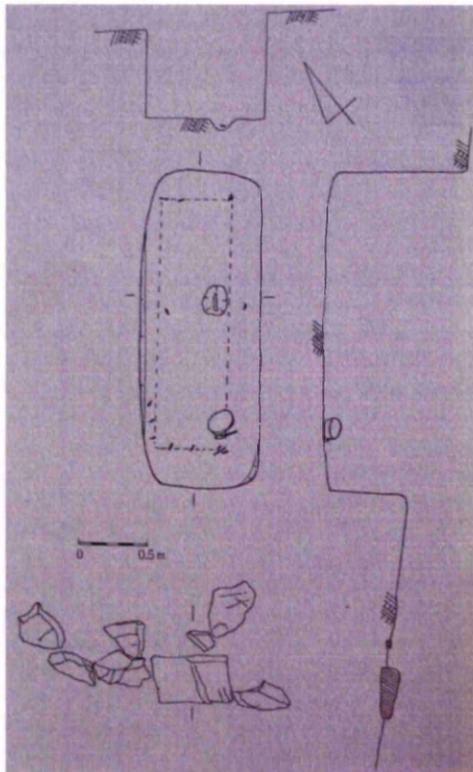
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 44.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 177.)



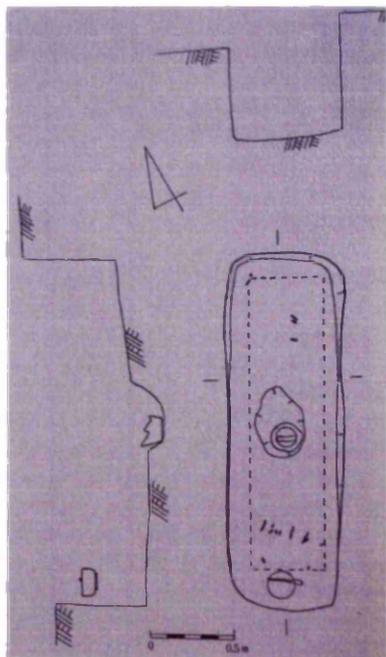
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 45.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, three white ware ceramics.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 180.)



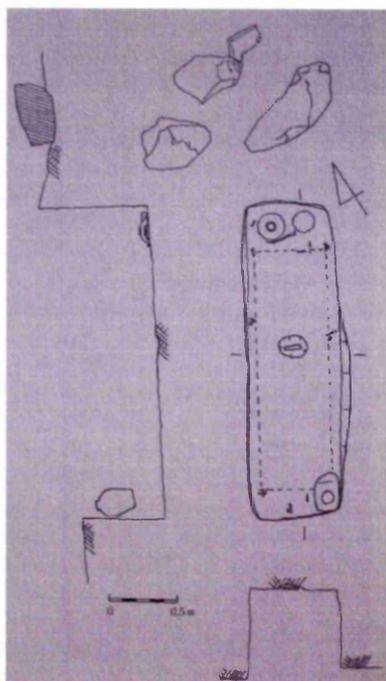
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 46.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 184.)



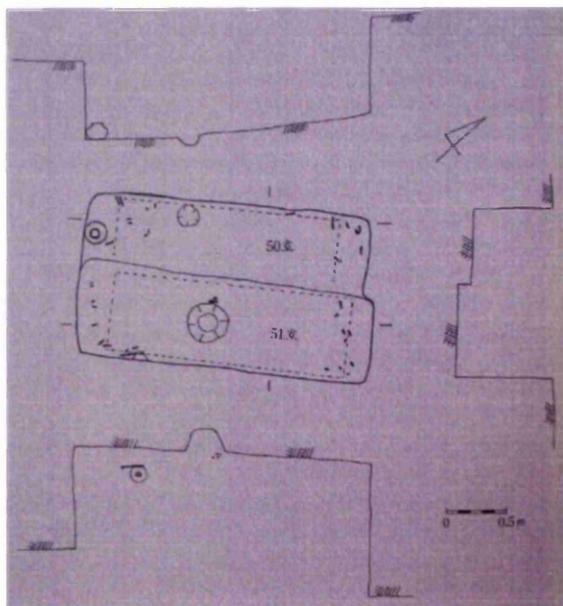
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 47.  
Contents: bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 188.)



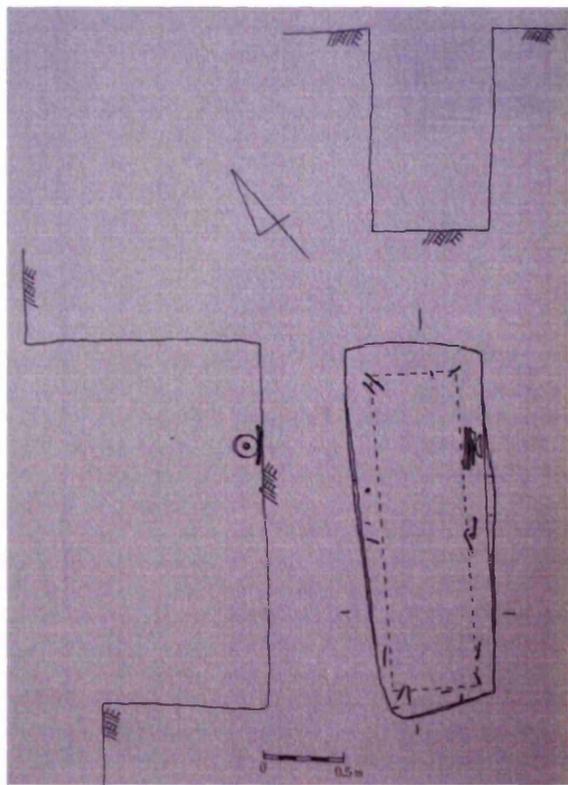
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 48.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 191.)



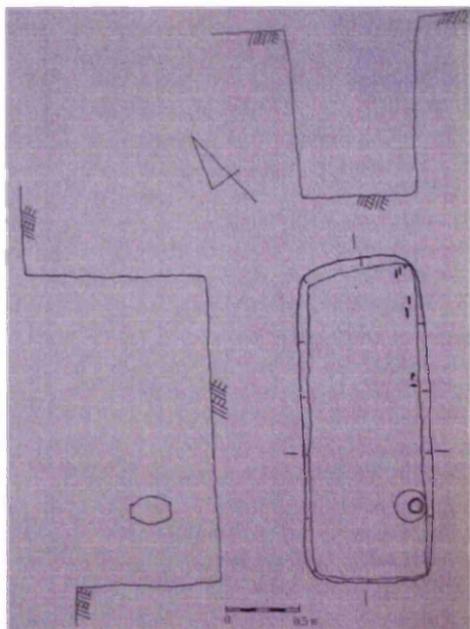
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 49.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, three white ware ceramics, bronze vessel, bronze  
spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 194.)



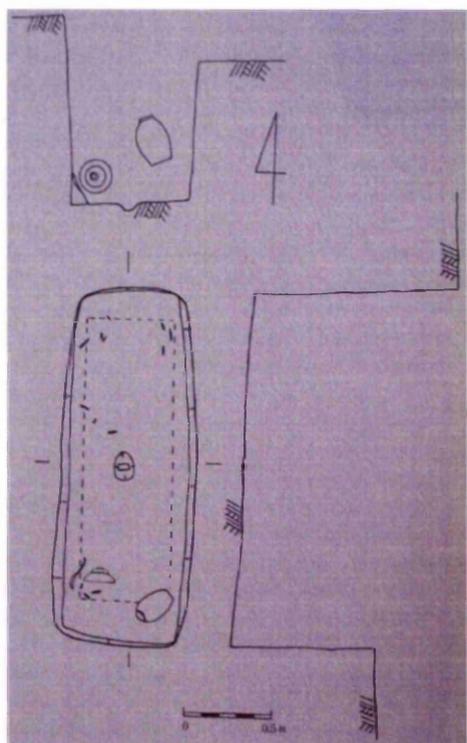
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 50.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 194.)



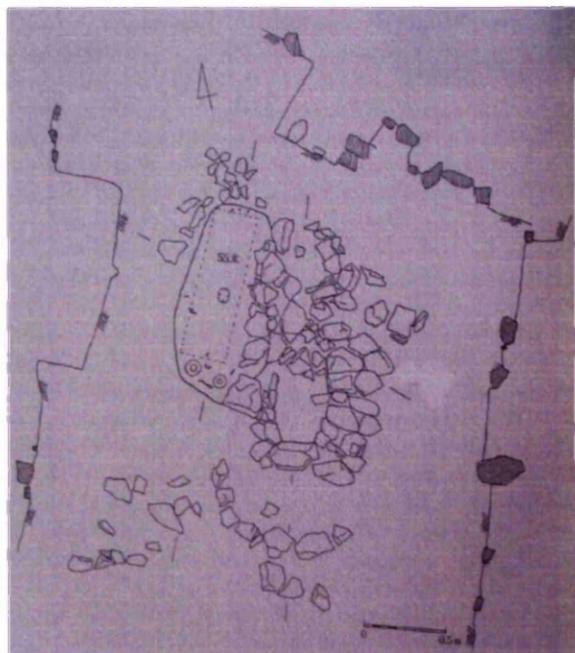
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 52.  
Contents: two white ware ceramics, bronze spoon, bronze chopsticks, glass  
bead.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 202.)



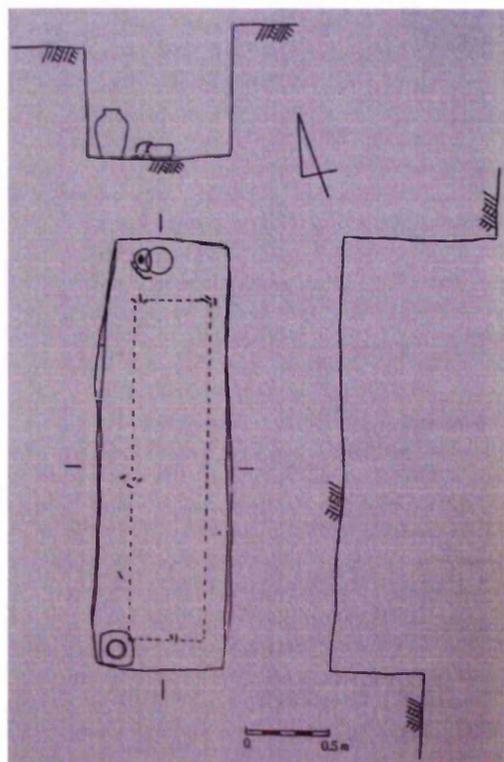
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 53.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 205.)



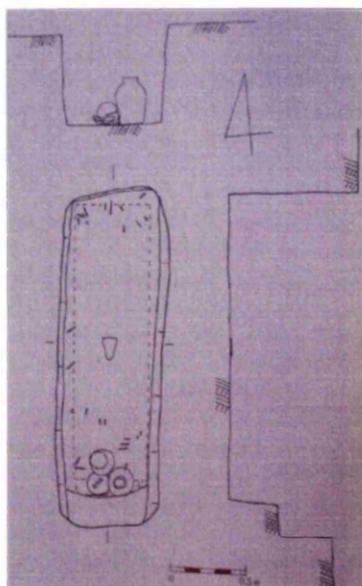
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 54.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, two white ware ceramics, bronze spoon, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 208.)



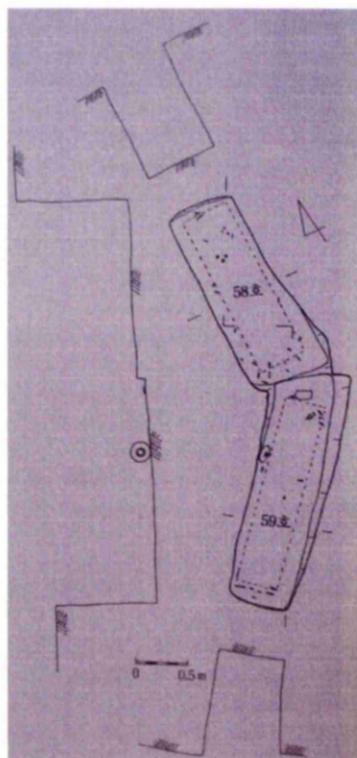
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 55.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 212.)



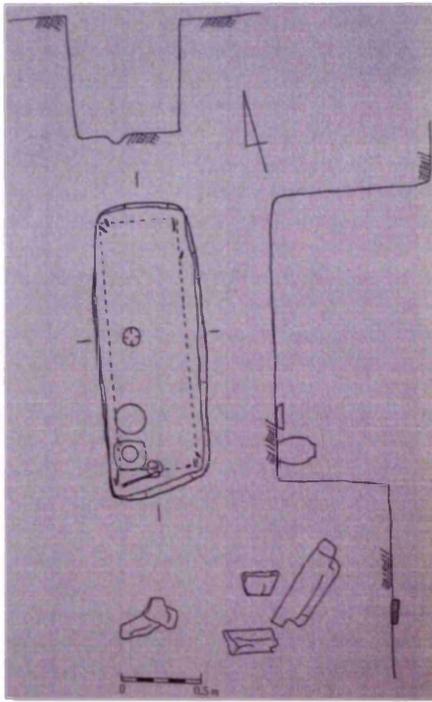
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 56.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 215.)



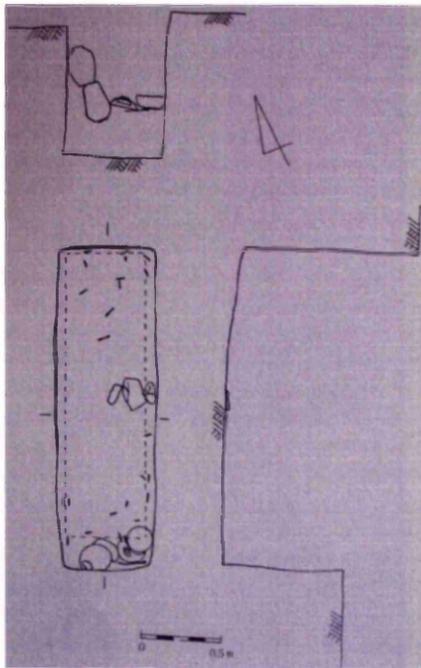
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 57.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, bronze knife, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 218.)



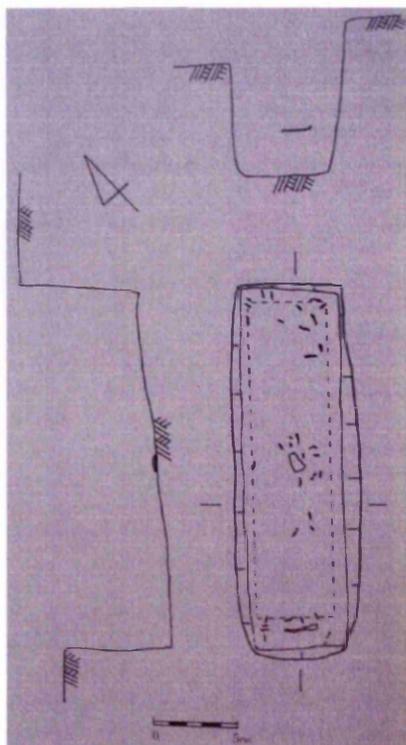
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tombs nos 58 and 59.  
Contents of no. 58: three bronze coins.  
Contents of no. 59: white ware ceramic, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 222.)



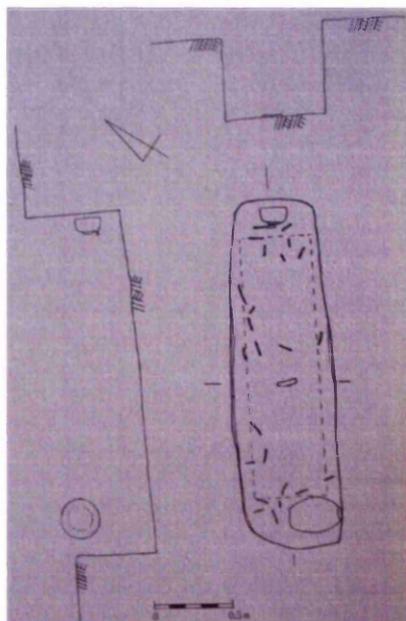
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 60.  
Contents: celadon ceramic, earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 226.)



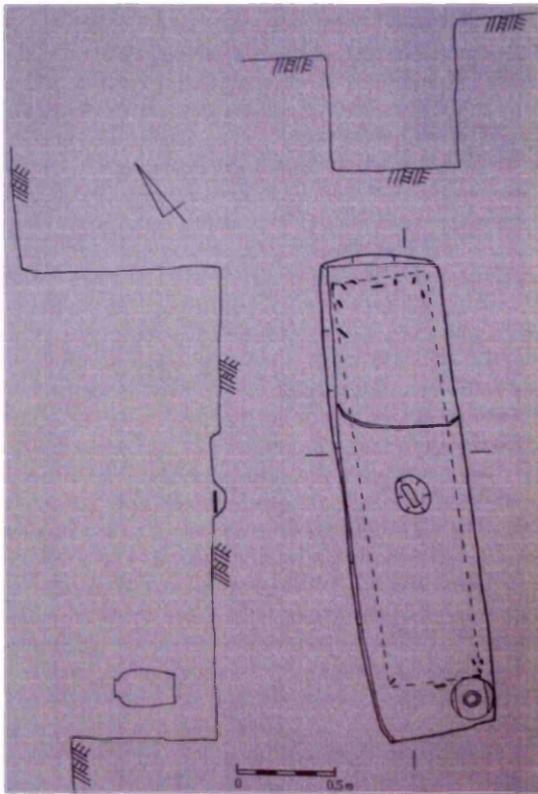
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 61.  
Contents: two celadon ceramics, two earthen ware ceramics, bronze vessel,  
bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 230.)



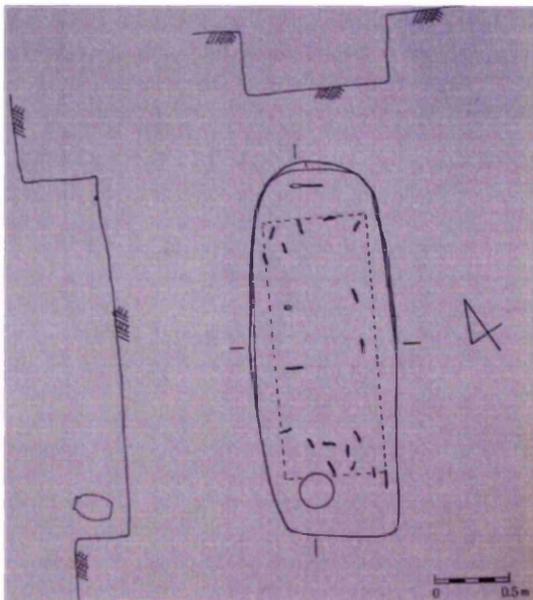
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 62.  
Contents: bronze spoon, iron fragment.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 234.)



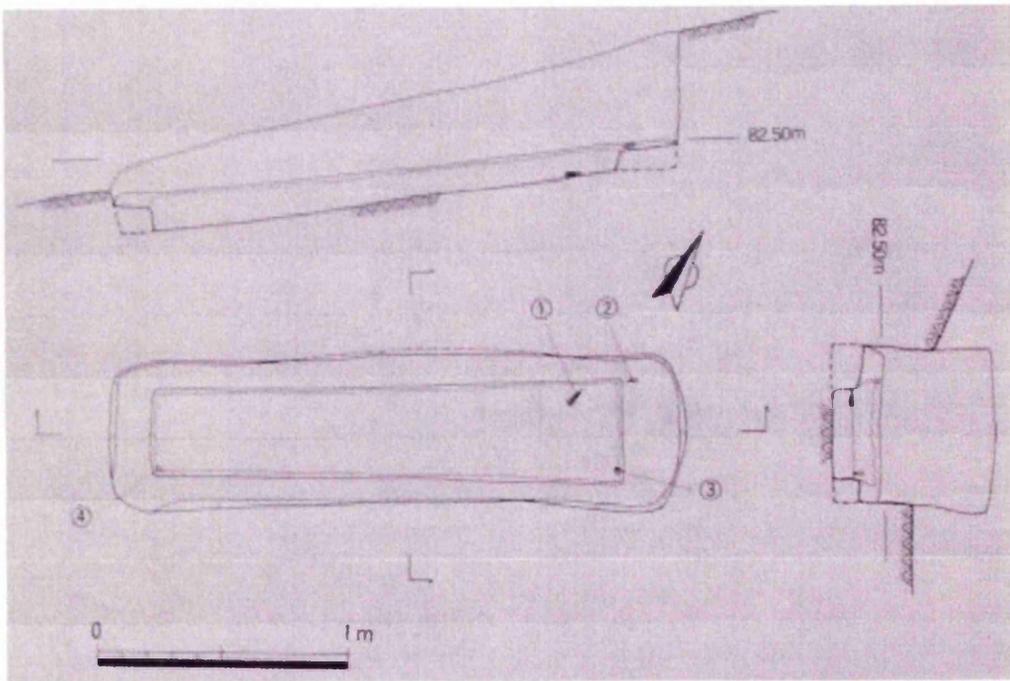
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyönggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 63.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze vessel, bronze spoon, iron sickle /  
farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 237.)



Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 64.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, iron sickle / farming tool.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 240.)



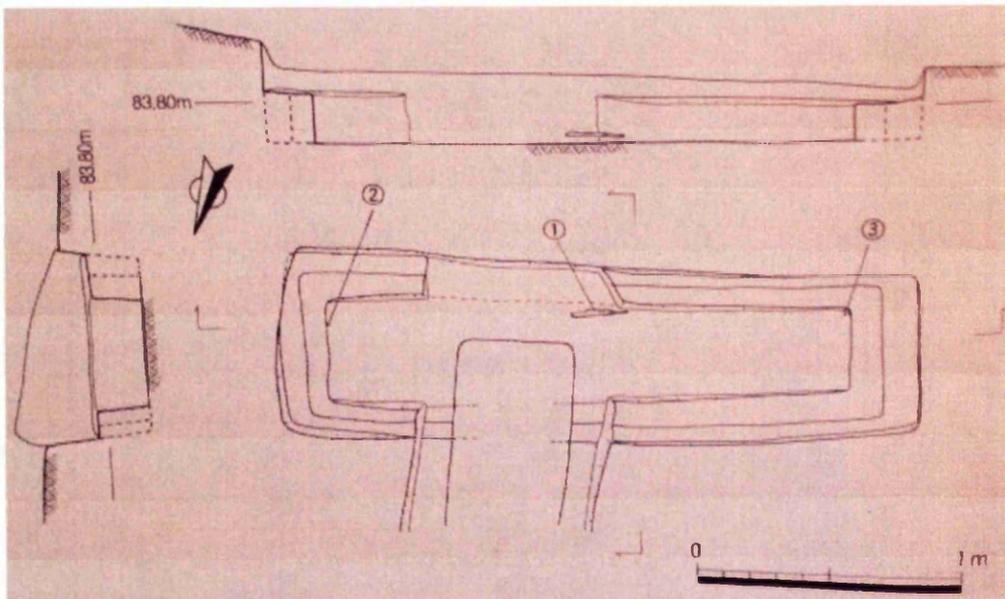
Ilsandong, Koyangshi, Kyōnggi province. Earthen pit tomb no. 65.  
Contents: earthen ware ceramic, bronze spoon.  
(After Hanyang taehakkyo pangmulgwan 1993: 243.)



Yongjōngdong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 7.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

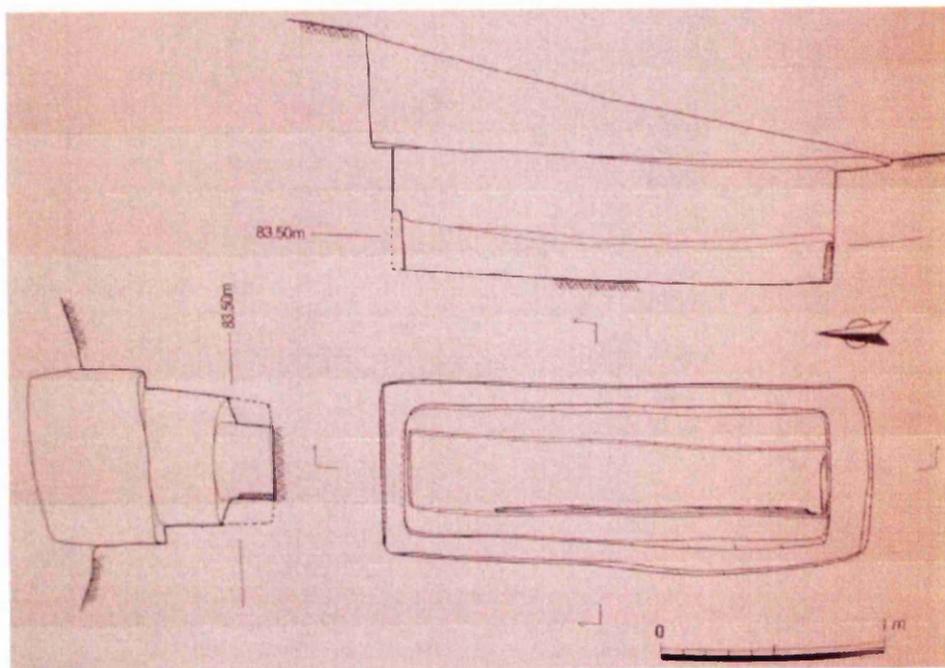
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000, vol. 1: 219.)



Yongjōngdong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 80.

Contents: iron fragment.

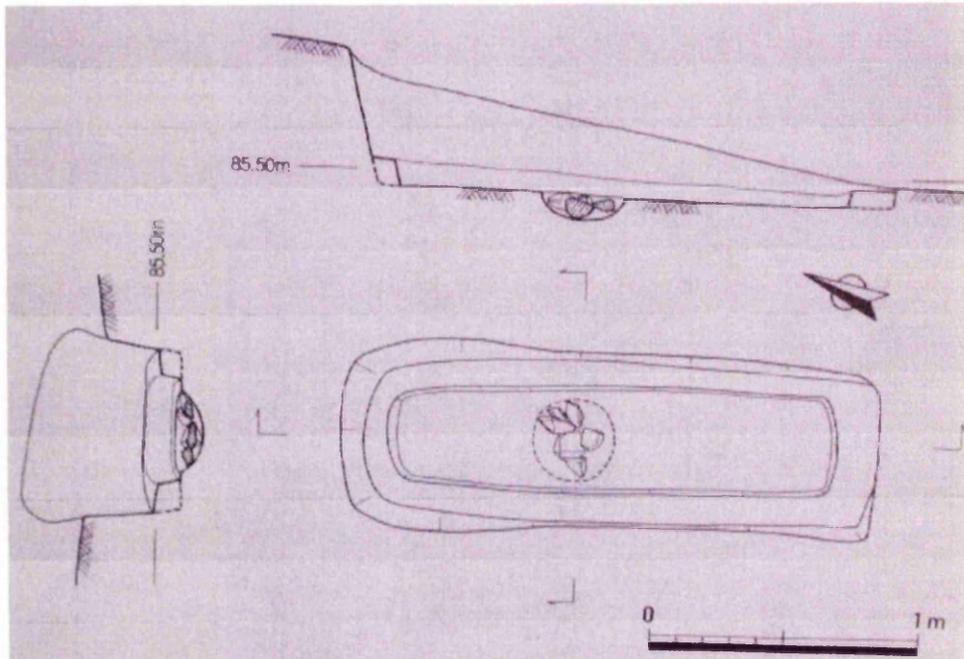
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 1: 344.)



Yongjōndong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 83.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

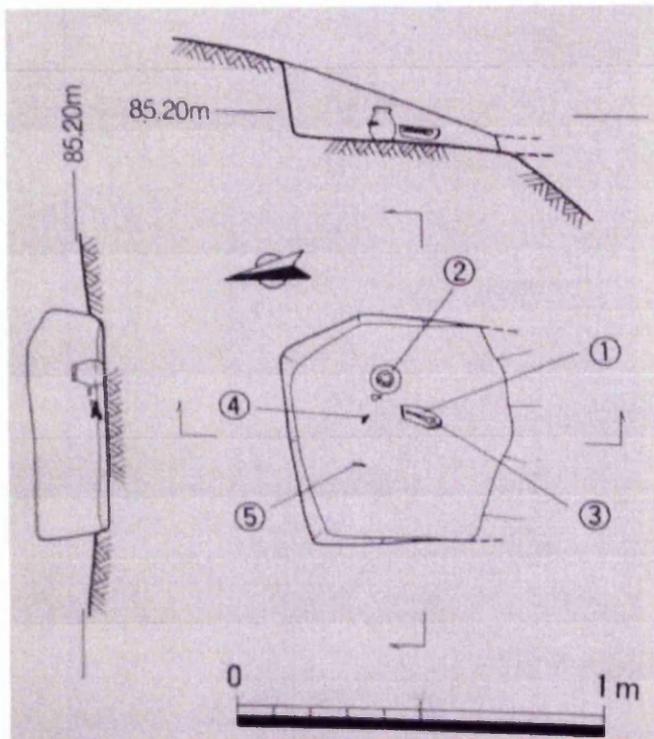
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 1: 348.)



Yongjōndong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 114.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

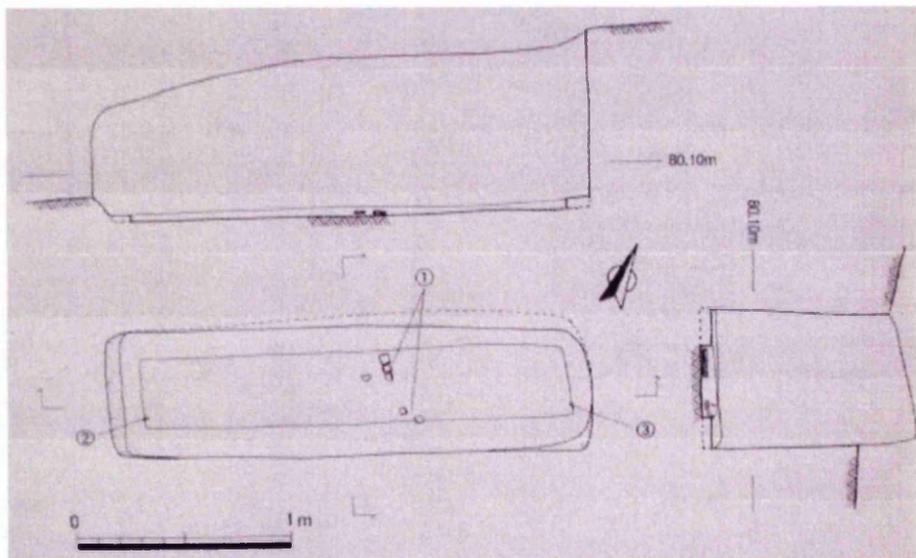
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 1: 403.)



Yongjōndong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 124.

Contents: earthen ware ceramic, white ware ceramic, bronze spoon.

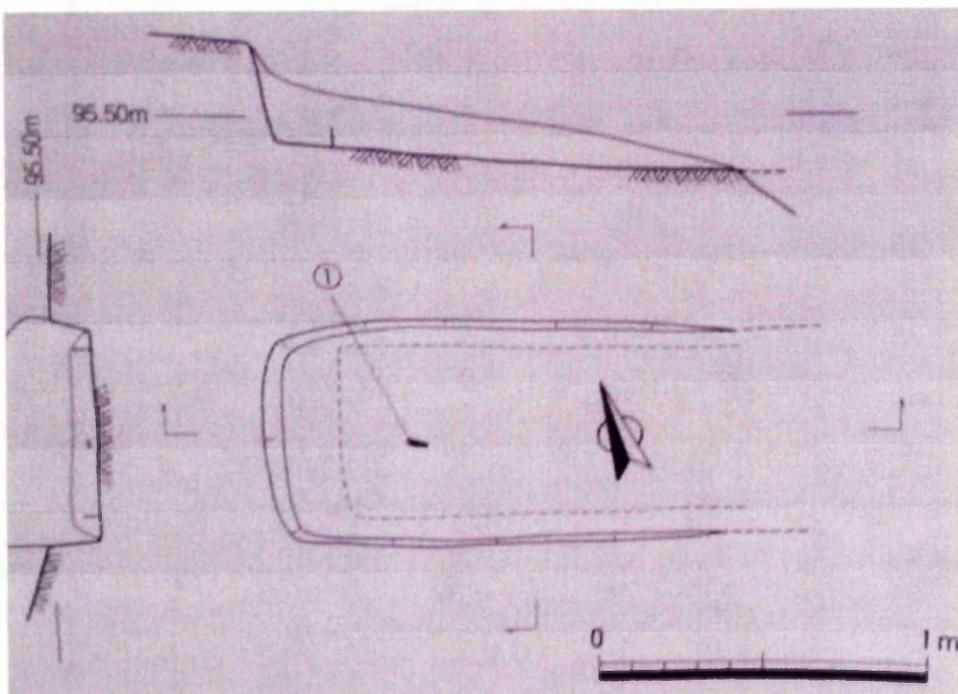
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 1: 414.)



Yongjōndong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 137.

Contents: iron bell.

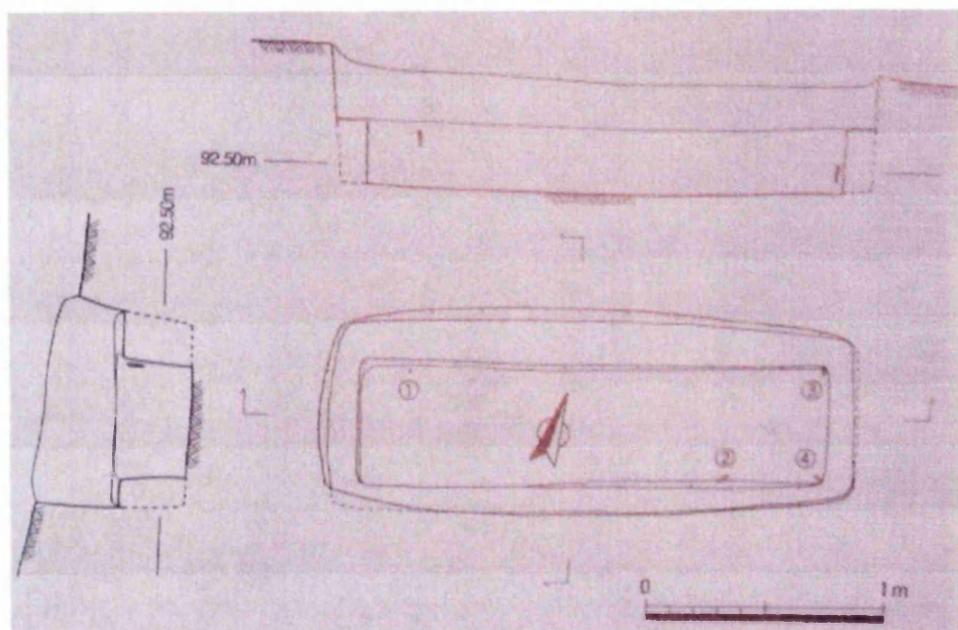
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 1: 446.)



Yongjōngdong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 150.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

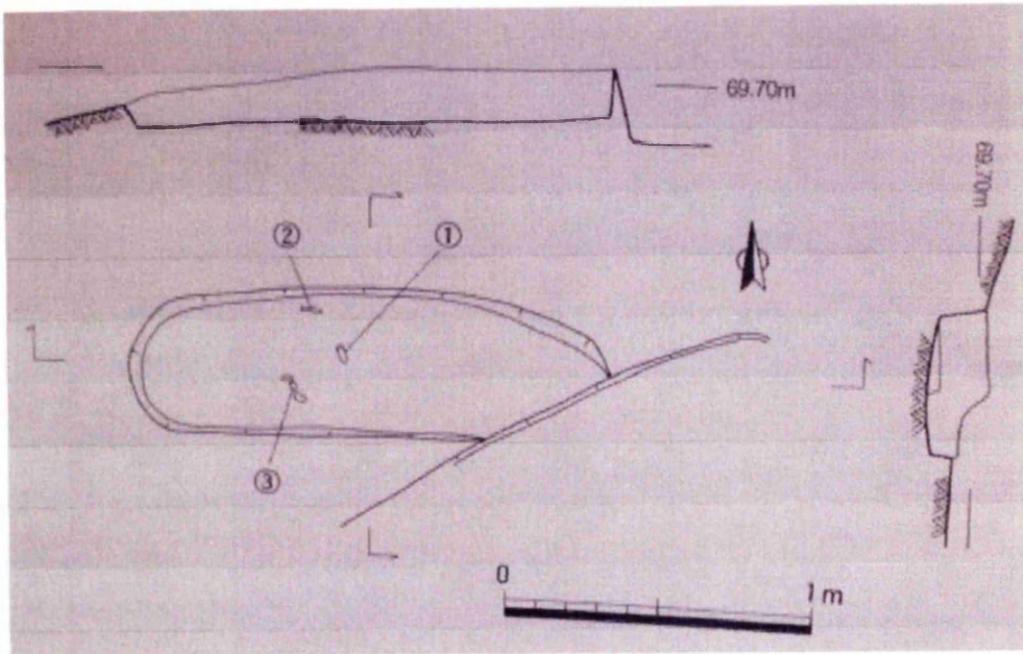
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 1: 470.)



Yongjōngdong II, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 161.

Contents: no burial goods were found.

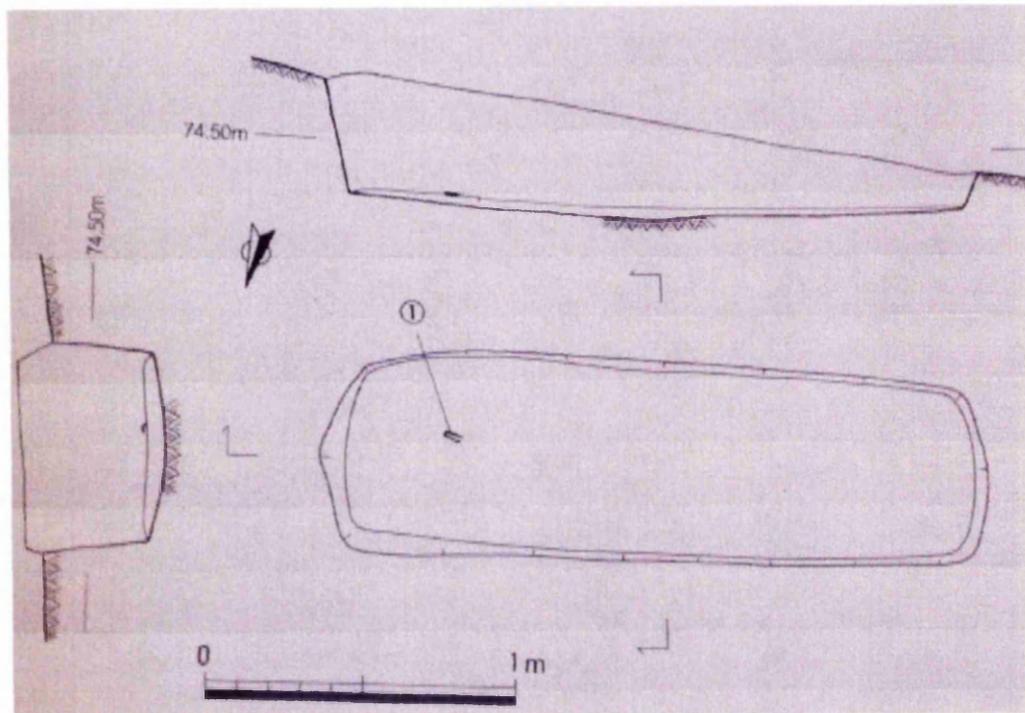
(After Han'guk munhwajae poho chaedan 2000 vol. 1: 495.)



Kūmch'ōndong I, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 12.

Contents: iron belt, iron dagger, iron fragment.

(After Han'guk Munhwajae Pohochedan vol. 2, 2000: 538.)



Kūmch'ōndong I, Ch'ōngju, North Ch'ungch'ōng province. Earthen pit tomb no. 24.

Contents: bronze hairpin.

(After Han'guk Munhwajae Pohochedan vol. 2, 2000: 555.)