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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Worshipping the Stars:

The Buddha of Polaris in Early Modern Korean Visual Culture

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirement for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Art History

by

Soyeon Kim

2019

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Worshipping the Stars:  
The Buddha of Polaris in Early Modern Korean Visual Culture

by

Soyeon Kim

Doctor of Philosophy in Art History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Burglind Jungmann, Chair

This dissertation examines how the inhabitants of East Asia, especially those on the Korean peninsula, understood and saw the stars before and during the fourteenth century. This is done by analyzing a Koryŏ dynasty hanging scroll titled *Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha* (“the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha”).

Chapter 1 sheds light on the traditions of interpretation of “patterns of the sky” (C: *tianwen*, K: *ch'ŏnmun*) of fourteenth century Korea by focusing on the asterism diagrams of the painting. The painting reveals that its creation was not confined by traditions of science and religion, but instead, that it had its own norms overarching those fields.

Chapters 2 and 3 deal with reinterpretation and reimagination of Tejaprabhā Buddha and his pantheon. The descending motif of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is a special addition to the standard iconography of the Tejaprabhā Buddha. The underlying beliefs of the fourteenth-century

people of the Korean peninsula may have contributed to this addition and thus led to the creation of a new iconography related to the political intention of supporting the king's sovereignty. Meanwhile, stellar attendants surrounding the Tejaprabhā Buddha show that the Buddha's pantheon is based on indigenous cults focusing on broad astral worship and thereby transcending Buddhism, Daoism, folk belief, and state-supporting ideas.

Chapter 4 investigates the earlier Chinese Ruiguangsi *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī print which can be considered closest in visual representation to the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. The investigation concludes that the partial resemblance of the two works is the result of a creative appropriation of transmitted visual elements. These elements may have kept the original medial and ritual meaning of the earlier object to a certain degree but were transferred into another context in the later work and given a new function.

This dissertation investigates the many facets of the *ch'ōnmun* tradition of worshipping the stars of the premodern Korea. By interpreting the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha beyond the scope of "Buddhist painting," the significance of the work becomes apparent, not only as a result but also as a starting point of further investigation of the *ch'ōnmun* tradition of the Korean peninsula and its cultural and political connotations.

The dissertation of Soyeon Kim is approved.

Hui-shu Lee

Lothar von Falkenhausen

Robert E. Buswell

Burglind Jungmann, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

To my family

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## I. Introduction

### 1. The *Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha: An Unusual Buddhist Painting from the Koryō Dynasty*

In the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (BMFA), a painted scroll hangs in the Art of Asia Gallery. (Fig. 0.1). The museum has named this work *Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha* (hereafter, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting) and identified it as a Korean painting produced in the late fourteenth century, corresponding to the Koryō dynasty (高麗, 918–1392). The date is based on stylistic characteristics common to late Koryō Buddhist painting and has been generally accepted due to a lack of any evidence to the contrary. In the painting, Buddha descends from the upper right of the painting to the lower left, riding a carriage pulled by an ox and surrounded by dozens of attendants. Almost all of the Buddha's attendants have cartouches on which their names are written, revealing them to be stellar deities. The Buddha himself has no textual identification. However, from traditional attributes such as the ox-drawn carriage, a golden wheel in his hands, and most importantly, his astral servants, the Buddha is recognized as Tejaprabhā Buddha, commonly known as an astral Buddha or a Buddha of the Pole Star.

Although it is not difficult to identify the subject of this painting, it is not so easy to determine specifically when and where the painting was produced because there are no inscriptions or other obvious clues. This work was one of 775 paintings in the collection of art historian, curator, and educator Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853–1908). In the early period of the Meiji restoration (1868-1912), Fenollosa joined Tokyo Imperial University as a professor of

philosophy and devoted himself to studying and preserving traditional Japanese art. Most of the works in his collection were acquired during this period. The collection was later donated to the BMFA, at which time Tejabrahā Buddha was thought to be a Chinese painting, implying that Fenollosa recognized it as a Chinese work that had ended up in Japan.

Most of the extant paintings produced during the Koryŏ period were removed from the Korean peninsula for unknown reasons and survived in foreign countries, particularly in Japan.<sup>1</sup> While housed in Japanese monasteries, these works were often misattributed to Chinese or Japanese artists. As research on Korean art advanced in the mid-twentieth century, however, a corpus of Buddhist paintings sharing certain stylistic characteristics and iconographies began to be recognized and reassigned as Koryŏ paintings. Accordingly, some Buddhist works formerly thought to be from the Song or Yuan periods have been reidentified as being from the late Koryŏ.<sup>2</sup> The Boston Tejabrahā Buddha painting is one such example.

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<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to trace the provenance of these paintings, but researchers suspect that some were plundered by Japanese pirates as early as the Koryŏ period. The Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara painting owned by Kagami Jinja is one such example; see Chŏng Ut'aek 정우택, “Tangjin Kyŏngshinsa Suwŏl Kwanŭmdo ūi yŏkchŏng” 唐津 鏡神社 水月觀音圖의 歷程 [Journey of the Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara painting owned by Kagami Jinja of Karatsu], *Pulgyo misulsa* 8 (2009): 129–147. Others may have reached Japan as gifts. In the case of the second Koryŏ Buddhist canon, a collection of Buddhist scriptures carved in the thirteenth century by order of the Koryŏ court, the Chosŏn (朝鮮, 1392-1897) court, especially Confucian officials, took advantage of Japanese elites' desire for Buddhist sutras to solve the piracy issue by releasing copies of the Tripitaka housed in Chosŏn Buddhist monasteries. Kenneth R. Robinson, “Treated as Treasures: The Circulation of Sutras in Maritime Northeast Asia, from 1388 to the Mid-Sixteenth Century,” *East Asia* 21 (2001): 33–54. Likewise, although there is no evidence about an actual case of a Koryŏ Buddhist painting, it is possible that some works were discarded or given to foreign countries during the Chosŏn period, due to the strict Confucian attitude of the Chosŏn elite.

<sup>2</sup> It was not until the 1970s that the characteristics of Koryŏ Buddhist painting were roughly outlined and scholarship on it was born. Thus, it is no wonder that Dietrich Seckel, who was eager to integrate Korean art into East Asian art history, did not even mention Koryŏ Buddhist painting in his pioneering 1962 work, first published in German (Dietrich Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, trans. Ann E. Keep [New York: Crown Publishers, 1964]). For a modern historiography on Koryŏ Buddhist painting in the twentieth century, see Yukio Lippit, “Goryeo Buddhist Painting in an Interregional Context,” *Ars Orientalis* 35 (2008): 203–217.

The Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha was originally mounted as a hanging scroll. Its original mounting has been replaced by a glass cover with a wooden frame. The colors have faded, and the silk has darkened; the original colors may have been much brighter and more splendid due to the use of gold and vivid red pigments. The Buddha has a low *uṣṇīṣa* (an protrusion on the head) decorated with a jewel and wears a red robe covering both of his shoulders. The robe is decorated with a golden circular scroll pattern, one of the stylistic traits of Koryŏ Buddhist painting. His round face with a white *urna* (a tuft of hair between the eyebrows) on his forehead, slightly slanted eyes, and a curved mustache and beard are characteristics that are also shared by other Mahāyāna buddhas of the late Koryŏ period.

Meanwhile, the posture of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha's distinguishes his appearance from that of other Buddhas on Koryŏ paintings. Holding a golden wheel, he is sitting in a carriage. This carriage, pulled by an ox with two horns, is rarely found in other imagery except that of the Tejaprabhā Buddha. The carriage, red with a floral design in gold and brighter red patterns of waves and roundels, has a canopy supported by four curved pillars and richly ornamented with jewels. On its top sits a small phoenix on a golden lotus pedestal. The Buddha is seated on a golden lotus placed in the carriage like a cushion. In front of him, at the rim of the carriage, an altar has been prepared with a miniature stupa, an incense burner, and precious jewels. The ox is the only figure to which slight shading has been applied, giving its body some volume while other figures are relatively flat. On the back of the carriage, there are two flags with images of a white tiger and a yellow dragon. This kind of carriage has not been found in any other Tejaprabhā Buddha image. A mural in Dunhuang Mogao cave 61 representing the procession of the Tejaprabhā Buddha contains a carriage with two flags, but the carriage has no



canopy.

Around the Buddha, fifteen figures stand facing the lower left corner: two attendant bodhisattvas, Tianhuang dadi 天皇大帝 (Daoist personification of the Pole Star), rāja (the messengers and manifestation of Vairocana's wrath), and the deities of Eleven Planets.<sup>3</sup> This main group, consisting of the Buddha, the oxen carriage, and the attendants, is riding on a cloud, depicted as waves with fine lines and highlights in white pigment.

In the upper part of the painting, twelve circular shapes represent the twelve symbols of the Zodiac, but they are too faint to identify in detail. Forming an arch, the Twelve Zodiac circles are symmetrically divided into two groups with six on each side. In addition, a jeweled canopy is represented between these two groups, but this canopy is severely damaged. Below the six zodiac signs on the right are the nine figures of the Northern Dipper. Seven of these figures have shaved heads like those of monks while the other two somewhat smaller ones wear a kind of headgear that is difficult to identify. Like the main group, these nine figures also ride a cloud with a long, curved tail; but the scale is much smaller.

Twenty-eight additional figures stand along the right, left, and bottom edges of the scroll. These are the personifications of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. Asterism diagrams above their heads are the referents of each of the Lunar Mansion deities. Two groups of six figures—the Six Stars of the Southern Dipper and the Six Stars of the Three Stages—are arranged below the cloud of the main group.<sup>4</sup> The Six Stars of the Three Stages wear long yellow robes, red

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<sup>3</sup> These figures will be identified and discussed further in Chapter 3.

<sup>4</sup> The Six Stars of the Southern Dipper correspond to Sagittarius ζ, τ, σ, ψ, λ, and μ. The Six Stars of the Three Stages are Ursa Major ι, κ, λ, μ, ν, and ξ.

undergarments, and *xiaoguan* (小冠), or small crowns, while the Six Stars of the Southern Dipper wear bright red robes and *yuanyouguan* (遠遊冠) (far-roaming hats). These forms of attire reflect the robes and headgear of Chinese officials and nobles. Every figure in the painting except the Buddha—including the Twelve Zodiacal symbols—have red rectangular cartouches with their names inscribed. Although hard to see due to damage, the asterism diagrams of the Northern Dipper, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, the Six Stars of the Southern Dipper, and the Six Stars of the Three Stages are depicted by red dots and gold lines placed next to their respective figures.

Crucial clues to the origin of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting include not only its stylistic details, such as the coloring and patterns on the figures' attire, but also its iconography.<sup>5</sup> Scholars have studied other examples of Tejaprabhā Buddha images in China where the earlier Tejaprabhā scriptures and images remain, focusing on identifying similar subjects, iconography, and composition.<sup>6</sup> Iconography and compositions of those works have been interpreted by

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<sup>5</sup> Lippit suggests “sophisticated representation of garment textures, meticulous attention to surface patterns, and abundance of Pure Land subjects with a special emphasis on two celebrated bodhisattvas of the Mahāyāna pantheon, Avalokitesvara (K. Gwaneum) and Ksitigarbha (K. Jijang)” as characteristic of Koryŏ Buddhist painting. Lippit, “Goryeo Buddhist Painting in an Interregional Context,” 193. All the surviving Koryŏ Buddhist paintings are on silk. In coloring, Koryŏ Buddhist painters mainly used primary colors, mainly red, greenish blue, and navy, not mixed colors, and colored many times from the front and back side to create depth. This technique not only makes the paintings vivid and sharp, but maximizes the effect of gold pigment. Circular scroll design pattern 唐草圓文 which covers the figures' garments is one of characteristics of Koryŏ Buddhist paintings. Chŏng Ut'aek, “Koryŏ purhwa ūi tokchasŏng” 고려불화의 독자성 [Distinctive Characteristics of Koryŏ Buddhist Paintings], in *Tong Ashia pulgyo hoehwa wa Koryŏ purhwa: Che 3hoe Kungnim chungang pangmulgwan Han'guk misul shimp'ojiŏm charyojip*, ed. Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan (Sŏul: Kungnim Chungang Pangmulgwan, 2010), 62-64. For more general introduction of Koryŏ Buddhist painting, see Ide Seinosuke, “The World of Goryeo Buddhist Painting,” in *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment, 918-1392* ed. Kumja Paik Kim et al. (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2003), 34-47 and Pak Youngsook, “The Korean Art Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” in *Arts of Korea*, ed. Chŏng Yang-mo et al. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 423-436.

<sup>6</sup> Meng Sihui 孟嗣徽, “Chishengguang fo bianxiang tuxiang yanjiu” 熾盛光佛變相圖圖像研究 [An iconographical study of the paintings representing the Tejaprabhā Buddha Transformation Tableaux], *Dunhuang*

comparing earlier or contemporaneous Tejaprabhā-related texts and religious contexts of the time. This approach interprets the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha as a Koreanized variation of Tejaprabhā Buddha images originated in China. However, the iconography and composition of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha are so unique that no works have been found with similar textual ground or visual precedents. Given that religious iconography often refers to existing textual or visual works rather than showing the artist's creativity, the appearance of the distinctive Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is surprising, particularly for the Korean peninsula, where other Tejaprabhā-related works are rarely found. Indeed, the Boston scroll is the sole extant Koryŏ Buddhist painting depicting the Tejaprabhā Buddha. The majority of Koryŏ Buddhist paintings that came down to us depict Amitābha Buddha and his attendants, or others such as Avalokiteśvara, Kṣitigarbha, and Vairocana Buddha, which were also common subject matter in China and Japan during the same period. One peculiarity of Koryŏ Buddhist paintings, however, is the unique influence of *Hwaŏm* ("Flower Garland") Buddhism on the form and iconography of paintings. In this regard, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is also quite exceptional because it has no *Hwaŏm*-related elements. Yet, despite this puzzling incongruity with works of the same time period, the unusual iconography of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha reveals where it came from through comparison with later works from Korea. Although this painting has no iconographic precedents, there are two subsequent works that have almost the same composition. Fortunately, these later

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*Tulufan yanjiu* 2 (1997): 101–148; Liao Yang 廖陽, "Chishengguang fo zaikao" 熾盛光佛再考 [Reconsideration on the Tejaprabhā Buddha], *Yishushi yanjiu* 5 (2003): 295–328; "Chishenghuang fo goutu zhong xing yao de yanbian" 熾盛光佛構圖中星曜的演變 [Changes of Planet Gods Depicted in Tejaprabhā's Images], *Dunhuang yanjiu* 4 (2004): 71–79; Lai Yiman 賴依縵, "Yizi fodinglunwang yu chishengguang fo: Fojiao xingxiu Xinyang tuxiang de Tang Song zhibian" 一字佛頂輪王與熾盛光佛: 佛教星宿信仰圖象的唐宋之變 [One-syllable Buddhosonisa Cakravartin and Tejaprabhā Buddha: The Change of Imagery of Buddhist Astrology in the Tang and Song Dynasties], in *Yishushi zhong de Han Jin yu Tang Song shi zhibian*, ed. Yen Chuan-ying and Shih Shou-chien (Taipei: Shitou chubanshi, 2014), 225–255.

*Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha* paintings have inscriptions indicating they were produced in Korea during the Chosŏn period.<sup>7</sup> In addition to stylistic details, the existence of a rare iconography composed of Buddhist and Daoist stellar deities and astral diagrams and found only on the Korean peninsula all but confirms that the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha was not created in China but is instead a Koryŏ Buddhist painting.

Considering that artwork from the Korean peninsula often has visual and conceptual similarities with Chinese works, the uniqueness of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is significant. Even though its distinct iconography is found in Tejaprabhā images from premodern China, it is impossible to define certain tendencies or developments based on iconographic resemblance in the history of remaining Tejaprabhā imagery from the different regions. This is not only because there are few examples but also because of the idiosyncratic composition of each work. It is difficult to find compositions or elements common to all Tejaprabhā-themed images. Therefore, it is not easy to analyze these works using conventional art-historical approaches. Recent postmodernist methodologies tend to reject any influential directionality between the center and the margin, but when it comes to the history of Tejaprabhā images, there has been no center from the beginning. Compared to other religious works, Tejaprabhā themes show a considerable flexibility in visualization, which means that the regional or temporal context of each work, rather than the textual or visual canon of the subject, needs to be focused on as the catalyst for

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<sup>7</sup> The earliest of these paintings is now owned by the Kōrai Bijutsukan in Kyoto. The inscription has no information about the place where the painting was enshrined, but the names written on it show that the patrons were Chosŏn people. See Kim Hyŏnjŏng 김현정, “Ilbon Koryŏ Misulgwan sojang 1569 nyŏn chak Ch’isŏnggwang yŏrae kangnimdo ūi tosang haesŏk’ak chŏk koch’al” 일본 고려 미술관 소장 1569년작 치성광여래강림도의 도상 해석적 고찰 [Iconographic Interpretation of 1569 Tejaprabhā Buddha Painting in the Kōrai Museum of Kyoto, Japan], *Munhwajae* 46, no. 2 (2013): 70–94; Yi Tongŭn 이동은, “Sudoam Ch’isŏnggwang yŏrae kangnimdo yŏn’gu” 修道庵 熾盛光如來降臨圖 研究 [A Study of the Tejaprabhā Buddha Painting of Sudam Hermitage], *Pulgyo misulsahak* 13 (2012): 107–135.

combining certain astral and Buddhist elements.

Like other Tejaprabhā images, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha can be seen as an individual case. More importantly, it is the earliest surviving Tejaprabhā painting from the Korean peninsula that contains specific iconographic elements never seen in previous Chinese examples such as works from Dunhuang (Figs. 0.2 and 0.3) or in Dazu (Fig.0.4). Specifically, a detailed representation of each asterism diagram has never been a crucial iconographic element of the Tejaprabhā Buddha.<sup>8</sup> These diagrams, arranged all over the painting, recall a kind of star map. The appearances of Tianhuang dadì, the Southern Dipper, and the Six Stars of Three Stages are another unusual facet. These idiosyncrasies, mostly seen as non-Buddhist elements, make the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha as a “Buddhist painting” special. Although other elements of the painting definitely derive from earlier Tang or Song models, this work is far from a Koreanized version of a Chinese Tejaprabhā image.

This study investigates various aspects of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha—its visual inspiration, its religious meaning, and its possible function in the context of its time and place. To that end, it will explore examples of other paintings featuring the Tejaprabhā Buddha and the asterisms produced between the ninth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> By examining this visual material and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha from various angles, this study will provide a new perspective on Koryŏ Buddhist painting and a better understanding of how iconography is

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<sup>8</sup> To date, among the Chinese examples, only one painting containing diagrams of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions has been known (Fig. 0.5), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>9</sup> After the sixteenth century, a new type of Tejaprabhā Buddha iconography appeared in Chosŏn Korea that implied a new phase of astral worship, a rise in the worship of the Seven Stars, and a decline in the worship of other asterisms. Because full discussion of this new tradition is beyond the scope of this chapter, I focus on the time frame from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries.

formed, beyond the boundaries of religious discipline.

## 2. Previous Research

To date, academic research on Koryŏ Buddhist paintings has been dominated by a focus on stylistic traits, iconography, and textual evidence. This is because many such paintings, most of which were initially thought to be Chinese, needed to be reidentified as Koryŏ Buddhist paintings by determining when, where and how they fit into Korean art tradition. Defining the idiosyncrasies in both the style and iconography of these paintings still remains the most important task for Korean art history. Many studies conducted by Korean scholars in the field are case studies focusing on a work or a group of works, searching for certain tendencies in style, iconography, or composition shared by these paintings.<sup>10</sup> Questions focusing on patrons and on the material used to create the painting have also been addressed, but in limited scope due to scant evidence.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile, issues relating to the production, consumption, and circulation of Koryŏ Buddhist paintings through regional and international networks have received little

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<sup>10</sup> Recent notable studies include Chŏng Ut'aek, "Koryŏ purhwa ūi yŏngyŏk" 高麗佛畫의 領域 [Scope of Koryŏ Buddhist Painting], *Pulgyo misulshak* 5 (2007): 211–233; Yi Sünghŭi 이승희, "Koryŏ hugi Sŏboksa kwan'gyŏng shibyukkwan pyŏnsangdo ūi ch'ŏnt'ae chŏngt'o shinangjŏk haesŏk" 고려후기 西福寺 觀經十六觀變相圖의 天台淨土信仰의 해석 [Interpretations of the Belief in the Pure Land of Ch'ŏnt'ae Through the late Koryŏ Illustrations of the Sixteen Meditations from *Guan wuliangshou jing* in the Saifukuji Temple], *Misulshak yŏn'gu* 279/280 (2013): 5–34; Mun Myŏngdae 문명대, "Koryŏ kwanŭm posal naeyŏngdo ūi saeroun ch'urhyŏn gwa kŭ ūiŭi" 고려 관음보살내영도의 새로운 출현과 그 의미 [A Study on New Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva Painting in the Koryŏ Dynasty], *Kangjwa misulsa* 48 (2017): 355–373; and Sin Kwanghŭi 신광희, "Koryŏ purhwa ūi yusasŏng gwa ūimi" 高麗佛畫의 유사성과 의미 [Similarities and Significance of Buddhist Paintings Produced during the Koryŏ Period], *Pulgyo hakpo* 85 (2018): 191–217.

<sup>11</sup> For example, Kim Chŏnghŭi 김정희, "Koryŏ wangshil ūi purhwa chejak kwa wangshil parwŏn purhwa ūi yŏn'gu" 高麗王室의 佛畫製作과 王室發願佛畫의 研究 [A Study on Buddhist Paintings Sponsored by the Royal Family of Koryŏ], *Kangjwa misulsa* 17 (2001): 127–153; "Koryŏ purhwa ūi parwŏnja wa shijuja" 高麗佛畫의 發願者와 施主者 [The Patrons and Donors of Koryŏ Buddhist Paintings], *Kangjwa misulsa* 38 (2012): 251–283.

attention. Some scholars have compared Koryŏ Buddhist paintings with so-called Ningbo Buddhist paintings, referring to works produced in the Ningbo area of China's Zhejiang Province during the Song and Yuan periods, and have suggested similarities and differences between the two corpuses of works. However, these scholars mainly focus on identifying Koryŏ Buddhist paintings by comparing them with other paintings rather than by investigating their roles in broader networks.<sup>12</sup> Among scholars outside Korea, Ide Seinosuke and Yukio Lippit provide insight on how to understand Koryŏ Buddhist paintings in an interregional context.<sup>13</sup>

Some case studies of individual Tejaprabhā Buddha paintings and groups of paintings are worth noting. Tejaprabhā imagery from the Dunhuang Mogao caves in China,<sup>14</sup> paintings of the assembly of Tejaprabhā produced in the Xixia kingdom (西夏, 1038–1227),<sup>15</sup> and

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<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Chŏng Pyŏngmo 정병모, “Yŏngp'a purhwa wa Koryŏ purhwa ūi pigyo yŏn'gu” 영파 불화와 고려 불화의 비교 연구 [A Comparative Study on Buddhist Painting of Ningbo and Koryŏ], *Kangjwa misulsa* 9 (1997): 105–126; Chŏng Ut'aek, “Koryŏ ūi chungguk purhwa sŏnt'aek kwa pyŏnyong” 고려의 중국 불화 선택과 변용 [The Selection and Transformation of Chinese Buddhist Painting in Koryŏ], *Misulsa yŏn'gu* 25 (2011): 109–136.

<sup>13</sup> Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, “Chakp'um ūi kaebŏlsŏng kwa aident'it'i” 作品의 개별성과 아이덴티티 [Individuality and Identity in Works of Art], *Misulsa nondan* 22 (2006): 7–40; Lippit, “Goryeo Buddhist Painting in an Interregional Context.”

<sup>14</sup> Two paintings representing Tejaprabhā and the Five Planets were discovered in the Mogao caves. Many scholars have researched these works as the oldest surviving examples of Tejaprabhā iconography. A mural in cave 61, the only wall painting representing a Tejaprabhā's procession, is another significant example of Tejaprabhā imagery from this site. See Matsumoto Eiichi 松本榮一, “Tonkō de shijōkō butsu gosei zukai” 敦煌出熾盛光佛五星圖解 [Explanation of Tejaprabhā and the Five Planets image from Dunhuang], *Kokka* 551 (1936): 284–287; Zhao Shengliang 趙聲良, “Mogaoku di 61 ku Chishengguang fō tu” 莫高窟第61窟熾盛光佛圖 [A Painting of Tejaprabhā from Mogao Cave no. 61], *Xiyu yanjiu* 4 (1993): 61–65; Meng Sihui 孟嗣徽, “Wuxing tuxiang kaoyuan: Yi cangjing dong yihua wei li” 五星圖像考源: 以藏經洞遺畫爲例 [A Study on the Origin of Iconography of the Five Planets: Focusing on the Cases of Paintings from Library Cave], *Yishushi yanjiu* 3 (2001): 397–419.

<sup>15</sup> Kira Samosyuk, “The Planet Cult in the Tangut State of Xi Xia: The Khara Khoto Collection, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 5 (1997/98): 353–376; “Xixia wangguo de xingxiu chongbai: Sheng Bidebao. Aiermitashi bowuguan Heishuicheng cangpin fenxi” 西夏王國的星宿崇拜: 圣彼得堡艾爾米塔什博物館黑水城藏品分析 [Planet Cult in the Tangut Kingdom: Focusing on the Khara Khoto Materials of the State Hermitage Museum's Collection], *Dunhuang yanjiu* 4 (2004): 63–70; Meng Sihui 孟嗣徽, “Shiyi

Tejaprabhā *dhāraṇī* scriptures accompanying illustrations of the Ming dynasty (明, 1368-1644)<sup>16</sup> have attracted academic attention as examples of Tejaprabhā-themed works. The monumental murals produced in Shanxi Province around the Yuan period (元, 1271-1368), including a Tejaprabhā Buddha mural, have also attracted the interest of several art historians.<sup>17</sup> Regarding Tejaprabhā Buddha paintings beyond these case studies, Michelle McCoy’s dissertation dealing with astronomical knowledge in the larger context of Asian visual culture should be noted as well.<sup>18</sup>

Tejaprabhā has been addressed in other studies connected to the history of astrology, astronomy, divination, and Buddhism. Some important works dealing with the transmission of

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yaoxing shen tuxixang kaoyuan: Yi Xixia shiqi ‘Chishengguang fo yu shiyi uaoxing shen gongxiu tu’wei li” 十一曜星神圖像考源: 以西夏時期熾盛光佛與十一曜星神宮宿圖爲例 [A Study on the Origin of the Eleven Planet Deities: Xi-Xia Painting of the Tejaprabhā Buddha and the Eleven Planet Deities in the Heavenly Palace], in *Dunhuang Xue: Dier ge bainian de yanjiu shijiao yu wenti*, ed. Popova and Liu Yi (St. Petersburg: Slavica Publishers, 2012), 167–179.

<sup>16</sup> Liao Yang 廖陽, “Ming Zhihua si ben ‘Foshuo jinun foding daweide chishengguang rulai tuoluoni jing’ tuxiang yanjiu” 明智化寺本·佛說金輪佛頂大威德熾盛光如陀羅尼經’圖像研究 [Iconographical Analysis of a Ming Print of ‘Uṣṇīṣacakra Mahābalaguṇa Tejaprabhā Tathāgata Dhāraṇī sūtra’ in the Collection of Zhihua Monastery], *Zangxue xuekan* 10 (2014): 111–140; “Mingdai ‘Foshuo jinun foding daweide chishengguang rulai tuoluoni jing’ tansuo: Han Zang wenhua jiaoliu de yi cemian” 明代佛說金輪佛頂大威德熾盛光如陀羅尼經 探索: 漢藏文化交流的一側面 [Textual Analysis of Ming Editions of ‘Uṣṇīṣacakra Mahābalaguṇa Tejaprabhā Tathāgata Dhāraṇī Sūtra,’ with Focus on Sino-Tibetan Cultural Communications], *Zhongguo zangxue* 3 (2014): 180–189; “‘Daweide Chishengguang rulai jixiang tuoluoni jing’ wenben yanjiu” ‘大威德熾盛光如來吉祥陀羅尼經’文本研究 [Historical Development of the Mahābalaguṇa-Tejaprabhā-Tathāgata-Śrī-Dhāraṇī-Sūtra], *Dunhuang yanjiu* 4 (2015): 64–72. A *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* amulet excavated from the Ruiguangsi pagoda in Suzhou has also attracted attention for the Tejaprabhā image at its center (see Chapter 4).

<sup>17</sup> Michelle Baldwin presents a chronology for the production of each mural and an explanation of stylistic relationships among them. Marilyn Gridley also examines the historical function of the Buddha especially in the political context related to Kublai Khan. See Michelle Baldwin, “Monumental Wall Paintings of the Assembly of the Buddha from Shanxi Province: Historiography, Iconography, Three Styles, and a New Chronology,” *Artibus Asiae* 54, nos. ¾ (1994): 241–267; Marilyn Gridley, “Images from Shanxi of Tejaprabhā’s Paradise,” *Archives of Asian Art* 51 (1998/1999): 7–15.

<sup>18</sup> Michelle Malina McCoy, “Astral Visuality in the Chinese and Inner Asian Cult of Tejaprabhā Buddha, ca. 900–1300 AD” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2017).



astrological or astronomical knowledge have contributed to our understanding of astral worship and practice in premodern Eurasia, including the cult of Tejaprabhā.<sup>19</sup> Recently, the work of Bill M. Mak and Jeffrey Kotyk has highlighted the transregional flow of astral science and its appropriation in new contexts based on historical evidence.<sup>20</sup> Several scholars offer a wealth of information about the cult of celestial objects and its visualization.<sup>21</sup> Susan Huang, for example, provides an overview of Daoist images and investigates how the Daoist perception of the cosmos unfolded through the creation of star images.<sup>22</sup> Although she does not undertake an in-depth

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<sup>19</sup> Jao Tsung-I 饒宗頤, “Lun qiyao yu shiyiyao” 論七曜與十一曜 [Treatise on the Seven Luminaries and Eleven Luminaries], in *Contributions aux études sur Touen-houang*, ed. M. Soymié (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 77–85; Ho Peng Yoke, *Chinese Mathematical Astrology: Reaching Out to the Stars* (London, New York: Routledge, Curzon, 2003); Niu Weixing 鈕衛星, “Tang-Song zhi ji dao jiao shi yi yao xingshen chongbai de qi yuan he liu xing” 唐宋之際道教十一曜星神崇拜的起源和流行 [Origin and Spread of Daoist Eleven Planets Worship in the Tang and Song Dynasties], *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 2012, no. 1 (2012): 85–95; “On the Dunhuang Manuscript p. 4071: A Case Study on the Sinicization of Western Horoscope in Late 10th Century China,” in *The Circulation of Astronomical Knowledge in the Ancient World*, ed. John M. Steele (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 527–558.

<sup>20</sup> Bill M. Mak, “Yusi jing -A treatise of ‘Western’ Astral Science in Chinese and Its Versified Version Xitian yusi jing,” *Sources and Commentaries in Exact Sciences* 15 (2014): 105–170; “Indian Jyotiṣa Literature through the Lens of the Chinese Buddhist Canon,” *Journal of Oriental Studies* 48, no. 1 (2015): 1–19; “The Transmission of Buddhist Astral Science from India to East Asia: The Central Asian Connection,” *Historia Scientiarum* 24, no. 2 (2015): 59–75; “Astral Science of the East Syriac Christians in China during the Late First Millennium AD,” *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16, no. 4 (2016): 87–92; Jeffrey Kotyk, “Kanjikēn no bungaku ni okeru seihō senseijutsu no yōso: Tōzai bunka kōryū ni okeru bukkyō no yakuwari” 漢字圈の文学における西方占星術の要素: 東西文化交流における仏教の役割 [Elements of Occidental Astrology in Literature of the Sinosphere: The Role of Buddhism in Eurasian Cultural Exchange], *Bukkyō bungaku kenkyū* 19 (2016): 110–185; “Astrological Iconography of Planetary Deities in Tang China: Near Eastern and Indian Icons in Chinese Buddhism,” *Journal of Chinese Buddhist Studies* 30 (2017): 33–88; “Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2017); “Iranian Elements in Late-Tang Buddhist Astrology,” *Asia Major* 30, no. 1 (2017): 25–58; “The Sinicization of Indo-Iranian Astrology in Medieval China,” *Sino-Platonic Papers* 282 (2018): 1–95.

<sup>21</sup> See, e.g., Tansen Sen, “Astronomical Tomb Painting from Xuanhua: Mandalas?,” *Ars Orientalis* 29 (1999): 29–54; Lilla Russell-Smith, “Stars and Planets in Chinese and Central Asian Buddhist Art in the Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries,” *Culture and Cosmos* 10, nos. 1/2 (2006): 99–124; Yu Xin 余欣, “Personal Fate and the Planets: A Documentary and Iconographical Study of Astrological Divination at Dunhuang, Focusing on the ‘Dhāraṇī Talisman for Offerings to Ketu and Mercury, Planetary Deity of the North,’” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 163–190; Yoichi Isahaya and Jyuh Fuh Lin, “Entangled Representation of Heaven: A Chinese Divination Text from a Tenth-Century Dunhuang Fragment (P. 4071),” *Historia Scientiarum* 26, no. 3 (2017): 153–171.

<sup>22</sup> Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge, MA:

discussion of the Tejaprabhā Buddha, Huang's publication is remarkable because it highlights how the Tejaprabhā Buddha's iconography never belonged to orthodox Buddhism but was inspired by various ideas culled from other religions, particularly Daoism. By examining archeological evidence, Lillian Lan-ying Tseng studied the notion of heaven during the Han dynasty (漢, 202 BC-220AD), a notion that became the foundation of astrology and cosmology in East Asia.<sup>23</sup>

Chōng Chinhūi's dissertation is a comprehensive study of Tejaprabhā Buddha worship and the arts in China and Korea, including the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, based on both textual and visual sources.<sup>24</sup> It provides a foundation for further study of the Tejaprabhā Buddha. In addition, case studies have been done on Tejaprabhā Buddha images produced on the Korean peninsula. For example, other research by Chōng Chinhūi focuses on the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha and its iconography.<sup>25</sup> Kang Soyōn examines a single Tejaprabhā-themed painting housed in the Kōrai Bijutsukan in Kyoto, Japan, within the historical context of Tejaprabhā Buddha iconography.<sup>26</sup> This Tejaprabhā Buddha painting, datable to 1569, is also analyzed by

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Harvard University Asia Center, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, *Picturing Heaven in Early China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center for the Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2011).

<sup>24</sup> Chōng Chinhūi 정진희, “Han'guk Ch'isōnggwang yōrae shinang wa tosang yōn'gu” 韓國 熾盛光如來 信仰과 圖像 研究 [A Study of Tejaprabhā Buddha Faith and Iconography in Korea] (PhD diss., Dongguk University, 2017).

<sup>25</sup> Chōng Chinhūi, “Posūt'ōn misulgwan sojang Koryō Ch'isōnggwang yōrae kangnimdo ūi tosang koch'al” 보스턴 미술관 소장 고려 치성광여래 강림도의 도상 고찰 [A Study on the *Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha* in the Boston Museum of Fine Art], *Chōngshin munhwa yōn'gu* 37, no.4 (2014): 221–250.

<sup>26</sup> Kang Soyōn 姜素妍, “Kyōto Kōrai bijutsukan zō ‘Shijōkō nyorai kōrin zu' kō-dōbutsu shūgō no kanten kara” 京都・高麗美術館蔵 ‘熾盛光如來降臨図’考—道仏習合の観点から [A Study on ‘Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha’ in the Collection of the Kōrai Bijutsukan, Kyoto: From the Perspective of the Synthesis of Daoism and Buddhism], *Kyōto bigaku bijutsushigaku* 1 (2002): 29–68.

Kim Hyōnjōng, who provides some basic information on the work.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Kim Ilkwōn makes a comparative study on the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting and the Kōrai Bijutsukan painting.<sup>28</sup> Yi Tongūn introduces the so-called Sudoam painting, another Tejaprabhā image from the Korean peninsula that was recently discovered in a private collection.<sup>29</sup> Finally, Henrik Sørensen discusses the relationship between Buddhism and astrology and the rituals associated with Tejaprabhā during the Koryō dynasty.<sup>30</sup>

Of the research just discussed, the two dissertations written on Tejaprabhā Buddha images by Michelle McCoy and Chōng Chinhūi are the most recent studies. As pioneering works on this subject matter written in the United States and Korea respectively, McCoy's and Chōng's research has provided major references for this dissertation. The former deals with the circulation of new astral knowledge and the visual culture of China and Inner Asia where this new knowledge has been incorporated. McCoy examines the cult of Tejaprabhā as an association of astral science with Buddhism, focusing on Chinese and Inner Asian works. By thoroughly investigating multidirectional transmission, circulation, and appropriation of astral knowledge and divination reflected in Tejaprabhā-related imagery, particularly from the Xixia kingdom, McCoy's transregional approach sheds light on cultural interactions across Eurasia. Chōng's

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<sup>27</sup> Kim Hyōnjōng, "Ilbon Koryō misulgwan sojang 1569 nyōn chak Ch'isōnggwang yōrae kangnimdo ūi tosang haesōk'ak chōk koch'al."

<sup>28</sup> Kim Ilkwōn 김일권, "Koryō Ch'isōnggwang purhwa ūi tosang punsōk kwa tobul kyosōp chōk ch'ōnmun sasang yōn'gu" 고려 熾盛光佛畫의 도상 분석과 도불 교섭적 천문사상 연구 [Iconographic Analysis of the Koryō Tejaprabhā Buddha Painting and Research on Buddho-Daoist Astronomical Thought], *Ch'ōnt'aehak yōn'gu* 4 (2002): 277–370.

<sup>29</sup> Yi Tongūn, "Sudoam Ch'isōnggwang yōrae kangnimdo yōn'gu."

<sup>30</sup> Henrik H. Sørensen, "Worshipping the Cosmos: Tejaprabhā Rituals under the Koryō," *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 15 (2010): 7–26.

work looks at Korean examples of Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery and traces their textual and visual predecessors from India and China. Based on a traditional approach that scrutinizes almost every extant textual and visual material across time periods and establishes a history of Tejaprabhā Buddha iconography, this diachronic study suggests that the Tejaprabhā Buddha cult began and was developed in Korea.

What sets the present dissertation apart from the aforementioned two works is that, as will be detailed later in this chapter, I would like to focus on the collective practice of the artists and devotees who produced and used the Boston painting, rather than the transmission of astral knowledge or thought reflected by iconographic constituents. “Transmission” is a crucial keyword in Tejaprabhā study and it therefore needs clarification in the present context. For those who lived in the premodern Korean peninsula, and even in premodern China, Tejaprabhā Buddha was a foreign god transmitted from somewhere in the West. In addition to transmission, however, this study primarily investigates how people in the past react to the idea of heaven as represented by seemingly trivial visual elements as well as major features of the painting. These visual elements include iconographic and stylistic elements, both of which were derived from intentional or unintentional practice of painting or worshipping of the time when the painting was produced. Thus, this dissertation focuses on the approximate time and specific place when and where the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting was produced. However, it also pays attention to the layers of time that have elicited various attitudes toward heaven since the painting’s creation. Doing so creates the opportunity to view this painting beyond the frame of Asian work by considering it through some of the grand themes of art-historical scholarship.

Previous research on the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha has often focused on finding

Chinese precedents, both in text and images, and on identifying each figure to reconstruct a complex pantheon of deities based on these works. Indeed, this approach is applied not only to the study of the Tejaprabhā Buddha but to almost every aspect of Buddhist iconography. Anyone examining the iconography of a Buddhist deity would first search Buddhist scriptures, particularly sutras, to find textual evidence on how to visualize the deity. They would then research extant visual material and compare the images with the scriptures to investigate how the textual description is visualized. Likewise, because Buddhism was transmitted from China to Korea and because Korean Buddhism shared many facets of its practice and art with Chinese Buddhism, most studies of Korean Buddhist art begin by tracing possible scriptural origins and suggest Chinese predecessors of the object. This has been an effective way to undertake an iconographic study of religious art, but it is not sufficient for gaining an understanding of Tejaprabhā Buddha iconography. Studies of scripture alone cannot fully grasp the particularities of local contexts where the concept of Tejaprabhā was accepted and reinterpreted; and further, it is difficult to find a close connection between texts and images of Tejaprabhā Buddha.

### **3. The Use of the Term “Tejaprabhā” in Early Texts—Discrepancy Between Text and Image**

Disjunction between texts and images can be illustrated by comparing some of the early textual and visual material relating to the Tejaprabhā Buddha. The earliest dated example of a Tejaprabhā Buddha image is *Tejaprabhā with Five Planets* (897) excavated at the Dunhuang Mogao caves (Fig. 0.2). Due to its inscription, which provides the date when the painting was produced and names the subject matter, this painting on silk is important for the history of

Tejaprabhā imagery. Here, Tejaprabhā Buddha, emitting rays of light from his body, rides in a carriage flanked by stellar deities symbolizing the Five Planets—that is, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. Another example, produced in the late Tang period (唐, 618-907) and now owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Fig. 0.3), shares a similar iconography with the painting dating from 897. The Tejaprabhā Buddha rides a carriage surrounded by celestial beings; colorful light rays radiating from the Buddha’s body catch the viewer’s eyes. However, in this painting the Five Planets are replaced by Nine Planets, consisting of the Sun, the Moon, the Five Planets previously noted, and two invisible planets, Rahu (羅喉) and Ketu (計都). An illustration from the Song edition of *Chishengguang foding da weide xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing* (熾盛光佛頂大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經) (The Dhāraṇī Sutra of the greatly majestic and virtuous Tejaprabhā Buddha who dispels calamities and brings good fortune as spoken by the Buddha) (Fig. 0.5), dated 972 AD, also depicts Tejaprabhā Buddha surrounded by these stellar deities. This illustration is the earliest example containing the Tejaprabhā Buddha, the planet deities, the Twelve Zodiac signs, and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions all together.

Although the iconography of these three works is not exactly the same, some shared visual elements are easily identified; namely, the generic Buddha form of Tejaprabhā as the main deity, his ox-driven carriage, and the planet deities as attendants. However, it is not easy to find any depictions of these elements in Buddhist scriptures. Tejaprabhā-related scriptures rarely describe the physical appearance of the Buddha.<sup>31</sup> In Chinese, the term *Chishengguang fo* (熾盛

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<sup>31</sup> Amongst the scriptures in Table 1, (3) 佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經 briefly mentions the deity’s appearance: “Light rays are emitted from every pore of his body. He is wearing a crown with five buddhas and his two hands are alike those of Śākyamuni (毛孔飛光散 首冠五佛相 二手如釋迦)” T 966. This description certainly does not apply to the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha.

光佛) refers to Tejaprabhā.<sup>32</sup> The earliest Buddhist scriptures to use the term *Chishengguang* were published in the eighth century in China (Table 1). These texts were traditionally considered to be Chinese translations of Indian tantric sutras made by Indian monks such as Bukong 不空 (Amoghavajra, 705–774), but it has now been established that most are apocryphal scriptures created in the ninth century.<sup>33</sup> Thus, these scriptures are nearly contemporaneous with the earliest Tejaprabhā-themed images.

*Chishengguang* scriptures primarily describe how to hold a tantric ritual, including reciting a mantra or drawing a mandala. The term *yigui* (儀軌) in the title of one work suggests that these are texts for ceremonial situations, to avoid disasters and to fulfill one’s wishes.<sup>34</sup> There is no description of who the Tejaprabhā Buddha is or what he looks like. In some of these texts, there is no evidence that the term *chishengguang* even refers to a personified deity. Further, accurately translating the word can be difficult, because *chishengguang* in Chinese not only refers to Tejaprabhā but is also an adjective meaning “effulgent,” as in the following examples:

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<sup>32</sup> *Chishengguang* literally means “blazing magnificent light” and is often translated as “effulgence.” Because most Tejaprabhā scriptures are apocrypha, possibly written by Chinese monks, it cannot be said that Tejaprabhā is an original Sanskrit term translated as *Chishengguangfo*. Rather, Tejaprabhā is a Sanskrit reconstruction of many different Chinese terms referring to Buddhas of the Pole Star, including *chishengguang*. The term *Tejaprabhā*, according to McCoy, has been used since at least the mid-nineteenth century at the latest (McCoy, “Astral Visuality in the Chinese and Inner Asian Cult of Tejaprabhā Buddha,” 21).

<sup>33</sup> For example, considering its apocryphal elements, *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜 (T.1311), attributed to Yixing 一行 (673–727), is thought to have been compiled in the late eighth or early ninth century. *Foshuo Chishengguang da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing* 佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經 (T. 963), known as Bukong’s work, also seems to be an apocrypha written in the early ninth century. Lü Jianfu 呂建福, “Yixing zhushu xulüe” 一行著述敘略 [A Brief Survey of Yixing’s Writings], in *Mijiao lunkao* (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2008), 473; Chōng Chinhūi, “Han’guk Ch’isōnggwang yōrae shinang gwa tosang yōn’gu,” 35–36.

<sup>34</sup> *Yigui* 儀軌 is used to as a translation of the Sanskrit term *vidhi*, meaning “rite,” and sometimes *kalpa* or *tantra*. David B. Stevenson, “Buddhist Ritual in the Song,” in *Modern Chinese Religion I: Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan (962–1368 AD)*, ed. John Lagerwey and Pierre Marsone (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 335n12.

The letter “hum” appears with effulgent light. At the center of the light, the great fire of effulgent flame appeared.<sup>35</sup> [1]

In scripture (1) *Beidou qi xing huma fa* of Table 1, this term is only used in “熾盛光要法,” which is another name for *beidou fa* (北斗法) (Ritual of the Northern Dipper). In the case of scripture (3) *Chishengguang da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing*, *chishengguang* is used with *da weide* (大威德), meaning “great authority” and referring to the deity Yamāntaka. That is, *Chishengguang* in both (1) and (3) can be translated in multiple ways, one of which is as an adjective. Unlike later scriptures, in which the term *chishengguang rulai* (熾盛光如來) obviously means the Tejaprabhā Buddha, the usage of *chishengguang* alone in earlier examples is not necessarily a reference to the Tejaprabhā Buddha but may be an alternate name for Yamāntaka or may serve as an adjective.

The term *chishengguang foding* (熾盛光佛頂) used in scriptures (2) *Xiuyao yigui* and (6) *Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun* is clearer in its meaning. *Foding* literally means *uṣṇīṣa*, one of the thirty-two major marks of the Buddha. However, it sometimes refers to a personification of *uṣṇīṣa* in tantric Buddhism.<sup>36</sup> Among various types of *foding*, *chishengguang foding* is known as the *jiaoling lunshen* (教令輪身) (edification cakra-body) of Śākyamuni Buddha and resides in the Hall of Śākyamuni of the womb world mandala.<sup>37</sup> In other words, the term *chishengguang* here indicates a personified deity, but this wrathful tantric deity

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<sup>35</sup> T. 1516. *Sheng fomu bore boluomiduo jiusong jing yi lun* 聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義 [The Śāstra of Exquisite Meanings on the Nine Verses of the Sagely Mother of the Buddhas Prajñāpāramitā].

<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 65.

<sup>37</sup> Mikkyō Jiten Hensankai and Mikkyō Daijiten Saikan Iinkai 密教辞典編纂会, 密教大辞典再版委員会, *Mikkyō daijiten II* 密教大辞典 II [Dictionary of Esoteric Buddhism] (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1969–1970), 946.



is completely different from the Tejaprabhā we have discussed above.

Scripture (4) *Da weide jinlun foding Chishengguang rulai xiaochu yiqie zainan tuoluoni jing* is the earliest surviving text in which *chishengguang rulai*, definitely meaning the Tejaprabhā Buddha, is used. However, this is another translation from the same original manuscript as (3). Therefore, it is questionable whether the original manuscript includes any expression indicating the Buddha. Considering that scripture (3), allegedly by Bukong, does not use the word *ruhai* or even *foding*, it seems likely that the author (or translator) of (4), who lived in a later period, was influenced by the rise of Tejaprabhā Buddha worship in China. Even the title is different from the earlier version. Scripture (4) uses “golden wheel” (金輪) in its title, which is one of Tejaprabhā Buddha’s attributes, while scripture (3) does not. This suggests that (4) may have been disseminated when the iconography of the Tejaprabhā Buddha was to some degree established through the creation of images, though no specifics pertaining to iconography are stated in the text.

To sum up, *chishengguang* in early Chinese sutras does not necessarily refer to the Tejaprabhā Buddha. This term has at least three different meanings: the adjective “effulgent”; “Tejaprabhā *foding*,” a tantric form taken by Śākyamuni Buddha; and “Tejaprabhā Buddha.” The precise denotation of the term may not always be clear in each case, but we can be certain that the third definition appears rarely, if at all, in these early texts. Thus, while many scholars have linked the publication of these scriptures with the earliest appearance Tejaprabhā Buddha images, the scriptures do not provide many clues for imagining a Buddhicized stellar deity as depicted in the earliest paintings. We here witness a gap between visual material and the texts believed to have provided the basis for the creation of images.

#### 4. A Non-text-based Approach to the Iconography of the Tejaprabhā Buddha

Where, then, does this gap between texts and visual material come from? To answer this question, I suggest that the confrontation with natural phenomena served as a basic motive for “creating” the figure of the Tejaprabhā Buddha, and thus, the visualization of Tejaprabhā Buddha is entirely different from those of Amitābha or Śākyamuni Buddhas. The approach of Aby Warburg, who researched visual material from an anthropological perspective, is worthy of note here. According to Warburg, humankind oscillates between two polarities to understand the world and to overcome irrational fears of nature: a magical-associative one and a logical-dissociative one. Using images that project one’s thoughts and imagination can be a symptom of this oscillation, or a synthesis of the polarities.<sup>38</sup> The bird and serpent images of the Pueblo Indians are Warburg’s example of magical projection. He shows how these images serve as a means of understanding and communicating with nature to solve crises and how the image can be collectively shared by the Pueblo community as a visual, verbal, behavioral, and mental symbol.<sup>39</sup> This way of using images is not Pueblo-specific but rather a common way of understanding nature found in every region and period, although not as easy to find in modern society due to the development of science and technology. On the other hand, Warburg was also interested in astrological imagery as it reflects both logical and magical thoughts. People project onto the stars images they are familiar with, such as a water dipper or a bear, in order to create

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<sup>38</sup> This idea, which permeated many of Warburg’s studies, was inspired by Tito Vignoli’s system. See E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 68–72

<sup>39</sup> Aby Warburg, “Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America,” in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. D. Preziosi (Oxford, 1998), 177–206.

fixed landmarks in the sky. These man-made metaphors assisted memory but, at the same time, they ironically become a source of magical belief.<sup>40</sup>

If we follow Warburg's perspective, images often reflect how people historically related to the unknown nature in both rational and irrational ways. On the one hand, the iconography of Tejaprabhā Buddha, the deification of the Pole Star, can to some degree be explained by this universal way of using images. Collective memory and symbolic representations shared by the Han Chinese community, such as the image of the celestial Thearch riding in a carriage and symbolizing the Pole Star, and their logical and magical beliefs regarding the stars may have contributed more to the process of understanding heaven and asterisms in a Buddhist way during the ninth century than a newly disseminated tantric sutra.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, we should not ignore the fact that astral worship was one of the earliest religions of human history. It appeared in almost every cultural area from their ancient period, as it does in East Asia. Following traditional and indigenous customs, ancient people addressed their prayers, for instance, to the Northern Dipper, the Pole Star, or stars like Laoren xing (老人星) (the Star of the Old Man) (Canopus,  $\alpha$  Carinae). Meanwhile, it is well known that indigenous cults were often integrated into early Buddhism in China in the process of its transmission from India. Whether this was a misunderstanding or a deliberate tactic to spread its beliefs among the people, Chinese Buddhism in its early phase was often combined with existing practices like folk beliefs which would later be incorporated into Daoism.<sup>42</sup> Astral worship, or

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<sup>40</sup> Gombrich, *Aby Warburg*, 196.

<sup>41</sup> On the celestial Thearch and cosmology of the Han dynasty, see Chapter 1.

<sup>42</sup> Many scholars point out the amalgamation of early Daoism and Buddhism in China. Erik Zürcher suggests that

astrology, was no exception. During the Tang dynasty, many people possessed a painting of the Five Planets and the Buddha, and praying to the Five Planets was considered a Buddhist practice.<sup>43</sup> Consulting tantric scriptures mentioning Tejabrahmā would not be helpful in understanding the worship of these people because their beliefs were not “orthodox” tantric Buddhist but closer to so called proto-tantrism or mixed esotericism.<sup>44</sup> It is not difficult to suppose that the traditional deity of the Pole Star, widely known since the Han dynasty, was reimagined and revisualized in a Buddhist manner after the spread of Buddhism—as a figure having an *uṣṇīṣa*, wearing a draped robe, and possessing a halo like more familiar Mahāyāna buddhas, but still riding in a carriage. We may even speculate that this iconography could have developed before the term *chishengguang fo* (or *chishengguang rulai*) was used in China.<sup>45</sup>

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popular beliefs, contrary to elite religion, were formed at the intersection of Buddhism and Daoism. By examining religious imagery, Stanley Abe argues that the material evidence of seemingly mixed religion is not a matter of categorization but of efficacy and of choice among many visual options. Erik Zürcher, “Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism,” *T’oung pao* 66 (1980): 85–147; Stanley Abe, *Ordinary Images* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 259–313.

<sup>43</sup> “五星惡浮圖佛像 今人家多圖畫 五星雜於佛事 或謂之禳災 真不知也,” in Wei Xuan 韋絢 (801–866), *Liu Binke Jiahua Lu* 劉賓客嘉話錄 [*Recorded Words of Liu Yuxi*], fupian 附編,

<sup>44</sup> Richard D. McBride II, “Practical Buddhist Thaumaturgy: The ‘Great Dhāraṇī on Immaculately Pure Light’ in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism,” *Journal of Korean Religions* 2, no. 1 (2011): 38.

<sup>45</sup> This suggestion can be linked to questions about the relationship between text and image. Many scholars have debated whether one takes precedence over the other and whether they are complementary or independent. Some studies on religious manuscripts containing texts and images have suggested that the relationship between the two is much more complex, or even subversive, than might be expected. For example, Eric Huntington proposes that some images in Newar Buddhist ritual manuals should be understood in the context of complex ritual practice rather than as simple illustrations of the text. Image, for Huntington, has its own distinctive function and is not merely a visual complement to the written word. Moreover, in her essay concerning two illustrated Islamic divination manuscripts, Serpil Bağcı notes that “instead of illustrating the text as an additional, perhaps decorative device, divination images precede the text; they stand alone as the principal medium in their own genre of communication.” The autonomy of images in religious material culture implies that visualization of certain ideas could take precedence over textual circulation in the process of transmission. Eric Huntington, “Image and Text in Newar Buddhist Ritual Manuals,” *Material Religion* 13, no. 2(2017): 175–205; Serpil Bağcı, “Images for Foretelling: Two Topkapi Fâlnâmes,” in *Dreaming Across Boundaries: The Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*, ed. Louise Marlow (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 240.

Therefore, we need to reconsider the relationship between religious images and texts as a basis for the images of the Tejaprabhā Buddha. As mentioned earlier, one can identify the Tejaprabhā Buddha by his golden wheel, his ox-driven carriage, the inclusion of asterism diagrams and planet deities, and so on, but not all Tejaprabhā Buddhas have all of these attributes. Looking at the Buddha statues in some caves of Dazu, China, it is not easy to recognize at first glance that these images represent the Tejaprabhā Buddha and planet deities as his attendants. For example, in cave 169 of Beishan, Dazu, the Tejaprabhā assembly is represented (Fig. 0.4), but there is no carriage. The buddhas are seated on lotus pedestals like other buddhas. Though the Tejaprabhā Buddha is surrounded by planet deities, one cannot find any distinctive visual clue that the Buddha and his attendants are stellar deities. Only a small wheel in the Buddha's hand implies who he is. So, even the key attributes of the Tejaprabhā Buddha are not always depicted in images. In the case of statues in the Beishan caves, we cannot be certain that ancient devotees could have clearly identified the deity as a representation of the Pole Star Buddha by sole observation.<sup>46</sup>

How, then, do we examine visualizations of the Tejaprabhā Buddha? My approach is to investigate every visual element in each case of Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery and consider why the individual elements are combined in different ways that vary from one image to another. I will explain my methodology in detail later in this chapter; but in brief, I adopt a process of contextualizing the image to find a driving force that plausibly inspired the choice of

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<sup>46</sup> Juhyung Rhi comments on the difficulty of identifying images of Buddha with no idiosyncratic attribute in pre-esoteric Buddhist art. Although Rhi focuses only on Indian examples, his discourse on iconography is worthy of notice. Yi Juhyōng (Juhyung Rhi) 이주형, “Tosanghakūn chōngmal chungyohan’ga? Milgyo ch’ulhyōn yichūn pulsing ūi chonmyōng kyujōng p’anbyōl e kwanhayō” 도상학은 정말 중요한가? 밀교 출현 이전 불상의 존명 규정/관별에 관하여 [Does Iconography Really matter? The Iconographic Specification of Buddha Images in Pre-esoteric Buddhist Art], *Misulsa wa shigak munhwa* 10 (2011): 220–263.

visualization. This may be a text, as many religious iconographers think, or an image, or it might be a certain event or cultural phenomenon relevant during the era of production.

The earliest images of the Tejaprabhā Buddha of the ninth century may exemplify how this methodology may be deployed. As I will discuss in Chapter 1, Tejaprabhā's carriage seems to originate from that of the celestial Thearch of ancient Chinese cosmology, but the celestial Thearch's vehicle is not an ox-drawn carriage. No animal is named or depicted in Han texts and imagery. Then where did this ox come from? A painting titled *The Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations*, attributed to sixth-century painter Zhang Sengyou 張僧繇 (fl. 500–550), is a helpful reference. Among the anthropomorphic forms of celestial bodies on this painted scroll, Saturn, depicted as an exotic old man with a topknot and dark skin, and only partially clothed, is riding an ox (Fig. 0.6). His distinctive appearance is often similar in other works, such as the Tejaprabhā Buddha paintings discovered at Dunhuang (Figs. 0.2 and 0.3). In both cases from Dunhuang, Saturn is depicted as an ox drover walking beside the ox and holding the reins. It would then be no coincidence to find him driving the ox-cart among all the attendants surrounding the Buddha's carriage in the Boston scroll, in the sense that each planet deity maintains the iconographic attributes we see in other similarly themed paintings. Like Saturn's hairdo or clothing, the ox became one of the deity's major attributes and was thus integrated into later Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery as the animal pulling the carriage, just as planet deities became a part of Tejaprabhā Buddha's party. In this case, the existing iconography of planet deities and their illustrations were the driving force behind depictions of the ox in the Tejaprabhā Buddha's scene, although the ox itself has nothing to do with the Buddha.

At the same time, although there is an obvious discrepancy between the scriptures and

the images as previously discussed, it is possible that the introduction of Tejaprabhā Buddha-related sutras in turn encouraged visualizations of him. I suggest that the spread of *Chishengguang* scriptures should be considered not as the spread of textual knowledge about the sutras but as the spread of the related belief among people, even though they could not understand or even directly access the sutras. As a historical event, the introduction of a Buddhist sutra can be interpreted as the starting point of related worship; however, it can also be seen as the *result* of the growing needs of already devoted believers. This is especially the case for apocryphal compositions like Tejaprabhā-related scriptures, which often seem to have been created in response to the religious needs of indigenous audiences. Therefore, regardless of whether the chicken or the egg came first, the spread of Tejaprabhā-related texts in China indicates the rise of Tejaprabhā worship in that area. And, inevitably, this triggered new visualizations of a Tejaprabhā Buddha, because any kind of religion needs visual aids such as icons. In forming the iconography of the Tejaprabhā Buddha, the introduction of scriptures affirming Tejaprabhā may thus have served as a driving force.

Why, then, did Chinese people imagine the deity of the Pole Star in Buddhist form? This question is significant because they already had Daoist deifications of the Pole Star that were more familiar to them. Tianhuang Dadi and Beiji Dadi 北極大帝 are both anthropomorphic representations of the Pole Star. Although these two Daoist stellar deities seem rarely to have been represented in artistic form, they had been visualized since the Han dynasty at the latest.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> It is not easy to find images of the two deities together, but Anning Jing identifies figures carved on a Han mirror in the Seattle Art Museum as Tianhuang Dadi and Beiji Dadi. Anning Jing, “Yongle Palace: The Transformation of the Daoist Pantheon during the Yuan Dynasty (1260–1368)” (PhD Diss., Princeton University, 1994), 127-130.

Early Daoist texts tell us that they are two of the highest deities in the Daoist pantheon.<sup>48</sup> The confines of this study do not permit discussion of the history of Daoism and the whole Daoist pantheon here, but it is helpful to summarize what happened to Daoist stellar deities before the emergence of the Tejaprabhā Buddha in China. When a new stream of Daoism, the gods of *Sanqing* (三清), or the Three Pure Ones—*Yuqing* (玉清) (Jade Clarity), *Shangqing* (上清) (Highest Clarity), and *Taiqing* (太清) (Great Clarity)—rose to dominance in the Sui and the Tang periods, such stellar deities as Tianhuang Dadi and Beiji Dadi lost their status, along with the Queen Mother of the West and the King Father of the East, who had also commanded respect not only in Daoism but also in popular culture. It was not until the Northern Song period (北宋, 960-1127) that Tianhuang Dadi and Beiji Dadi returned to their thrones as major deities in Daoism, thanks to the support of the imperial court in China.<sup>49</sup> Here we may consider the possibility that the rise of the Sanqing deities in Daoism and the temporary unseating of Daoist stellar deities led to favorable conditions for Daoist and Buddhist believers (who in fact were not necessarily clearly demarcated) to create and worship another god of the Pole Star; in this case, the Tejaprabhā Buddha.

In offering this hypothesis, I do not mean to suggest that the indigenous image of the celestial Thearch, the spread of astrological sutras, and the decline of worship of Daoist stellar deities are the only crucial factors for the emergence of the Tejaprabhā Buddha in the ninth century. However, they are certainly part of the context surrounding the formulation of the

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<sup>48</sup> According to *Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經 [Central Scripture of Laozi] (DZ 1168), Tianhuang Dadi is the second highest, and Beiji Dadi is the fifth highest god among twenty-seven deities. Even Laozi is lower than these two in this pantheon. Jing, “Yongle Palace,” 127, 141.

<sup>49</sup> Jing, “Yongle Palace,” 131.



Buddha seen in the Dunhuang paintings. Therefore, the iconography of Tejaprabhā Buddha must be considered as a result of the selective translation and collage of existing materials. My strategy for dealing with Tejaprabhā Buddha involves investigation of this idiosyncrasy.

## **5. Methodology**

In my dissertation, I will engage with three discourses developed in the disciplines of art history, cultural theory, and religious studies, respectively. The first of these is Hans Belting's *Bildwissenschaft*. The second is the concept of a "spatialization of time" as suggested by Stuart Hall; and the last is "practice theory" as articulated by Catherine Bell.

The number of stellar deities invented in Buddhism, Daoism, and folk belief including the Tejaprabhā Buddha bears to the popularity of stellar worship in East Asia. However, these deities by no means became dominant objects of worship like Amitābha Buddha or Guandi (關帝). While the Tejaprabhā Buddha has also been worshipped throughout China, Korea, and Japan, the limited number of extant images implies that this deity has rarely been the most popular or influential. There has been no powerful canon related to the Tejaprabhā Buddha in either textual or visual traditions, which led to a certain iconographic flexibility even after the ninth century. Thus, different visual and conceptual elements coexisted relating the same theme from different sources, and in each instance, a number of these elements were selected to form a specific artwork. My dissertation will examine several specific examples as combinations of various elements and consider the following questions: Where did these elements come from, and how were the selections made in creating each specific work?

To answer these questions, instead of merely tracing the visual predecessors of each case, I would like to examine Tejaprabhā Buddha visuals as mental images transmitted and shared by individuals or collective bodies through the idea of “image anthropology” as suggested by Hans Belting. Aiming to define a universal discipline of images transcending period and region, he says,

An anthropological approach has a different aim than an approach based on the evolution of, say, technical media or art. From the perspective of anthropology, we are not the masters of our images, but rather in a sense at their mercy; they colonize our bodies (our brains), so that even if it seems that we are in charge of generating them, and even though society attempts unceasingly to control them, it is in fact the images that are in control. Images both affect and reflect the changing course of human history. They leave, for example, no doubt about how changeable human nature is.<sup>50</sup>

Belting suggests that images are like nomads who “migrate across the boundaries that separate one culture from another, taking up residence in the media of one historical place and time and then moving on to the next, like desert wanderers setting up temporary camps.”<sup>51</sup> The body which is a “site where mental images take place” perceives, memorizes, and creates images in order to deal with the problems it faces. This point of view may be useful in examining an image with no textual basis or similar precedent, like the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. Rather than viewing the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha as a moment in the history of the Tejaprabhā Buddha image, it can be seen as a collective mental image derived from those bodies who perceived, interpreted, and worshipped the stars. This nomadic image resided in the media of the fourteenth-century Korean peninsula.

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<sup>50</sup> Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 9-10.

<sup>51</sup> Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, 21.

I would also like to focus on each element of these artifacts by comparing them with contemporary material culture and records of worship according to an approach that Stuart Hall calls the “spatialization of time.” Hall explains his concept via the “conditions of existence,” which are not “the notion of a determining force” in art practices and so “do not determine either the form or the content” but “have a bearing on how those practices are actually executed in the world.”<sup>52</sup> By encompassing the cultural conditions of the existence of artwork or practices—that is, the “spatialization of time”—I would like to show how certain motifs are integrated in a particular time and region; for example, in fourteenth-century Koryō.

At the same time, research on “practice” in the field of religious studies provides another basis for understanding the process of making a work of art. Catherine Bell summarizes the previous theories of practice suggested by many scholars. She also criticizes them, pointing out that no matter how they understand human activities, these traditions of religious studies, especially ritual studies, are not only based on a quintessentially Western dichotomy between thought and action but also give prominence to thought over action, to ideas over material.<sup>53</sup> This matters when we consider religious artifacts, because most studies of religious art are also based on these assumptions. For example, studies of iconography often suppose that a religious artifact is the pure reflection of an idea or concept from a certain set of beliefs or cultural conditions. However, the act of creating religious art, whether painting an image, carving a sculpture, or building a hall, is a practice, and thus the ideas of practice theorists, including Bell, Wendy Doniger, and Frits Staal, provide another valuable perspective for better understanding

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<sup>52</sup> Stuart Hall, “Museums of Modern Art and the End of History,” in Stuart Hall and Sarat Mahara, *Annotation: Modernity and Difference no. 6* (London: inIVA, 2001), 82-3.

<sup>53</sup> Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

how artifacts are affected by such action.<sup>54</sup>

The idea of religious art as part of ritual practice has been suggested in many previous studies, of course. These works generally consider an object after its creation by asking questions such as: What happened to the painting after it was completed? Where was it enshrined? or How was it used in actual ritual? In addition to these perspectives, I would like to address the activity of the artist as a practice, and thus consider the work of art *prior* to its completion. During the making of a painting or sculpture, the artist exerts agency, facing decisions on subject matter, manner of expression, composition, color, and so forth. According to previous studies, artists' choices are inspired by available textual sources, cultural conditions, patrons, and other contemporary works. An artist may also use available models of other icons even when working on a different iconography for a different purpose. An artist creating a devotional work of art who came to realize that textual references conflicted with the painting tradition may choose the painting tradition, contrary to our expectations. While seemingly irrational at first glance, similar situations where embodied practice prevails over dogma have often been observed by religious scholars and anthropologists in ritual practice. Based on such observations, Frits Staal has addressed the "meaninglessness" of ritual,<sup>55</sup> while Wendy Doniger mentions the conservatism of ritual:

Most people may convert to myths more easily than to rituals; for most people are more orthoprax than orthodox: they define themselves by their rituals, by what they do as hunters, not by their myths, by what they think as sages. People who are merely hunters may find themselves helplessly absorbed into the bodies (rituals) of others, and suffer for it. . . . Indeed, it often appears

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<sup>54</sup> Bell argues that, in general, human practice is "situational, strategic, apt to misrecognizing the relationship between its ends and its means in ways that promote its efficacy, and it is motivated by what can be called 'redemptive hegemony,' a construal of reality as ordered in such a ways as to allow the actor some advantageous ways of action." Bell, *Ritual Theory*, 81.

<sup>55</sup> See Frits Staal, "The Meaninglessness of Ritual," *Numen* 26, no. 1 (1979): 2–22. Doniger, however, does not agree with Staal's argument that no ritual has meaning.

that the very rigidity of the orthopraxy structure, the inflexibility of the laws of action, frees the mind all the more. ... In such circumstances, it might be argued that the ritual has ceased to have any meaning.... People may often, therefore, find themselves in a situation where they have kept their old rituals but have no old myths to sustain them.<sup>56</sup>

Early generations of religious studies analyzed ritual by focusing on its format and intrinsic meaning. However, later researchers such as those mentioned above, who approach ritual as a practice, argue that there is no one-to-one relation between action and meaning and point out that the logic of human action is not necessarily rational from a modern perspective.

This approach can be applied to art history research as well, although the act of painting is rarely seen as ritual in and of itself. It is, however, “ritualized” to a certain extent.<sup>57</sup> Like the seemingly irrational rituals in the examples provided by the scholars above, there are some works of art whose iconographical elements cannot be explained by a single textual source or any religious discipline while others conflict with both contemporary and modern knowledge. Examining the artists’ practice and understanding the idiosyncrasies of a work will provide clues to unravel the irrationality and discrepancy with textual knowledge. Moreover, adherence to certain elements over time, observed in images of Tejaprabhā Buddha, will be also explained.

## **6. Structure of the Argument**

Chapter 1 examines the act of painting, which possesses its own tradition and logic distinct from those of religion and technology, through astronomical illustrations dating from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, when the Boston painting is thought to have been created. There has been a

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<sup>56</sup> Wendy Doniger, *Other Peoples' Myths: The Cave of Echoes* (New York: Macmillan; London: Collier Macmillan, 1988), 125-126.

<sup>57</sup> For example, an “eye-dotting ceremony” was held whenever a Buddhist painting was finished—a very important final step consecrating the image to give life to it. See, for instance, Pak Youngsook, “The Korean Art Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,” 426.

longstanding tradition of depicting asterisms in East Asia, not only in religious contexts but also in secular or academic environments. However, in many cases, examples of asterism images in astronomical texts, star maps, and even the Boston painting fail to reflect the latest astronomical knowledge. Instead, they followed previous models. This demonstrates that the convention of depicting asterisms, whether in Buddhist paintings or scientific records, was not based on contemporary scientific knowledge but on existing images. I will show that the scientific inaccuracy in these works was unrelated to astronomical knowledge but instead arose because the act of painting itself tended to rely on its own tradition rather than scientific achievements.

Chapter 2 discusses the descending posture of the Buddha as seen in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha and the cultural conditions surrounding this visual element. The Boston painting emphasizes the moment of the Buddha's descent, in contrast to other known Tejaprabhā images from China. This may imply that the motif of descending was not an attribute of the Tejaprabhā Buddha in China or other areas but was applied to Tejaprabhā images in Koryŏ for a special reason. An investigation into the meaning of "descending Buddha" and "descending star" in Korea and China proves helpful for understanding these divergent iconographic developments of the same subject matter.

Chapter 3 focuses on the deification of celestial objects and the pantheons constituted by such deities. It has been suggested that the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is a result of the synthesis of Buddhism and Daoism because some of the deities depicted are considered Daoist gods. Moreover, due to the appearance of Daoist stellar gods in this Buddhist pantheon, multiple deities symbolizing the same object, such as two Pole Star gods, are shown together. This multiplicity shows that the relationship between an object and its deification is not like the

relationship between signified and signifier. When an object is deified and visualized, its original meaning and origin become less important. As an object of worship, religious efficacy and regional condition (in this case, Koryŏ people's religious pliability and devotional attitude toward natural objects, especially stars) becomes the operative criterion for believers. Here, although our examples are called Buddhist or Daoist paintings, the larger frame of "worshipping Heaven and stellar deities" plays a greater role in forming the pantheon of stellar deities than the boundaries of Buddhism and Daoism.

Chapter 4 deals with certain visual elements of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha—the rectangular arrangement of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, the deities facing the same direction as the main figure, and the arch-shaped formation of the Twelve Zodiacs—that are shared by the *Dasuiqiu* (大隨求) *dhāraṇī*, excavated at Ruiguangsi (瑞光寺), Suzhou. The two works of different medium, usage, and area but similar theme show that partial visual similarities can be evidence of creative appropriation done by an artist with agency. I will consider the reason why certain visual elements were selected and examine how they function in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting.

Through these chapters, my dissertation attempts to reevaluate the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha as an extraordinary artifact in context of the astronomical traditions of recording the stars in East Asia. Buddhist and Daoist beliefs, indigenous pictorial and intellectual traditions of the Korean peninsula, and the necessities of Koryŏ statecraft will be addressed as well.

## II. Chapter 1. Recording or Depicting the Stars:

### Pictorial Practice in Creating Asterism Images

#### 1. Introduction

One of the main questions of this dissertation is as follows: How did the inhabitants of East Asian regions understand and visualize stars in the past? To answer this, it is necessary to determine how they understood the cosmos and the world in which they lived. I will begin my art historical analysis by examining their modes and processes of visualization and then formulate more specific questions pertaining to specific times and regions. This requires a different approach than one would use to answer questions such as “How did they come to worship stars?” or “How did they examine the stars academically?” Although these questions will be addressed as I explore the main question, rather than exhaustively detailing all examples of stellar imagery in East Asian history, I intend to focus on certain examples in which stars were visualized as historical and cultural phenomena and on the driving forces behind these phenomena.

#### (1) The Meaning of *Tian* and Celestial Bodies in China

I shall begin by examining how heaven and celestial bodies were visualized in ancient China. For thousands of years, Chinese understandings on heaven were transferred and modified from one generation to the next and then adapted and shared by neighboring countries. *Tian* 天 in Chinese, which can be literally translated as “sky” or “heaven,” was not viewed as a natural



feature, but as a kind of spiritual being that responds to the mundane world, especially in Confucian thought.<sup>58</sup> It was believed that there is “harmony and correspondence” (*ganying* 感應) between the human and heavenly realms, so everything in human society is related to celestial and meteorological events.<sup>59</sup> This belief is reflected in classical texts. The *Huainanzi* 淮南子

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<sup>58</sup> It should be noted that, as Robert Eno suggests, “*Tian* is not a stable concept but a chameleon-like notion that resembles nothing more than a convenient rhetorical device.” The origins of the term ‘*Tian*’ and its meaning in the pre and early Zhou period (周, 1046–256 BC) are not clear. Existing studies suggested that *Tian* meant the ancestral deity, a Zhou creation or the sky-god and the altar of that god. It seems that *Tian* as a prescriptive mandator who authorizes an earthly ruler’s throne appeared at least partially during the Shang dynasty (商, 1600–1046 BC). In the Western Zhou period (西周, 1046–771 BC), the notion of *Tian* as the benevolent god of state and unpredictable ruler of the sky was concurrent. During the later Zhou period, as the view of *Tian* as an omnipotent power guaranteeing social value became discredited, *li* 禮 as a cardinal value arose and the concept of *Tian* was reconstituted as a grounds for ritual value. Robert Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven: Philosophy and the Defense of Ritual Mastery* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1990), 19–29, 181–189. *Tian* as mandator who responds to human affairs or ethical matters was discussed theoretically by thinkers during the Spring and Autumn period (春秋時代, 770–476 BC) and the Warring States period (戰國時代, 475–221 BC), though not all agreed with the notion of *Tian* as a moral being. For example, Xunzi 荀子 (c. 3rd century) described *Tian* as having a nonpurposive, non-normative nature, not ethical standards.

<sup>59</sup> It was Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC) who elaborated upon the theory of *ganying*. In order to analogize the resonance between *Tian* and humanity, Dong suggested the pairing of person and *Tian* and the notion of humanity as a microcosm of *Tian*. (“人之人本于天 天亦人之曾祖父也 人之形体 化天数而成 人之血氣 化天志而仁 人之德行 化天理而義 人之好惡 化天之暖清 人之喜怒 化天之寒暑 人之受命 化天之四时.” Dong Zhongshu, *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 [*Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*], “Wei renzhetan” 為人者天.) By defining *Tian* as absolute mandator and the Son of the Heaven as the ruler authorized by *Tian*, Dong’s theory bestows political power to the royal house. At the same time, combining the theory of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements (*yinyang wuxing* 陰陽五行) with his concept of *Tian*, Dong proposed that a ruler’s maladministration against the order of nature leads to disaster, a response from *Tian*. (“如人君出入不時 走狗試馬 馳騁不及宮室 好淫樂 飲酒沈湎 縱恣 不顧政治 事多發役 以奪民時 作謀增稅 以奪民財 民病疥搔 溫體 足胼痛 咎及於木 則茂木枯槁, 工匠之輪多傷敗 毒水滄羣 澆陂如漁 咎及鱗蟲, 則魚不爲 羣龍深藏 鯨出現.” *Chunqiu fanlu*, “Wuxing shun ni” 五行順逆.) Dong’s *ganying* theory had exerted its influence for more than a thousand years, even when *Tian* as a deity or prescriptive mandator was marginalized by Neo-Confucianists during the Song dynasty. Benjamin I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 381. The same happened on the Korean peninsula as reflected in “Ohaengji” 五行志 [Treaties on the Five Elements] of *Koryōsa* 高麗史 [*History of Koryō*] where various natural disasters during the Koryō period were recorded. Explanation for the occurrence of disasters were based on the idea that disasters were believed to be caused by a ruler’s misbehavior or a political crisis. About “Ohaengji” of *Koryōsa*, see Yi Chōngho 이정호, “Koryōsa ohaengji ūi ch’ejae wa naeyong” 高麗史 五行志 의 체재와 내용 [A Study on the Format and

[*Masters of Huainan*] from the second century BC explains,<sup>60</sup>

The natures of the rulers of men penetrate to Heaven on high. Thus, if there are punishments and cruelty, there will be whirlwinds. If there are wrongful ordinances, there will be plagues of devouring insects. If there are unjust executions, the land will redden with drought. If (lawful) commands are not accepted, there will be great excess of rain. The four seasons are the officers of Heaven. The sun and moon are the agents of Heaven. The stars and planets mark the appointed times of Heaven. Rainbows and comets are the portents of Heaven.<sup>61</sup> [2]

Meanwhile, *Yijing* 易經 [*The Book of Changes*] from the late ninth century BC says,<sup>62</sup>

Heaven hung images in the sky and revealed good fortune and bad, and the sages regarded these as meaningful signs.”<sup>63</sup> [3]

Unusual movement of a planet could be regarded as an omen of war or drought, among many other possibilities. If an emperor (known as the Son of Heaven) failed to rule in the right way, Heaven would react to his transgressions by wreaking disaster. The order of Heaven was not absolute nor invariable; it had its own will and could not be fully understood. It was believed that Chinese emperors, who ruled by the Mandate of Heaven (天命) in the earthly world, should carefully observe changes in heavenly bodies, including the Sun, Moon, planets, constellations, supernovae, and comets, or meteorological phenomena to identify warnings from heaven and

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Contents of Koryōsa ohaengji], *Han'guksa hakpo* 44 (2011): 7-36.

<sup>60</sup> Liu An 劉安 (c. 179–122 BC), *Huainanzi*, “Tianwen xun” 天文訓.

<sup>61</sup> Translation quoted from John S. Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 67.

<sup>62</sup> *Yijing*, “Xi Ci Shang” 繫辭上.

<sup>63</sup> Translation quoted from Richard John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I Ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 66.

correct any misbehavior or prepare for predicted disasters.<sup>64</sup> This focus on celestial phenomena has led some scholars to argue that Chinese astrology should be classified as “portent astrology.”<sup>65</sup> Decoded celestial phenomena were documented in official records as omens, usually pertaining to national crises, such as warfare, natural disasters, or the rise and fall of dynasties.<sup>66</sup> Because of the national importance of astrological or astronomical knowledge, it

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<sup>64</sup> It was during the early Zhou dynasty when the idea of *Tianming* or the Mandate of Heaven first appeared. Using this idea, Zhou founders justified their conquest of the Shang dynasty by asserting that they were the agents of the omnipotent *Tian* which often intervenes in human affairs. (“天乃大命文王 殪戎殷 誕受厥命 越厥邦厥民 惟時敘,” *Shujing* 書經 [Book of Documents] compiled by Confucius (孔子, 551–479 BC), “Zhou shu 周書,” “Kanggao 康誥.”) Historically, the concept of *Tianming* was not stable but changed the same way of *Tian* did. Confucius understood *Tianming* not only as a prescriptive political legitimation but a personal decree (“五十而知天命,” *Lunyu* 論語 [The Analects], “Weizheng” 爲政.) while Mencius (孟子, 372–298 BC) emphasized the political obligation of idealized rulers and ethical subjects. (“昔者堯薦舜於天而天受之 暴之於民而民受之 故曰天不言 以行與事 示之而已矣,” “天視自我民視 天聽自我民聽 此之謂也,” *Mengzi* 孟子 [Mencius], “Wanzhang shang” 萬章上.) Eno, *The Confucian Creation of Heaven*, 88–89, 154. The Han dynasty witnessed a change in the concept of *Tianming* as defined by Dong Zhongshu. He asserted that only the Son of Heaven as the sage ruler can enlightened the subjects and serve *Tian*’s mandate. Dong’s theory bestowed great political power upon the Son of Heaven and legitimated his authority. (“天令之謂命 命非聖人不行 質樸之謂性 性非教化不成 人欲之謂情 情非度制不節 是故王者上謹於承天意 以順命也 下務明教化民 以成性也 正法度之宜 別上下之序 以防欲也 脩此三者而大本舉矣,” Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), *Hanshu* 漢書 [Book of Han], “Dong Zhongshu zhuan” 董仲舒傳.)

<sup>65</sup> Previous studies of astrology in premodern East Asia have often distinguished between “portent” astrology and “horoscopic” astrology. Portent astrology focuses on empirical observations of the sky and the interpretation of celestial phenomena such as the movement of stars, comets, supernovae or even earthquakes. “Horoscopic” or genethliacal astrology, which was introduced from the West, focuses on the Twelve Zodiac constellations and on determining the fates of individuals. This categorization for East Asian astronomy influenced by Western scholarship was suggested by Shigeru Nakayama in 1966 and is still used by academics today. One such scholar, Tansen Sen, suggests that visual representations of the sky also be distinguished according to this dichotomy: diagrams or graphic presentations such as star maps versus symbolic representations, as exemplified by tomb murals or Buddhist mandalas illustrating constellations. Although he cites Shigeru Nakayama’s discourse, here, he understands ‘portent astrology’ as the empirical study of the sky, and ‘horoscopic astrology’ as the interest in prognostication. This analysis is convincing in itself but does not exactly correspond to Shigeru Nakayama’s distinction. Anyhow, these distinctions have caused people to think that visual examples of each type occur independent from one another and indeed, to date, these two types of images have rarely been examined together. But it is high time we recognized that these dichotomies distort our understanding of how celestial objects and their visual representations were perceived in the past, and so should be reconsidered. Shigeru Nakayama, “Characteristics of Chinese Astrology,” *Isis* 57, no. 4 (1966): 442–454; Sen, “Astronomical Tomb Paintings from Xuanhua,” 31–54.

<sup>66</sup> In “Tianguan shu” 天官書 of *Shiji* 史記 [Historical Records] by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145?–87? BC), the official historical record of Western Han period, the most frequently predicted events were warfare, natural disaster related to agriculture, and possibility of dynasty’s political stability. These three forms 67 percent of divination.

was sometimes monopolized by the rulers.<sup>67</sup> For example, during the Tang period, any knowledge about the heavens and celestial beings remained confidential because it could easily be abused by political enemies.

## (2) Two Ways of Visualizing the Stars

As one might expect, stars have been visualized in a number of different ways within China. If Korea and Japan are considered as well, there are countless ways of depicting stars. Bright constellations may have been among the first subjects depicted by humans in paintings, or they may have furnished the first material for storytellers. Because of its extensive history, the visualization of stars must be examined using a different approach than that used for, for instance, visualizations of dragons or people. The various images representing celestial bodies, such as star maps, anthropomorphic images, and mandalas, are not easy to categorize. Many follow one of two basic principles—representation based on likeness and symbolization based on imagination—but these categories are not as clearly separated as one might imagine.

Typical examples of the former include graphic images of asterisms comprised of dots and lines, such as an archaic carving of the Northern Dipper on a cosmic board (Fig. 1.1) discovered at a Han tomb and a thirteenth-century Suzhou star map (Fig. 1.9), which depicts the entire northern celestial hemisphere with elaborately calculated asterisms and constellations.

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Jiang Xiaoyuan 江晓原, *Pyölgwa uju üi munhwasa* 별과 우주의 문화사 [*Cultural History of Stars and Cosmos*] (Söul: Pada, 2008), 371.

<sup>67</sup> Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 12.

The painters or astronomers who created these images did so based on observation with either the naked eye or instruments, and the images were believed to represent actual patterns of stars. Of course, grouping certain dots selected from a myriad of stars, forming asterisms with arbitrary lines, and naming stars require imagination and symbolization. However, this is indispensable for describing countless dots irregularly spread throughout an immense space in an organized way. If a community shares basic astronomical knowledge from such preparation, no one would doubt that the dipper-like form comprised of seven dots and six lines on a Han dynasty cosmic board is a reliable representation of the Northern Dipper in the northern sky.

The other type of common stellar image imagines a celestial body as an anthropomorphic deity. For example, the sun god was worshipped in almost every ancient culture: Isis was the goddess of the star Sirius in Ancient Egypt, and Asteria was the goddess of stars or asterisms in Greek mythology. In China, the Celestial Thearch was the traditional deity symbolizing the Pole Star:

The Dipper is the Celestial Thearch *di*'s carriage. It revolves about the center visiting and regulating each of the four regions. It divides yin from yang, establishes the four seasons, equalizes the Five Elemental Forces, deploys the seasonal junctures and angular measures, and determines the various periodicities: all these are tied to the Dipper.<sup>68</sup> [4]

The “Celestial Thearch riding his heavenly chariot, the Dipper” was visually represented in a stone carving from the Wu Liang shrine produced in the Eastern Han period (Fig. 1.2). John Major points out that the Thearch was represented by the star  $\beta$  Ursa Minor, conventionally

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<sup>68</sup> Sima Qian, *Shiji*, “Tianguan Shu.” Translation quoted from David W. Pankenier, “A Brief History of Beijing 北極 (Northern Culmen), with an Excursus on the Origin of the Character *di* 帝,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 124, no. 2 (2004): 222-223.

considered to be the Pole Star at the time.<sup>69</sup> Unlike the Dipper, however, the appearance of the Thearch was not based on the appearance Pole Star. Rather, he was depicted as an old man dressed in imperial garb riding a chariot. The Pole Star, positioned near the North Pole, does not rotate in a periodic cycle; it rarely moves from the perspective of people on Earth, which is why it has been historically used for navigation. The Pole Star was viewed as the *di* 帝 (Thearch) governing his bureaucrats (i.e., other stars in the celestial hemisphere). The Northern Dipper, which rotates around the Pole Star, was regarded as *di*'s chariot. Obviously, this symbolization goes beyond merely describing a phenomenological experience. However, one should not overlook that the process of symbolization begins with observation of nature, similar to the artists who design dot-and-line images.

### (3) Tejaprabhā Buddha as a Stellar Deity and its Late Advent

Like the Celestial Thearch, many other stellar deities were produced through a complex process involving imagination, association, and symbolization. For example, Tejaprabhā Buddha (literally translated as the Effulgent Buddha, C. Chishengguang rulai 熾盛光如來, K.

Ch'isönggwang yörae 치성광여래) is “a Buddha who personifies the Pole Star as master of all asterisms, and especially the seven stars of the Big Dipper.”<sup>70</sup> Considering that astral worship

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<sup>69</sup> Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought*, 107. The Pole Star does not refer to a specific celestial body. Due to the precession of the equinoxes, exact northern culmen has slightly been changed according to time and region, and thus the Pole Star can be different, too. The current Pole Star usually refers to the star  $\alpha$  in the constellation Ursa Minor, but it is possible that the term “Pole Star” was used for a different star among ancient people.

<sup>70</sup> Robert E. Buswell Jr. and Donald S. Lopez eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 900.

and Buddhism, the two essential factors for the establishment of Tejaprabhā worship, were already rooted in East Asia, it is interesting that Tejaprabhā Buddha and the corresponding cult do not have a long history compared to other stellar gods or popular Buddhas.

It is not clear when the cult of Tejaprabhā Buddha was created in East Asia, but the earliest evidence was found in China. *Xuanhe huapu* 宣和畫譜 [*Xuanhe Catalogue of Paintings*], published in 1120, reported that the court collection included a “Tejaprabhā painting” made by Wu Daozi 吳道子 (680–760) in the Tang dynasty.<sup>71</sup> During the early tenth century, according to *Yizhou minghua lu* 益州名畫錄 [*Record of Famous Paintings in Yizhou*], Yang Yuanzhen 楊元真 (fl. 10th century) drew Tejaprabhā Buddha, Nine Planets and Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions at Shengxing Monastery (聖興寺) and Dashengci Monastery (大聖慈寺), both located in Sichuan.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, in his book *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌 [*Experiences in Painting*], Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 (fl. 1070–1075) reported that the Tejaprabhā Buddha and stellar deities were depicted on the walls of Daxiangguo Monastery (大相國寺) in Kaifeng during the reign of Song Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997).<sup>73</sup> None of these works remain today, but these records and the few other surviving visual examples addressed in this dissertation indicate that the Tejaprabhā Buddha was continuously depicted in China after the ninth century. Textual and visual evidence, including images of the Celestial Thearch from the Wuliang shrine and many texts from the Han dynasty, deify the Pole Star according to the common religion, suggesting

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<sup>71</sup> *Xuanhe huapu*, juan 2.

<sup>72</sup> Huang Xiufu\_黃休復 (10-11<sup>th</sup> century), *Yizhou minghua lu*, juan zhong 卷中.

<sup>73</sup> Guo Ruoxu, *Tuhua jianwen ji*, juan 3.

that the worship of Tejaprabhā Buddha appeared relatively late in regard to emergence of other Pole Star deities. I would like to argue that the late appearance of this figure is related to the deity's idiosyncratic iconography, which is key for addressing the main question: "How did East Asian inhabitants visualize stars in the past?" This is because Tejaprabhā imagery is not just an example of deification, but the result of a combination of various traditions that had already existed for hundreds of years. This is particularly true for Tejaprabhā Buddha in the Koryŏ dynasty, for whom very few prior references have been found. As I will explain throughout this dissertation, indigenous traditions greatly affected the visualization of this foreign deity in Koryŏ.

Upon first glance at the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, (Fig. 0.1), the Buddha and his party, who are depicted with golden haloes, and the red chariot in the center may draw our attention. However, further examination of the painting reveals groups of faded red dots connected by golden lines—diagrams of asterisms—over the heads of deities dressed as Chinese officials (Fig. 1.3). According to the cartouches next to deity, they are known as the Six Stars of Three Stages (三台六星), Six Stars of the Southern Dipper (南斗六星), Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions (二十八宿), and Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper (北斗九辰) (Fig. 1.4). The Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are arranged along the edges of the left and right sides and the bottom of the painting, forming a U shape. Right below the ox, six officials in red garb representing the Six Stars of Three Stages are depicted. Next to them, slightly lower on the right side, are the Six Stars of the Southern Dipper. The Twelve Animals of the Zodiac are shown in the upper part of the scroll in the shape of an arch without asterisms. The Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper, riding on clouds, are below and to the right of the Zodiac. Due to the asterisms accompanying these deities, the



painting as a whole seems to depict a Koreanized star mandala, or a Buddhist star map. Although several Buddhist works depicted simple asterism signs, systematic asterism charts like those of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha are rare.

Due to its focus on celestial bodies, we can assume that the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is a combination of *tu* 圖 (chart) and *hua* 畫 (picture, painting) or *tu* and *xiang* 象 (or 像, icon, image). In East Asia, the words *tu*, *hua*, and *xiang* are used to refer to pictorial art, but their meaning and usage are not the same. While *hua* refers to figurative or representational images, often with aesthetic value, *tu* refers to a functional, instructive image that conveys knowledge in a more abstracted form, sometimes accompanying texts.<sup>74</sup> *Xiang*, meaning likeness or figure, was historically used to refer to illustrations of novels, portraits, or religious icons. Although these categories sometimes overlapped in common usage, a star chart can be clearly classified as *tu*, while a religious painting like the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha could be classified as *hua* or *xiang*.<sup>75</sup> But can we refer to the asterism charts in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha as *tu*? Why did the painter illustrate asterisms in more detail than was necessary? The rest of this chapter aims to answer these questions and demonstrate that the act of painting is associated with its own tradition and logic, distinct from those of religion and science. To do so, I will first examine the context of *ch'ŏnmun* 천문 (C. *tianwen* 天文, “patterns of the sky”) in the late fourteenth

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<sup>74</sup> About the meaning and classification of *tu* and *hua*, see Francisca Bray, “Introduction: The Power of Tu,” in *Graphics and Text in the Production of Technical Knowledge in China: The Warp and the Weft*, eds. Francesca Bray et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1-80.

<sup>75</sup> In the passages that mention Buddhist painting in *Koryŏsa* published in the mid-fifteenth century, *hua* and *xiang* are mostly used, rather than *tu*.

century on the Korean peninsula, where the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha was produced.<sup>76</sup> Then, I will explore the ways in which people on the peninsula conceived of stars and drew asterisms. Lastly, I will examine the characteristics of the asterism diagrams in the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha painting and determine how painting conventions may have influenced their representation.

## **2. *Ch'ŏnmun* in the Early Chosŏn Period and Legitimization of the Dynasty**

Very few modern studies have examined the definition and characteristics of *ch'ŏnmun* in Korean history. It is considered part of the *tianwen* tradition in Chinese culture. Thus, to understand *ch'ŏnmun*, it is important to know how Chinese *tianwen* was understood. Early studies of Chinese science by modern scholars questioned “whether Chinese culture ever had any science”<sup>77</sup> or “why the scientific revolution did not take place in China.”<sup>78</sup>

Joseph Needham was the first to prove that Chinese science existed. Due to the schism between traditional and modern science, he thought that modern science did not rise in Chinese

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<sup>76</sup> Usually, the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha painting is classified as a Buddhist painting from the late fourteenth century or the late Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). However I will focus more on the early Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), which starts in the late fourteenth century, because this newly emerging dynasty left more artefacts showing interest in astronomical affairs. Moreover, the change of dynasty did not result in a radical change in attitudes towards heavenly phenomena. We can therefore assume that the situation of the early Chosŏn dynasty well reflects that of late Koryŏ.

<sup>77</sup> Joseph Needham, *Science in Traditional China: A Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 3-4.

<sup>78</sup> Nathan Sivin, “Why the Scientific Revolution Did Not Take Place in China – or Didn’t It?,” *Chinese Science* 5 (June 1982): 45-66.

culture, but that traditional China had its own patterns of scientific development that “fused into the universality of modern science” in the seventeenth century.<sup>79</sup> However, scholars like Nathan Sivin criticized Needham’s approach for considering Western science to be a universal measure for all scientific traditions. Sivin pointed out that China had “no single structure of rational knowledge that incorporated all the sciences” like Western science; “sciences” had “a very different demarcation from that of modern science.”<sup>80</sup>

Both approaches acknowledge the complexity of terminological issues. Using Western terms such as “astrology” and “astronomy” may have caused numerous misunderstandings and doubts in efforts to define and study East Asian science (if we call it “science”). *Tianwen* does not perfectly correspond to astrology, astronomy, or something in between. Rather, it is a complex idea based on long traditions of astral worship, divination, astronomical computation, almanac, geomancy, meteorology, and other practices. Thus, in this dissertation, I avoid using Western terms as translations of *tianwen* when possible. Instead, I use *tianwen* (or *ch’ŏnmun* when speaking about Korea).

The definition of *ch’ŏnmun* can be clarified by examining the official institution responsible for *ch’ŏnmun* during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties, *Sŏun’gwan* 書雲觀, which literally means “the office of documenting the clouds” (today translated as the Astronomical and Meteorological Observatory)<sup>81</sup>. The duties of *Sŏun’gwan* extended beyond what we would call

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<sup>79</sup> Joseph Needham, “Preface,” in *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. 1 (Cambridge[England]: University Press, 1954), 3.

<sup>80</sup> Nathan Sivin, “Science and Medicine in Chinese History,” in *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, ed. P.S.Ropp (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 169, 171.

<sup>81</sup> Due to the scarcity of Koryŏ dynasty records, early Chosŏn texts have to be consulted here, on the grounds that

“astronomic” matters, as the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [*Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*] states:

The Astronomical and Meteorological Observatory (*Sŏun’gwan*) will be responsible for such matters as interpreting astronomical phenomena and omens, preparing the annual state calendar, and choosing auspicious days.<sup>82</sup> [5]

In addition, several duties were described in the following articles related to *Sŏun’gwan* in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* of the late fourteenth century:

(In the first month of the nineteenth year of King Kongmin of Koryŏ) That evening, a strong purple energy was quite visible in the northern sky of the capital, and its shadows extended all the way to the south. The officials of the Directorate of *Sŏun’gwan*, in their report to the king, said, “This portends a valiant general.”<sup>83</sup> [6]

(*Sŏun’gwan*) reported that the moon came close to the Constellation of Heart (Simsŏng), prompting the king to pardon those in exile.<sup>84</sup> [7]

Arriving at Muak, the king inspected the site. Yun Sindal, director of *Sŏun’gwan*, and Yu Hanu, vice director of *Sŏun’gwan*, advanced to speak to the king: “According to the theory of geomancy, this place cannot be the capital of the state.”<sup>85</sup> [8]

These quotes indicate that *Sŏun’gwan* officials dealt with prognostic matters and geomancy through celestial observation and interpretation. Especially during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, right after the foundation of the Chosŏn dynasty, selecting a new

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most government institutions and their functions remained almost unchanged at the beginning of the new dynasty.

<sup>82</sup> CWS, 28th day, 7th month, First Year of Reign of T’aejo (1392). Translation quoted from *The Annals of King T’aejo: Founder of Korea’s Chosŏn Dynasty*, trans. Choi Byonghyon (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England : Harvard University Press, 2014), 138.

<sup>83</sup> CWS, Ch’ongsŏ 總序, 47th article. Translation quoted from *The Annals of King T’aejo*, 28 with minor modification.

<sup>84</sup> CWS, 8th day, 8th month, Third Year of Reign of T’aejo (1394). Translation quoted from *The Annals of King T’aejo*, 427.

<sup>85</sup> CWS, 11th day, 8th month, Third Year of Reign of T’aejo (1394). Translation quoted from *The Annals of King T’aejo*, 427.

capital was one of the most important tasks facing the new court. Many articles show that *Sŏun'gwan* officials played an important role in finding an appropriate place through geomancy.

*Sŏun'gwan* was also the center of the court-led astronomical industry. One of the greatest achievements in the early Chosŏn period was the production of a star map entitled *Ch'ŏnsang yŏlch'a punya chido* 天象列次分野之圖 [Chart of the Constellations and the Regions they Govern] (hereafter called the Chosŏn star map) in 1395 (Fig. 1.5). At the bottom of the Chosŏn star map, a carved inscription provides information about the context of its production:

The lost model stone of the above astronomical chart was kept in Pyŏngyang, but on account of the disturbance of war it was sunk in the river. Many years having passed since it was lost, existing rubbings of the original had also disappeared. However, when His Majesty began to reign, a man having one of the originals tendered it to him. His Majesty prized it very highly and ordered the court astronomers to engrave it anew on a stone model.

... His humble servant, Kŭn, calling to mind that from ancient times emperors have not neglected the worship of heaven, and the directors have made it their first duty to arrange the calendar, the celestial signs and sacrificial seasons, as Emperor Yao 堯 commanded Hi 羲 and Ha 和 to set in order the four seasons, and Emperor Shun 舜 had the turning Jade Transverse and put in order the seven directors, faithfully worshipped heaven and diligently served his people, so I respectfully think that these duties are not to be neglected.

His wise, beneficent, martial Imperial Majesty ascended the throne upon the abdication of his predecessor and throughout the whole country brought peace and prosperity, comparable to the virtuous achievement of the Emperors Yao and Shun. He gave great official attention to astronomy, revising the mid-seasons and stars, even the directors of Yao and Shun. In this way, I believe, by observing the heavenly bodies and making astronomical instruments, he sought to find out the mind of Yao and Shun and to emulate their most worthy example.

His Majesty exemplified this pattern to the hearts of all; upward by observing the heavens and seasons, downward by diligently serving the people. So, through his spiritual achievements and prosperous zeal, he also, together with the two emperors, stands highly exalted. Moreover, he had this chart engraved on pure marble to be an eternal treasure for his descendants for ten-thousand generations....<sup>86</sup> [9]

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<sup>86</sup> This inscription is also contained in *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選 [Collected Literary Works of the East] edited by Sŏ

“His Majesty” refers to King T’aejo 太祖 (r. 1392–1398), the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty. According to this inscription, the Chosŏn star map was not the sole invention of Chosŏn astronomers, but modified from an older star map. It has been thought that the original was produced during the Koguryŏ period (which lasted from the first century BC to 668 AD) because it “was kept in Pyŏngyang,” the capital of Koguryŏ. Recently, however, some researchers have argued that the original was created after the founding of the Koryŏ dynasty.<sup>87</sup> However, whether the map originated from Koguryŏ or Koryŏ, is, for our purposes, less important than the fact that it was created by the order of King T’aejo. Hence, its creation was a political act following the old tradition in which astronomical knowledge was monopolized by the ruler. In this case, the production of an astronomical map justified the founding of the new dynasty and strengthened royal authority, which were of primary importance for King T’aejo.<sup>88</sup>

Early Chosŏn kings were also interested in the production of astronomical instruments. King Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450) and his *Sŏun’gwan* officials are considered to have initiated a

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Kŏjŏng 徐居正 (1420-1488). Translation quoted with little modification from W. Carl Rufus, “The Celestial Planisphere of King Yi Tae Jo,” *Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* IV, part III (1913): 32-33.

<sup>87</sup> An Sanghyŏn 안상현, “Ch’ŏnsang yŏlch’a punya chido e naonŭn Koryŏ sidae p’ihwi wa ch’ŏnmundo ŭi kiwon” 천상열차분야지도에 나오는 고려시대 궤회와 천문도의 기원 [Naming Taboo of the Koryŏ Dynasty in the Chosŏn King Taejo’s Planisphere and the Origin of the Planisphere], *Kogung munhwa* 4 (2011): 125-157; Namgung Sŭngwon 남궁승원, “Ch’ŏnsang yŏlch’a punya jido e natanan yŏksa kyesŭng ŭisik” 천상天象列次分野之圖에 나타난 역사 계승 의식 [The View of Historical Succession of the Chosŏn Dynasty Based on “Chart of the Asterisms and the Regions they Govern”] (Master’s thesis, Seoul National University, 2016).

<sup>88</sup> This situation is contrary to that of the late Koryŏ dynasty which witnessed the growing **interference** of the Yuan court and a weakening of the king’s authority. Under the pressure of the foreign power, Koryŏ rulers had neither the power nor the budget to respond to the rapid developments of astronomy of the Yuan dynasty. In other words, dealing with astronomy was not only an academic affair, but also a part of exercising regal authority. Joseph Needham et al., *The Hall of Heavenly Records: Korean Astronomical Instruments and Clocks, 1380-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 11-15.

golden age of Chosŏn *ch'ŏnmun*. Under his leadership, *ch'ŏnmun* made great progress in the form of science, mathematics, and almanacs. A number of instruments for observing the sky, such as the sundial, clepsydra, and celestial globe, were invented, and the royal observatory was refurbished.<sup>89</sup> An official named Kim Ton 金墩 (1385–1440) wrote a panegyric honoring the refurbishment of the observatory and declaring his confidence about their achievements:

From Han and Tang onwards every dynasty has had its own instruments, some more accurate and some less; we cannot go into the details of all of them here. However, Guo Shoujing of the Yuan period, with his Simplified Instruments, his scaphe sundials and his gnomons, etc., attained to the highest excellence of them all. Among what in former times we Easterners did, we have not heard of an instrument which demonstrated the march of the heavens as it revolved, but now his cultural achievement is also a reality.

Now, His Majesty, in his sage wisdom and his profound respect (for Heaven), while resting from the myriad concerns of his duties, considered that the calendar was not as perfect as it ought to be; and ordered that it should be further studied, and better established; disturbed that measurements were not as accurate as they could be, ordered that (new) instruments should be constructed. How could Yao or Shun themselves have done any better? The instruments thus ordered were not only one or two, but quite a number; so that the results could be compared. Such a wealth of equipment has never previously been recorded. All these His Majesty is intimately acquainted with, and even Guo Shoujing of the Yuan could have offered nothing better.

After the Shou shi calendar had been corrected, observational instruments (觀天之器) were made, to follow the season of the heaven above and to be of service to the works of the people below. His Majesty's sense of responsibility in exploiting the works of nature is of the highest, as also is his benevolence in the high valuation of agriculture. We Easterners have not seen anything as fine as these instruments before. Like the high tower of the Observatory itself, they will be passed down for time without end.<sup>90</sup> [10]

This praise implies that King Sejong did not invest in the development of *ch'ŏnmun* for

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<sup>89</sup> About astronomical achievement during the reign of the King Sejong in detail, see Joseph Needham et al., *The Hall of Heavenly Records*, 16-93. Astronomical development cannot be separated from interest in geography and cartography, especially during the early Chosŏn period when the new regime tried to map the land and the sky in order to proclaim its cosmic legitimacy. Thus, it is not coincidence that, in addition to his astronomical projects, King Sejong also ordered a comprehensive survey of the nation's geography. Aside from the political purpose, mensuration of the state requires accurate data based on astronomical knowledge. For the history of cartography in Korea, see Gari Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," in *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies, The History of Cartography, vol. 2, book 2* eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1994), 235-345.

<sup>90</sup> CWS, 15<sup>th</sup> day, 4<sup>th</sup> month, 19<sup>th</sup> Year of Reign of Sejong. Translation with some modification from Joseph Needham et al., *The Hall of Heavenly Records*, 20-21.

prognostication or geomancy, but for “exploiting the works of nature” and because of “his benevolence in the high valuation of agriculture.”

In summary, it is not easy to define *Sŏun’gwan* officials as astronomers, astrologers, geomancers, or soothsayers because they more or less fit all of these categories. All celestial knowledge and materials, including stellar images, were controlled by kings and court officials and thus circulated only within a limited group of people.

### **3. Fourteenth-Century Star Maps: *Butiange*, the Chosŏn Star Map, and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha Painting**

The Chosŏn star map created by *Sŏun’gwan* officials was far from the only artefact related to the heavens in the early Chosŏn period. There was a longstanding tradition of depicting asterisms not only in secular or academic environments but also in religious contexts. However, the works that have been preserved are mostly court commissions. Thus, we have only examples of star imagery produced by those with access to cutting-edge technologies for observing the sky and the latest astronomical knowledge.

Here, I would like to compare three examples of asterism images from different fields: an early Chosŏn version of *Butiange* 步天歌 [*Song of Pacing Heaven*], the original of which is a Tang Chinese astronomical publication; the Chosŏn star map briefly described above; and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting.<sup>91</sup> I intend to prove that these works, which were produced

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<sup>91</sup> There are multiple editions of *Butiange* in Korea, I used an edition housed in the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies (奎中 1956).



for different purposes, exhibit the same pictorial tradition, which was distinct from the textual tradition of describing the heavens.

Although astronomical research was supported by the government, asterism images did not always reflect the latest astronomical knowledge; they often followed previous models and were sometimes inconsistent with the accompanying texts. One such example is *Butiange*, which was published in Tang China and reprinted in early Chosŏn Korea. The Tang edition of *Butiange* is also called *Dan Yuanzi Butiange* 丹元子步天歌 (Fig. 1.6), but the writer of the book and its exact date of publication are uncertain. Dan Yuanzi is an individual who lived in the Sui dynasty (隋, 581–618) and is thought to have been the author of the book. However, the book is referred to as *Wang Ximing Dan Yuanzi Butiange* 王希明 丹元子步天歌 in *Tangshu* 唐書 [*Book of the Tang*]. It is unknown whether Wang Ximing and Dan Yuanzi were the same person.<sup>92</sup>

When the book was first introduced to the Korean peninsula remains unknown, but it is certain that *Butiange* was revised after its introduction to Chosŏn Korea and that it was circulated at the court.<sup>93</sup> While the Chosŏn edition, like the Tang edition, includes poems and illustrations

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<sup>92</sup> It is uncertain whether Wang Ximing and Dan Yuanzi refer to the same person. In *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 [*Comprehensive Investigations Based on Literary and Documentary Sources*], published in 1317, it is recorded that some sources attributed *Butiange* to Wang Ximing of the Tang dynasty (whose penname is Dan Yuanzi). Meanwhile Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162), in his publication *Tongzhi* 通志 [*Comprehensive Records*], mentions that other have misattributed the book to Wang Ximing, who commented on the treaties of *Tianwen* of *Hanshu* and *Jinshu* 晉書 [*Book of Jin*], and that *Butiange* was written by Dan Yuanzi of the Sui dynasty. (“或云唐王希明撰 自號丹元子 夾漈鄭氏天文略曰 隋有丹元子 隱者之流也 不知名氏 作步天歌 見者可以觀象焉 王希明纂漢晉志以釋之 唐書誤以爲王希明也” in Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254-1323), *Wenxian tongkao*, juan 219, “Jingji kao”46. )

<sup>93</sup> An Sanghyŏn estimates that the Chosŏn edition was published between 1392-1430, on the basis of an earlier model which was based on the Tang edition and produced in the previous dynasty. An Sanghyŏn, “Chosŏn ch’ogi Pochŏn’ga wa Ch’ŏnmun yucho ūi sŏngnip e taehan yŏn’gu” 조선 초기 步天歌와 天文類抄의 성립에 대한 연구 [A Study on the Establishment of Poch’ŏn’ga and *Ch’ŏnmun yuch’o* in the Early Chosŏn Dynasty], *Journal of Astronomy and Space Sciences* 26-4 (2009): 628.

of asterisms and the textual content is almost the same, there are some differences regarding the names and number of constellations and asterisms.<sup>94</sup>

The book contains 31 illustrations: 28 depicting the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions and three depicting the Three Enclosures (San Yuan 三垣), which are the Purple Forbidden Enclosure (Zi wei yuan 紫微垣), the Supreme Palace Enclosure (Tai Wei Yuan 太微垣), and the Heavenly Market Enclosure (Tian Shi Yuan 天市垣). Each illustration of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions contains the main asterism described in the accompanying poem as well as its neighboring asterisms (Fig. 1.7). The Three Enclosures are celestial spheres around the North Pole, so their illustrations depict a number of asterisms located near the pole, which can be seen throughout the year. The way in which each asterism is drawn is quite simple: every star is represented by a small empty circle drawn in black ink, and the stars are connected by straight lines, without any specific color or decoration. Asterism were often depicted in this way throughout history, such as in the Han cosmic board (Fig. 1.1). This seems to be the easiest and most familiar way to draw stars and ensure that anyone can recognize them.

Although there are minor differences between the poems in the Tang and Chosŏn editions, the most visible and meaningful differences are found in the illustrations, which seem to have been newly drawn. Even though astronomical knowledge was shared among East Asian countries, the ways in which stars were visually connected differed, as examples from the Tang and Chosŏn editions of *Butiange* demonstrate (Fig. 1.8). Leaving aside minor differences in the

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<sup>94</sup> On the differences between the Tang and the Chosŏn editions, see Kim Sanghyŏk 김상혁 et al., “Chosŏn kwa Chungguk ūi "Poch'ŏn'ga" yŏn'gu” 조선과 중국의 보천가 연구 [A Study on the Poch'ŏn'ga of Chosŏn and China], *Journal of Astronomy and Space Sciences* 26, no. 3 (2009): 375-402.

location, direction, and angles of stars, let us consider the depictions of the Wei 胃 of the West in the two publications. In both cases, the asterism is comprised of three stars. However, the Wei in the Chosŏn edition forms a triangle with three lines, whereas that in the Tang edition forms an acute angle with two lines. This could be a simple copying error on the part of the woodblock carver. However, given that some three-star asterisms in the Chosŏn edition are depicted as closed triangles while others are acute angles, the illustrator may have chosen this intentionally. Greater differences can be observed in the Fang 房 of the East, Wei 危 and Shi 室 of the North, Bi 畢 of the West, and Jing 井 and Zhen 軫 of the South (refer to Table 2). In these examples, more stars are connected in the Chosŏn edition than in the Tang edition. For example, a star next to Bi 畢, called Fu er 附耳 in the Tang edition, is linked to Bi in the Chosŏn edition as if it were a part of the Bi asterism. This is important because added lines change the number of stars in an asterism as well as its overall shape.

Interestingly, the changes in the Chosŏn edition regarding the number of stars in certain asterisms led to inconsistencies between the textual descriptions and accompanying images. In addition to the examples mentioned above, there are such discrepancies for eight of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. The Shi 室 of the North is depicted as an eight-star asterism in the illustration, but it includes only two stars in the poem. In contrast, the Tang edition illustrates it as a two-star asterism like the poem describes. The remaining six stars are present, but not connected to the main two stars. One reason for the discrepancy in the Chosŏn edition might be that the poems and illustrations drew upon different sources; in other words, the images may not have necessarily been a visual representation of the text, but of a separate tradition.

Another significant example of a fourteenth-century asterism image is the Chosŏn star

map. While this star map is a comprehensive astronomical chart containing a number of asterisms, it is beyond the scope of this research to examine how it is arranged in the form of a Canopy Heaven (*Gai tu* 蓋圖) chart or how its width and distance were calculated. Instead, I will focus on the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, a group of asterisms that are traditionally well-known in East Asia, and compare them to the same referent in the map's predecessor, the Suzhou star map (Fig. 1.9), as well as to the Tang and Chosŏn versions of the *Butiange* and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting.

The Chosŏn star map, which was carved in stone during the reign of King T'aejo, is very worn and thus is not easy to read. However, a copy created in the late Chosŏn period and a number of rubbings remain, providing a glimpse of its original condition. In particular, some phrases from its inscription provide clues as to how stars were visualized:

The astronomers replied that the chart was very old and the decrees of the stars were already antiquated, so it was necessary to revise it by determining the present midpoints of the four seasons and the culminations at dark and dawn and to engrave an entire new chart designed for the future.

...On the old chart at the beginning of Spring (立春), Mao (昴) culminated at dark (昏) but now Wei (胃) does. Consequently the 24 solar divisions were changed in succession. Thus [Sŏun'gwan officials] modified the meridian stars (中星) of the old chart and carved the stone [accordingly].<sup>95</sup>  
[11]

*Sŏun'gwan* scholars were ordered to create a new astronomical chart based on rubbings of an old star map. They illustrated each asterism, copying the old map but modifying *chungsŏng* 中星, which, according to Rufus's translation, refers to the meridian stars. In other words, if we believe this short inscription, Chosŏn astronomers modified the location and arrangement of some asterisms on the celestial hemisphere because of the precession of equinoxes, but they did

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<sup>95</sup> For a slightly different translation, see W. Carl Rufus, "The Celestial Planisphere of King Yi Tae Jo," 32-33.

not change the shape or angles of Mao and Wei. However, if we translate *chungsöng* as *chungsönggi* 中星記, which refers to a table of culminating stars at the dawn and dusk of twenty-four solar terms accompanying the map, it is possible that they modified the *chungsönggi* rather than the star map itself.<sup>96</sup>

An Sanghyön argues that the Chosön star map's basic system, which is centered on *Tianshu xing* 天樞星 (the Pole Star), and its division of celestial spheres and asterisms is based on that of the Han dynasty. Additionally, Sanghyön proposes that the drawing method might have been similar to that described in an eleventh century publication, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 [*The New History of Tang*].<sup>97</sup> Only the Circle of Perpetual Visibility (恒見圈), which is the second of the three concentric circles of the map, was recalculated in accordance with the latitude of Seoul. Thus, his research indicates that the Chosön astronomers did not modify the asterisms; even if *Söun 'gwan* officials revised their locations, their shapes remained unchanged. This speculation is also supported by other research, which indicated that individual asterisms, most notably the Northern Dipper and Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, are depicted as larger than they should be but their positions in the circular map are relatively accurate.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, it seems that there was a convention regarding asterisms' shape that Chosön scholars and astronomers did not question.

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<sup>96</sup> An Sanghyön, “Ch'önsang yölch'a punyajido tosöl üi munhönhak chök yön'gu” 天象列次分野之圖 圖說의 문헌학적 연구 [A Philological Study on the Scripts Engraved on Ch'önsang yölch'a punyajido], *Minjok munhua* 42 (2013): 27.

<sup>97</sup> An Sanghyön, “Astronomical Characteristics of Cheonsang-yeolcha-bunyajido from the Perspective of Manufacturing Methods,” *Journal of Astronomy and Space Sciences* 32, no. 1 (2015): 51-62.

<sup>98</sup> Pak Ch'angböm 박창범, “Ch'önsang yölch'a punyajido üi pyölgürim punsök” 天象列次分野之圖의 별그림 분석 [Analysis of the Star Map in *Ch'önsang yölch'a punyajido*], *Han'guk kwahaksa hakhoeji* 20, no. 2 (1998): 124.

However, compared to the Suzhou star map, there are considerable differences in the shapes of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions.<sup>99</sup> These differences relate to not only the way in which lines are connected but also the angle, direction, and position of stars (Fig. 1.10). To determine the reason for these differences, it is necessary to compare the projection methods employed to produce the two star maps, which is a fairly complicated undertaking. Unlike the Chosŏn star map, the inscription of the Suzhou star map does not provide any clues. Kazuhiko Miyajima asserts that celestial maps created in the Chinese cultural area in East Asia were all based on the azimuthal equidistant projection method.<sup>100</sup> However, he does not examine the Suzhou star map in his research and therefore cannot provide an answer to the question examined here.

It is known that the Suzhou star map was based on observations of fixed stars from the Yuanfeng 元豐 era (1078–1085). Given that the map was first drawn by Huang Shang in 1190 but was not carved until 1247, the makers of the carved star map possibly referred to Huang's drawing rather than observing the celestial bodies themselves.<sup>101</sup> Overall, the way in which the

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<sup>99</sup> While the shape of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions in the Chosŏn star map and the Chosŏn *Butiange* are almost identical, that of the Suzhou star map and the Tang *Butiange* are considerably different. I will compare all these materials later.

<sup>100</sup> Kazuhiko Miyajima, "Projection Methods in Chinese, Korean and Japanese Star Maps," in J. Andersen ed., *Highlights of Astronomy: 11, B Presented at the XXIIIrd General Assembly of the IAU, 1997* (Dordrecht: Kluwer 1998), 712-715.

<sup>101</sup> The Yuanfeng observation records are not extant, and thus we cannot check whether the records were accessible for the Suzhou star map producers or not. F. Richard Stephenson mentions that another circular star map from *Xin Yixiang Fayao* 新儀象法要 [*New Armillary Sphere and Celestial Globe System Essentials*], which was also based on observations from the Yuanfeng period, there is more evidence of idealization of asterism shapes. F. Richard Stephenson, "Chinese and Korean Star Maps and Catalogs," in *Cartography in the Traditional East and Southeast Asian Societies, The History of Cartography*, vol. 2, book 2, eds. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 546-548.

star map is drawn, especially the shapes of major asterisms, indicates that the Chosŏn astronomers and their Song counterparts used different materials and, possibly, different methods. However, due to the lack of evidence, it is still unclear what these methods were.

Another noteworthy characteristic of the Chosŏn star map is the different sizes of stars on the map; many scholars have pointed out that there is a correlation between the actual brightness and the size of a star in the map.<sup>102</sup> In the Suzhou star map, only major stars are larger, and most other stars are similar in size. Hence, the interest in apparent magnitude seems to be an idiosyncrasy of the Chosŏn star map. This will be discussed in greater detail alongside other material later.

So far, we have examined asterism images from the early Chosŏn period and discussed how they differed from their Chinese counterparts. Because Chinese examples such as the Tang *Butiange* and the Suzhou star map are not contemporary to the Chosŏn images, there remains some doubt as to whether these differences are caused by a temporal or regional gap. I suggest that both factors had an influence, but regional factors were more significant. To demonstrate that there was a regional convention for asterism images on the Korean peninsula, I will compare examples from different fields and periods, including the ones introduced above.

Table 2 shows images of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions from five different sources: the Tang version of *Butiange*, the Chosŏn version of *Butiange*, the Suzhou star map, the Chosŏn star map, and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. These examples indicate that even materials with

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<sup>102</sup> Yang Hongjin et al., “A Study of Stone Star Charts in Korea and China,” in *Proceeding of 2012 International Symposium on Historical Astronomy* (2012): 85; Pak Ch'angbŏm, “Ch'ŏnsang yŏlch'a Punyajido ūi Pyŏlgŭrim Punsŏk,” 121.

the same title, format, and purpose do not exactly correspond with each other. Indeed, contemporaneous sources from the same region produced for different purposes and in different fields have more in common. For example, images from the Chosŏn *Butiange* and Chosŏn star map feature almost identical shapes and connections between stars. In addition, they depict the same number of stars in asterisms like Shi and Wei of the North, which, as explained earlier, do not correspond to the numbers written in the corresponding poems in *Butiange*. This may be because both the Chosŏn *Butiange* and the Chosŏn star map were used by *Sŏun 'gwan* officials, making it possible that the producers of the Chosŏn star map (officials, astronomers, court artists, wood-block carvers, etc.) referred to the Chosŏn *Butiange*, or vice versa.

Most important for the current study, the Shi and Wei in the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha are similar to those in the Chosŏn works, even though the painting does not seem to have any connection to *Sŏun 'gwan* affairs. It is not clear whether the painter of the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha had access to either the Chosŏn *Butiange* or star map, but if we accept that the painting was made in the late Koryŏ period, as most scholars suggest, access would be impossible. However, it is possible that the original pictorial models for all three representations have existed since the Koryŏ period. I do not intend to rearrange these materials chronologically, nor to discover new evidence from the Koryŏ dynasty; I simply conclude that there was a convention or common pictorial practice concerning the drawing of asterism diagrams, especially for commonly depicted asterisms.<sup>103</sup> Thus, Chinese predecessors and scientific achievements were

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<sup>103</sup> As will be discussed later, this seems a peninsular Korean convention distinct from other neighboring cultures. Japanese examples do not show such a constant tendency transcending timely gaps in drawing stars and connecting them. Nor do they follow any other foreign conventions. For example, Takamatsu Zuka 高松塚 and Kitora *kofun* キトラ 古墳 are late seventh or early eighth century tombs with star charts, mainly composed of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, on their ceilings. Although these two examples are almost contemporaneous, the ways of connecting the stars to describe the asterisms and arranging them on a circular ceiling were not very similar. Both



of little importance, if not irrelevant.

A significant link between the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha and the Chosŏn star map is both depict the apparent magnitude of stars. There does not seem to be an intrinsic principle for determining the size of the stars in the Buddhist painting, and the results are not as accurate as those of the star map, but there are slight distinctions in size between red dots, and the difference is quite clear in the case of some asterisms, such as Wei of the North and Lou 樓 of the West, similar to the star map (Fig. 1.11).

The practice of depicting each star as a different size according to its brightness, which is uncommon in Chinese sources, has a longer history on the Korean peninsula than one might expect. A stone plate discovered near a dolmen at Adūgi village (hereafter referred to as the Adūgi dolmen) has many holes on its surface, which represent asterisms (Fig. 1.12). The differing sizes of these holes indicate that the people residing in this area during the Bronze Age recorded the brightness of stars.<sup>104</sup> In addition, a tomb of the Koguryŏ kingdom, Chinpari no. 4,

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tombs are known as cases of Koguryŏ inspiration on the Japanese archipelago, as demonstrated by figures wearing Koguryŏ dress in the Takamatsu Zuka mural and astronomical observation points on the Kitora star map which is revealed as probably from Pyŏngyang, the third capital of Koguryŏ. The latter, especially, implies that the model for the Kitora star map might have been a Koguryŏ one, which later influenced the Chosŏn star map to some degree. Nevertheless, Japanese star diagrams do not have any common features with Korean examples or even Chinese counterparts. A later example shows the possibility that visually defining an asterism based on a particular drawing convention was not very important in Japanese culture. Sonjō Mandala 尊星王曼荼羅 in the *Besson zakki* 別尊雜記 [*Miscellaneous Record of Classified Sacred Images*], the twelfth century collection of esoteric iconography, is an example of a Buddhist image with star diagrams. Although there are three concentric circles reminiscent of the Kitora tomb and many star diagrams behind the main figure, Sonjō does not seem to be a star map based on astral observation. Because the diagrams do not resemble any well-known asterisms, it is not easy to identify which is which. Rather, they seem to be drawn randomly, imitating a common diagram. This pseudo-star map demonstrates that a shared pictorial convention in drawing asterisms that transcend genre of material was a Korean convention, and not a common tradition of premodern times.

<sup>104</sup> The brightness of a star is indicated by a larger radius of the hole. This representation accords with the actual apparent magnitude of the star to some degree. Yi Yungjo 이용조 at al., “Ch’ōngwŏn Adūgi koindol yujōgesŏ palguldoen pyŏljarip’an yŏn’gu” 청원 아득이 고인돌 유적에서 발굴된 별자리판 연구 [A Stone Star Chart Found from a Dolmen at Adūgi in Ch’ōngwŏn], *Han’guk kwahaksa hakhoeji* 23, no.1 (2001): 7.

includes an archaic star chart representing asterisms around the North Pole and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. These stars are represented by six different sizes of circles, which scholars have proposed is indicative of their varying brightness.<sup>105</sup>

Based on the above, we may conclude that a fourteenth-century asterism image from the Korean peninsula has more in common with contemporaneous Korean stellar images produced for different purposes than it does with Chinese counterparts produced for the same purpose. Even though Chinese predecessors may have provided inspiration or models for the Korean examples, the local culture had a greater influence on how stellar objects were visualized.

#### **4. The Pictorial Tradition of Depicting the Stars**

The previous discussion showed that the manner in which stars were depicted in Korea was more connected to indigenous traditions than to Chinese models. This was not the result of ignorance about cutting-edge astronomical knowledge from China, but of a painting convention that persisted into the late Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties.

The pictorial practice regarding asterism images was conservative; it was a kind of *tu*, designed to be recognized by as many people as possible. Generally, in an image of an asterism, the actual objects (i.e., stars) were represented by dots, but people recognized them as asterisms due to the connecting lines. In other words, these lines and the shapes they created played a crucial role in the perception and visual definition of asterisms. Connecting dots with straight

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<sup>105</sup> Li Chun'gŏi 리준걸, “Koguryŏ pyŏkhwa mudŏm ūi pyŏlgŭrim e taehan yŏn'gu” 고구려 벽화 무덤의 별그림에 대한 연구 [A Study on the Star Images of Koguryŏ Tomb Murals], *Kogo minsok nonmunjip* 9 (1984): 2.

lines does not always result in the same shapes, as shown in the previous comparison of the two editions of *Butiange*. These were drawings based on imagination, and thus at first, they might have been tentative. However, as the need to map the celestial sphere increased, tentative images became determinative signs, which were informative and difficult to modify. Accordingly, the lines and shapes of major asterisms, although originally imaginary, became firm conventions. When a star map was designed for the first time, the position, degree, and angles of celestial bodies may have been calculated in a certain way depending on how they were observed with the naked eye or scientific equipment. However, when mapmakers had a reliable and approachable predecessor, as was the case for the Chosŏn star map, they could follow the old model without making new observations or modifications. Sometimes, they updated textual descriptions and corrected errors due to, for example, observation of the precession of equinoxes, but there is little available evidence that astronomers recalculated or redefined the shapes of major asterisms based on observation. Again, this is not because they failed to recognize the significance of accurately illustrating the stars; it is because the shapes of the asterisms were signs in themselves and were not a subject to be reinvestigated.

The text of *Butiange* supports this speculation. Its poems do not provide detailed explanations of how stars and asterisms should be drawn, but its textual descriptions suggest how the author and readers conceived of the shapes of asterisms. For example, *Kang* 亢 of the East and its neighbor asterisms (Fig. 1.13) are described as follows:

(Kang is a) four-orange star asterism and looks like a curved bow

Dajiao is an orange star shining right above Kang.

Zhewei is an asterism consisting of seven black stars at the lower side of Kang

To the right and left sides of Dajiao, there is Sheti,

Which consist of three red stars standing like a ‘ding (tripod)’  
 On the lower left of Zhewei, there is Dunwan  
 Which is an asterism of two deep yellow stars lying at an angle  
 Under Dunwan there are two stars called Yangmen  
 Whose color is like that of Dunwan crouching right below Dunwan.<sup>106</sup> [12]

This indicates that the shapes of asterisms were understood as analogical images, such as a tripod or something ‘lying at an angle’ or ‘crouching,’ not as dots and lines on a graph. The same is true in other poems in *Butiange*. Wei 尾 of the West is a “nine-red-star asterism like a hook” and Ji 箕 of the East is like a winnow basket, as its Chinese name suggests. In addition, Kui 奎 of the West is compared to a shoe. The angle or distance between stars, which are crucial for determining the shape of asterisms, are not mentioned at all. This might be because it is a poem rather than a mathematical text. However, regardless, this is how people of the time understood celestial bodies. Indeed, *Butiange* was one of the most important texts to *Sōun’gwan* officials; in order to take the civil service examination for selection of *Sōun’gwan* officials, they had to memorize it.<sup>107</sup> Because Chosŏn astronomers had to possess knowledge about *Butiange*, they were familiar with this literary and visual approach to asterisms.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> I used the Chosŏn edition of *Butiange* because I am mostly dealing with Korean examples here. However, the poem from the Tang edition is almost identical to that of the Chosŏn edition, except that there is no mention about the color of asterisms. So my arguments here can be applied to Tang Chinese and others who read the poem. The poem of *Kang* from the Tang edition is as follows. 四星恰似彎弓狀 大角一星直上明 折威七子亢下橫 大角左右攝提星 三三相似如鼎形 折威下左頓頑星 兩箇斜安黃色精 頑下二星號陽門 色若頓頑直下蹲. (I have underlined the characters to emphasize the differences between the two editions). Meanwhile, the mentioning of the colors of stars in the Chosŏn edition reveals that Chosŏn astronomers had their own tradition of observing the stars which seems to have been influential enough to change the text.

<sup>107</sup> CWS, 8th day, 3th month, 12th Year of Reign of Sejong (1430). An Sanghyŏn, “Chosŏn ch’ogi Pochŏn’ga wa Ch’ŏnmun yucho ūi sŏngnip e taehan yŏn’gu,” 625.

<sup>108</sup> This approach using images to help to recognize certain abstract form is also seen in other field. For example,

Meanwhile, interest in the brightness of stars and their representation as differently sized dots is a solely pictorial convention. The Chosŏn star map, Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, and even Bronze Age dolmens from the Korean peninsula depict different sizes of stars. Moreover, the illustrations of the Chosŏn *Butiange* note slight differences in size in some cases. However, textual material contains practically no explanation of the brightness or size of stars. Although a few asterisms are described as *ming* 明 (bright, shiny) in the poems of *Butiange*, this is an adjective, not evidence of consistent interest in observed brightness.<sup>109</sup> Although *Sŏun'gwan* officials often reported when stars were brighter than usual for prognostication purposes, they did not mention perpetually bright or big stars. Hence, the convention of drawing dots of varying sizes—which had existed since the Bronze Age—was derived from observation, not religious intentions or scientific calculations.

Other scholars have discussed how pictorial conventions shape cultural perceptions. For example, in his study on the illustrated fiction of late imperial China, Robert E. Hegel pointed out that illustrations not only represent the narrative but also serve to perpetuate the cultural continuity of the community.<sup>110</sup> Building upon Hegel's work, Laikwan Pang added that the conventional visual, as “a part of the collective cultural heritage,” relies on familiarity and “do[es]

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many different types of brush strokes in East Asian paintings are called such as ‘axe-cut strokes,’ ‘hemp-fiber strokes,’ ‘rolling-cloud strokes,’ etc. For this, see Benjamin March, *Some Technical Terms of Chinese painting* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1935).

<sup>109</sup> Among 216 asterisms explained in the part of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, only eleven asterisms (庫樓, 大角, 左旗, 右旗, 匏瓜, 離瑜, 天溷, 附路, 策, 天陰, 天潢) are described with the adjective ‘明.’ Some of these, such as *kulou* 庫樓 and *dajiao* 大角 are indeed depicted larger than others in Chosŏn star map and the illustrations of *Butiange*. However, there is no clear correlation between ‘bright’ stars in texts and large stars in image.

<sup>110</sup> Robert E. Hegel, *Reading Illustrated Fiction in the Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 317-322.

not challenge customary beliefs and values.”<sup>111</sup> Likewise, it is probable that conventional visualization of asterisms in the Korean peninsula influenced the perception of asterisms and the development of the *ch'ŏnmun* tradition in this region.

The Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, as a work of religious art, must be considered in a slightly different manner than a star map or an astronomical text because the painter's intention is not to map the celestial sphere. I will examine the role of the diagrams in this Buddhist painting and how its characteristics are distinct from those of other stellar images.

In the painting, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, Northern Dipper, Six Stars of Three Stages, and Southern Dipper are represented by dots and lines and by an anthropomorphic deity. Unlike in the previously examined examples, these asterism diagrams are shown individually, and their relative size and location in the sky are not depicted. For instance, Yi 翼 of the South usually occupies a wider space than others in star maps, but it is modified in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha in order to fit the limited space of the asterism deity's halo (Fig. 1.14). Likewise, some asterisms consisting of two or three stars, which do not require much space, are painted larger. For the Six Stars of Three Stages, there was enough space to draw six dots connected by five lines, so it is the widest asterism in the painting (Fig. 1.15).

Moreover, the location of each asterism has nothing to do with its actual location in the sky, nor with its arrangement in a circular or rectangular star map. In Chinese and Korean astronomical texts, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are explained in the following order: seven of the East (角, 亢, 氐, 房, 心, 尾, 箕), seven of the North (斗, 牛, 女, 虚, 危, 室, 壁),

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<sup>111</sup> Laikwan Pang, *The Distorting Mirror: Visual Modernity in China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 36-37.

seven of the West (奎, 婁, 胃, 昂, 畢, 觜, 參), and seven of the South (井, 鬼, 柳, 星, 張, 翼, 軫). This order follows the actual location of each constellation, and it is arranged clockwise in circular star maps. That is, the first Lunar Mansion of the East (角) is followed by the last Lunar Mansion of the South (軫). However, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions in the Boston painting are not illustrated in a circular shape, nor do they follow the order of a star map (Fig. 1.16). The Eastern group is arranged alongside the right edge, extending from the upper right to the lower right corner, and the Northern group occupies the lower right corner. The Western group is lined up on the left, from the upper left to the lower left corner, and the Southern group is located in the lower left corner. As a result, Bi 壁 of the North and Zhen 軫 of the South are placed side by side at the bottom in the painting, even though they are on opposite sides in the sky and on star maps; even the cardinal directions determining the identity of each group are incorrect. Based on this, it is apparent that the painter of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha referred to other visual material, such as star maps or astronomical illustrations, but used them in fragments, rearranging them into a new image. In other words, the painter exerted their agency and idealized the shapes of the asterisms and rearranged their locations in order to fit the Buddhist pantheon, removing the diagrams from the original context in which they were developed. Although I have argued that there is a common convention present in all stellar images, regardless of field, asterism diagrams play a different role in the context of a religious work than in the works examined thus far. The corresponding changes in their characteristics may be referred to as “pictorial license.”

Unlike astronomical charts, asterism images in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha cannot be simply defined as *tu*, as each diagram is a symbol placed alongside an anthropomorphic deity

representing the same asterism; two different ways of visualizing stars are presented side by side. Why are the asterisms represented in this dual manner? What are the diagrams' roles in this painting? Are both depictions necessary? Even if there were no diagrams, it would be not difficult to identify each deity because their names are written next to their images. Moreover, few worshippers may have been able to recognize the shapes of all asterisms. Hence, the diagrams in this case were not included to help identify the deities, but for a different reason. Even though this imagery may convey information and function as a sign for those who are well-acquainted with *ch'ōnmun* in other cases, it cannot be referred to as *tu* in this case.

Another painting has similar iconography to the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha and may serve as an example of how asterism images function in a Buddhist context. To date, as I explained in the introduction, there are only two known examples with a similar format to that of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting. One of them, which is located in the Kōrai Bijutsukan, Japan (Fig. 1.17), was painted during the early Chosŏn dynasty in 1569. Like the Boston painting, this work represents a pantheon of stellar deities around Tejaprabhā Buddha. The organization of the pantheon is only slightly different; it consists of Tejaprabhā and two attendant bodhisattvas, Eleven planets, Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, the Northern Dipper, the Twelve Animals of the Zodiac, and the Six Stars of Three Stages (Fig. 1.18) as well as several new inclusions: the Buddhas of the Seven Stars, Indra 帝釋, and the Crown Prince Star 太子星, among others. Again, the deities associated with the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are accompanied by asterism diagrams consisting of dots and lines, and their arrangement is identical to that of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. However, interestingly, some asterisms are paired with the wrong deities. In the lower left corner, a deity named Kawisōng 可危星 is portrayed as if it were a part



of the South. Additionally, the last asterism in the South, Zhen, is depicted on the lower right side, along with the Northern group, and the first three asterisms in the North are located above, separated from their original group. Due to these errors, the asterism diagram of Dou 斗 is paired with the deity of Altair and the Niu 牛 diagram accompanies the deity of Vega (Fig. 1.19). This mismatch implies that the painter responsible for the layout referred to an original sketch or model (*ch'obon*) without possessing a detailed understanding of the iconography. Or, as was often the case, the painting may have been produced by more than one artist, and hence someone else may have written the names in the cartouches. In any case, the act of painting was completely separated from an understanding of the constellations, regardless of whether this knowledge was based in Buddhism or astronomy.

Although the painting does bear an inscription, it is not easy to identify its painters or patrons because the inscription is damaged.<sup>112</sup> However, its high quality and usage of gold pigment suggest that one or more wealthy and devoted patrons of elite status commissioned the painting. Given the likely social standing of the patrons, the discrepancies between the representations of the stellar deities seem astonishing. However, one needs to be aware that the painting's producers and consumers were not *Sŏun'gwan* officials. Only a limited number of people could recognize dot-and-line diagrams other than the most familiar ones, like the Northern Dipper; others might just have recognized them as stars or asterisms. The painter did not have to understand constellations in order to create a Buddhist painting, nor did his patrons and viewers need to understand them to appreciate the painting, as long as they believed in the

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<sup>112</sup> Kim Hyŏnjŏng speculates that some of the patrons might have been monks. Kim Hyŏnjŏng, "Ilbon Koryŏ misulgwan sojang 1569 nyŏn chak Ch'isŏnggwang yŏrae kangnimdo ūi tosang haesŏk'ak chŏk koch'al," 89.

efficacy of the icons; the image of an asterism is not a *tu* or graph to be read, but an icon to be worshipped, like the celestial deity it accompanies. Just as there is no visual difference between celestial deities, there is no need to distinguish each asterism. Indeed, their illegibility allowed people to conceive of the images as icons symbolizing stellar objects rely on their efficacy.<sup>113</sup> To a certain extent, the same might be true for those who created and consumed the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. In the context of religion, asterism images were not a technological representation of the sky, sign, or *tu*. So, there was much room for the involvement of pictorial conventions. We cannot be sure whether viewers of the Tejaprabhā painting of 1569 realized the critical errors, but clearly the religious meaning of the painting was not lost.<sup>114</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

By focusing on the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha as a pictorial object with asterism images, rather

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<sup>113</sup> The religious efficacy of illegibility has been discussed by Eugene Wang. According to him, Sanskrit-written *dharani* like this were not designed for oral incantation but for meditation, since lay practitioners could not read them, but believed that the text's unintelligibility would cleanse their minds. Eugene Wang, "Ritual Practice without Its Practitioner? Early Eleventh Century Dhāraṇī Prints in the Ruiguangsi Pagoda," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 20 (2011): 127-160.

<sup>114</sup> This inaccuracy may not be unrelated to the loss of a connection between Buddhism and *ch'ŏnmun* after the mid-Chosŏn period. During the Chosŏn dynasty, which defined itself as a Neo-Confucian state in contrast to Koryŏ, changes in the theory and practice of Buddhism were unavoidable even though the religion still exerted its influence not only on the populace but also on the court; the secular facet of Buddhist worship, such as wishing to prolong one's life or earning good fortune, was much emphasized. Out of the court, some Chosŏn Buddhist scholars like Sŏsan Hyujŏng 西山休靜 (1520-1604) devoted themselves to maintain their own doctrinal Buddhist scholarship and practices to survive from the pressures from Confucians, but their interest was far from the state-sponsored *ch'ŏnmun*. Thus, it is not surprising that *ch'ŏnmun*, where splendid advances were made in specialized knowledge during the reign of King Sejong, became separated from contemporaneous Tejaprabhā Buddha worship which was often mixed with the popular Bhaiṣajyaguru (Medicine Buddha) worship, another example of popularized Buddhism of the time. For Sŏsan Hyujŏng's view and scholarship, see Robert E. Buswell Jr., "Buddhism under Confucian Domination: The Synthetic Vision of Sŏsan Hyujŏng," in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, eds. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 134-159.

than on its religious iconography, this chapter attempted to understand how people perceived stellar objects and images within and outside of the Buddhist context in the fourteenth century. Astrology and astronomy are practiced in different ways, but people in the fourteenth century did not perceive these different traditions as separate, nor did they make an effort to combine or incorporate them into one grand theory. Rather, these traditions simply accumulated layers and coexisted under the term *ch'ōnmun*. This made it possible for Buddhist artists and court astronomers to utilize similar methods of depicting stars, regardless of whether they sought to record or worship the heavens.

Modern categories of science and religion cannot be used to understand stellar images of the late Koryō and early Chosōn dynasties. Even the categories of *tu*, *hua*, and *xiang* are not very helpful, as asterism diagrams are read and understood in different ways and may become misunderstood or unintelligible (yet still efficacious) in certain contexts. The act of painting tended to rely on its own traditions, rather than textual traditions, which led to discrepancies with the text associated with images in certain work as well as the pictorial modifications seen in the examples examined above.

### III. Chapter 2. The Descent of Stars:

#### Regional Contexts Surrounding the “Descending Tejaprabhā” Motif

##### 1. Introduction

At the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Tejaprabhā Buddha painting, which is at the center of this research, is known under the title “The Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha.” No one would question the aptness of this title because the entire composition and the posture of the Buddha indicate that all the figures in the painting are “descending.” In Korean academia, it is also called *Ch’isōnggwang yōrae kangnimdo* 치성 광여래강림도 熾盛光如降臨圖 meaning “Painting of Descending Tejaprabhā Buddha.”<sup>115</sup> As its title in both English and Korean suggests, *kangnim* 降臨 [descent] is the term most often used to describe the theme of the painting. Indeed, in Korea, the descending posture is considered one of the attributes of Tejaprabhā Buddha; thus, some researchers have categorized Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery in China and Korea into two types: descending and preaching.<sup>116</sup> As this painting, as the earliest known hanging scroll of its

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<sup>115</sup> For example, Chōng Chinhŭi, “Posūt’ōn misulgwan sojang Koryō Ch’isōnggwang yōrae kangnimdo ui tosang koch’al.” Meanwhile, this work is also titled “Ch’isōnggwang yōrae wangnimdo” 치성 광여래왕림도 熾盛光如往臨圖 in some publications, including Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan 국립중앙박물관, *Han’guk pangmulgwan kaegwan 100 chunyōn kinyōm yōminhaerak* 한국 박물관 개관 100주년 기념 여민해락 [Korean Museum 100 years in Remembrance] (Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan, 2009); Kim Ilkwon 김일권, “Hwasun Unjusa puktu ch’ilsōng wōnbansōk kwa sanjōngwabul ūi Koryō ch’ōnmunhak” 화순 운주사 북두칠성 원반석과 산정와불의 고려 천문학 [A Study of Historical Astronomy on the Dipper Disc Stones and the Top Lying Buddha at Hwasun Unju Monastery], *Chōngshin munhwa yōn’gu* 37, no.2 (2014): 181-231. *Wangnim* literally means “visit” or “presence”, so it does not include the nuance of ‘descent.’ Yet, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston uses *wangnim* in its Korean title as a translation of the English title, “The Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha.”

<sup>116</sup> Chōng Chinhŭi examines Chinese Tejaprabhā imagery and divides them into descending and preaching types. Kim Hyōnjōng accepts this classification in her discussion of a Tejaprabhā Buddha painting of the Chosōn dynasty.

kind, is usually the starting point of studying Korean Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery, its noticeably descending posture seems to be the focal point by which any visual analysis of other Tejaprabhā works is influenced, even those produced in China.

However, the descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha as depicted in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting is not as natural as it looks. Tejaprabhā Buddha's descent is especially emphasized in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha while other works do not clearly reveal this action of downward movement. By comparing earlier and later Tejaprabhā-themed imagery, this chapter will show that the descent of the Buddha in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha which has generally been accepted as a convention by academia, is actually a special addition to the iconography of Tejaprabhā Buddha. I will therefore investigate why this posture was combined with Tejaprabhā Buddha in the fourteenth-century Koryŏ context. The descending posture of the Tejaprabhā Buddha should be understood beyond the boundaries of ecumenical Buddhism. Instead, it should be viewed through the lens of an indigenous mythical motif of a descending star. It should also be understood that Daoist images and practices, which have not been clearly distinguished from those of Buddhism, and the concept of the “descending (K. *naeyŏng* 來迎) Buddha” in Koryŏ Buddhist art were the predominant themes of Amitabha Buddha's descent. When observed in this way, it is possible to demonstrate that existing cultural elements have functioned as the sources of accessible raw material for the maker. Or in reverse, the special application of the descending motif provides clues to understanding some of the cultural,

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In Kim's article, this Tejaprabhā Buddha painting which has a similar iconography as the Boston Tejaprabhā painting is called “kangnimdo” as well. Chŏng Chinhŭi, “Chungguk Ch'isŏnggwang yŏrae tosang yŏn'gu II” 中國熾盛光如來 圖像 考察 II [The Study of Tejaprabhā Buddha Icon in China II], *Pulgyo hakpo* 63 (2012): 373-405; Kim Hyŏnjŏng, “Ilbon Koryŏ misulgwan sojang 1569 nyŏn chak Ch'isŏnggwang yŏrae kangnimdo ūi tosang haesŏk'ak chŏk koch'al.”

religious and political circumstances of the time which have not been explored thus far.

## **2. Tejaprabhā's Unusual Descent**

In the Boston Tejaprabhā painting, the Buddha's procession is heading towards the lower-left corner of the image. This directionality is suggested by the figures' gazes and postures: All the stellar deities are facing left and looking downward. The diagonal depiction of the Buddha's carriage strengthens this directionality, so does the depiction of the clouds. The central group consisting of Tejaprabhā Buddha, his oxen carriage, two bodhisattvas, the Eleven Planets, and Tianhuang dadi, are all riding on clouds. In addition, the nine stars of the Northern Dipper positioned on the upper-right side of the central group are riding their own clouds. The clouds of both groups have long, curved tails winding upwards toward the upper-right corner. The white clouds that are illustrated as waves not only symbolize the auspiciousness of this procession, but they also indicate that these deities are moving from the upper-right to the lower-left side. Overall, these deities are depicted as descending from where the tails of the clouds end.

Allusions to descent through the depiction of clouds and a diagonal direction are often seen in other Buddhist paintings but are not very common in Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery. For example, in the earliest Tejaprabhā Buddha paintings from Dunhuang, such as *Tejaprabhā with Five Planets* (Fig. 0.2) and *Tejaprabhā Buddha and Other Celestial Beings* (fig 0.3), Tejaprabhā Buddha and his attendants are seen heading toward the left side in a horizontal, rather than a diagonal direction. Both works contain illustrations of clouds and furthermore, in *Tejaprabhā with Five Planets*, the curved tail of the cloud extends to the upper-right side, as seen in the Boston Tejaprabhā painting. However, Buddha's carriage is shown from its side view, and the

lack of diagonal directionality makes these scenes a horizontal procession, moving from right to left. Indeed, the inscription on *Tejaprabhā with Five Planets* includes the title “Chishengguangfo bing wu xing” 熾盛光佛併五星 [Tejaprabhā Buddha with Five Stars] which contains no connotation of “descent.”

The lack of a descending posture in Tejaprabhā Buddha images is also observed in later examples. The *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* print (Fig. 4.1) which will be further analyzed in Chapter 4 and the illustration of *Chishengguang fodong da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing* (Fig. 0.4) have neither clouds nor a diagonal directionality; that is especially true of the latter example, and although there is the inclusion of the oxen-carriage, it does not appear to be a moving scene due to its strictly central and symmetrical composition. Among Chinese examples that pre-date the Boston Tejaprabhā painting, only the wall painting from Dunhuang Mogao Cave 61 (Fig. 2.1) which was painted in the tenth century, reveals a nuance of descent with the existence of a long-tailed cloud and a three-quarter view of Buddha’s carriage. However, there is no sense of dramatic immediacy as shown in the Boston painting due to its horizontal format. In Korea, there is no contemporary example comparable to the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha extant, with the exception of *Sojaehoe* 消災會 [Gathering of Calamities Dispelling], a relief carved on the ten-story stupa from the Kyōngch’ōn Monastery site (敬天寺址) in 1348 (Fig. 2.2). In this sense, it depicts an ox and resembles a preaching scene, as neither a descent nor a procession is depicted. The carriage is not seen and all figures, including the ox, are presented in frontal and symmetrical poses. If we take all these variations into account, it seems inadequate to divide Tejaprabhā imagery from both China and Korea into merely descending and preaching types.

Regarding the movement of deities, Shih-shan Susan Huang separates “descending”

from “proceeding” in Daoist imagery. In her book, Huang suggests that descending images where the figures are coming from heaven differ from proceeding images, as exemplified by the picture of *chaoyuan* 朝元 [Procession of Immortals Paying Homage to the Prime], where the figures are usually going to heaven.<sup>117</sup> These two types of images also have different media and formats. Descending images are often depicted in a vertical format, such as hanging scrolls, in order to create a dynamic sense of movement, while proceeding images are suitable for horizontal formats; therefore, many examples of this type can be found on murals. Hence, descending images of Daoist deities, which were popular during the Southern Song dynasty (南宋, 1127–1279), belong to a tradition that differs from proceeding images. This separation can also be applied to contemporaneous Buddhist images that share common conceptual and visual elements with Daoist artworks. Therefore, it is remarkable that the descending posture is especially noticeable in the Boston Tejabrahā painting, whereas in many other Tejabrahā images, the Buddha and his entourage are not coming down from above, but are proceeding forward. Although there are exceptions, such as Fig.2.2, Tejabrahā imagery often adopts a rectangular or horizontal format, as exemplified by *Chishengguang fodong da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing* and the mural from the Dunhuang Mogao Cave 61. However, the Boston Tejabrahā painting is mounted on a vertical hanging scroll, and due to its vertical format, the viewer can sense the speed and immediacy of the movement. Thus, the speedy descent of Tejabrahā Buddha’s entourage is one of the iconographic idiosyncrasies of the work, and not at all a conventional visual element of this subject matter.

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<sup>117</sup> Huang, *Picturing the True Form: Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China*, 302–305.



### 3. Summoned or Invoked Deities: Comparison with *Shuilu* Paintings and *Qiqing* Images

Considering its iconographic predecessors, it seems that Tejaprabhā Buddha had not been imagined as a descending deity. As discussed in Chapter 1, a convincing hypothesis about the origin of the carriage-riding Tejaprabhā Buddha is that it derives from the iconography of the Celestial Thearch, who is the personification of the Pole Star in the tradition of the Han dynasty. Riding the Northern Dipper as his chariot, the Celestial Thearch governs his stellar bureaucrats. Reflecting the characteristics of the Pole Star, it was thought that the Celestial Thearch does not rotate but stays in the center of the celestial hemisphere as a pivot. This heavenly emperor slightly meanders around the center while sitting in his chariot. Given that the visualization of Tejaprabhā Buddha in its early phase began as a “Buddhicized” Celestial Thearch, Tejaprabhā Buddha might also have been considered as one who roams with his attendants in heaven; and does not descend to earth. This concept is reflected in the aforementioned Tejaprabhā Buddha paintings from Dunhuang and *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* prints. The depiction of the clouds here is an indication of heavenly space where the Buddha wanders, rather than signifying his descent.

Moreover, in the textual foundation of the Tejaprabhā Buddha cult, which mainly consists of esoteric ritual scriptures, the Buddha’s descent is not mentioned. Likewise, in actual practice, Tejaprabhā Buddha was not considered a deity who comes down to fulfill his devotees’ wishes. According to the scriptures of *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*, 大隨求陀羅尼經 [*Dhāraṇī Sutra of the Great Accorder of What Is Sought*] Tejaprabhā Buddha does not come from heaven and manifests himself in front of the practitioner but appears in one’s mind after certain ritual

practice, such as concentration or recitation of the *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī*.<sup>118</sup> Through this religious practice, the practitioner is able to dispel calamities and realize his wishes. Meanwhile, in *Chishengguang tuoluoni jing* examined in Chapter 1, there is no mention of Tejaprabhā Buddha, his iconography, or his descent, but the following excerpt from Bukong’s translation of the sutra provides a hint regarding Tejaprabhā Buddha’s appearance:

If Venus or Mars enter the South Dipper, [they] create all the obstacles to country, home, or [other] boundaries. In front of a statue of a wrathful [deity], draw him and set up Indian incense (*turuṣka*).<sup>119</sup> [13]

If the “wrathful [deity]” means Tejaprabhā Buddha, the main theme of this sutra, he is described in an esoteric wrathful form, rather than as a deity who is riding in a carriage. The wrathful deity in esoteric Buddhism is often depicted as a multi-armed figure who has an aureole of flames, often standing on lotus pedestals but there is no example of a wrathful deity as a carriage rider. Tejaprabhā Buddha as a wrathful deity is also mentioned in a prayer for *Sojae toryang* 消災道場, the Calamity-Dispelling Ritual, written in the late Koryŏ period. This text by the famous poet and statesman Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1169–1241) includes the following sentences:

The Buddha turns the wheel of edification and his body presents the image of wrath. By supernatural *dhāraṇī* radiating effulgent flame, [he] bring demons into submission.<sup>120</sup> [14]

Although the term “*Ch’isŏnggwang*” or “Tejaprabhā” does not appear in this quote, the

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<sup>118</sup> T.1153 *Pubian guangming qingjing chicheng ruyibao yinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明燄鬘清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 and T.1154 *Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神呪經 are the examples of *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*. For more about *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*, see Chapter 4.

<sup>119</sup> T.963 *Foshuo chishengguang da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing* 佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經.

<sup>120</sup> Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1169-1241), “*Sŏngbyŏn sojae toryangso*” 星變消災道場疏, in *Tongguk isanggukchip* 東國李相國集 [Collected Works of Minister Yi of Korea], kwŏn 40.

words 教令之輪 [wheel of edification] and 神呪熾光明之焰 [supernatural dhāraṇī radiating effulgent flame] suggest that “如來 (Buddha)” here means Tejaprabhā Buddha. Yet, there is no indication of descent or a carriage. Meanwhile, all known examples of Tejaprabhā Buddha as a carriage rider are pictured as Buddha with the generic identifying attributes, such as the *uṣṇīṣa* and a draped garment. Therefore, if Tejaprabhā Buddha is described as a “wrathful deity,” he is imagined in an esoteric form, for which a carriage or “descent” are not relevant. It is interesting that although *Chishengguang tuoluoni jing*, which is the textual foundation of Tejaprabhā worship is the scripture of an esoteric tradition, most extant Tejaprabhā Buddha images do not adopt an esoteric style. In any case, in both visual and textual traditions, the iconographic references of Tejaprabhā Buddha are not related to a descending motion.

Then, what kind of deities are supposed to descend to the earth? To answer this question, it is necessary to examine the meaning of descent as a response to a summons and the characteristic of descending deities in premodern East Asia through a comparison of paintings of descending deities. This will provide us with an understanding of the context in which Tejaprabhā Buddha and the descending formula were combined.

Before exploring the imagery of descending deities, it is helpful to investigate Ide Seinosuke’s categorization of Buddhist paintings. Ide divides Buddhist paintings from the Southern Song and Yuan China into three types: images created through a visualization practice (*guan* 觀), apparition images, and summoned images.<sup>121</sup> Regarding the first type, visualizing

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<sup>121</sup> Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, “Song Wōn-dae purhwa ūi t’ūksaek: yebaesang ūi shigak p’yohyōn” 宋·元代 불화의 특색: 禮拜像의 視覺 表現 [Characteristics of Buddhist Paintings from Song and Yuan Period: Visual Representation of Devotional Image], in *Tong Ashia pulgyo hoehwa wa Koryō purhwa - Che3hoe kungnim chungang pangmulgwan han'gung misul shimp'ojiōm charyojip*, ed. Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan (Sōul:

Buddha in one's mind can only be achieved by practitioners who have cultivated their minds over time, and not by ordinary believers. In order for the scene to represent the pure spirit world and the manifested Buddha, the first type often includes an aerial and dreamlike background, that is, the allusion of “the other shore.”(彼岸)<sup>122</sup> Meanwhile, apparition images are shown of the Buddhist deity who came to “this shore” (此岸), being this world of *Samsāra*; these include Buddhist images of this mundane world such as Mount Potalaka or the sea as the background. Last are the summoned images of manifested deities brought forth at the request of the believers. What separates the summoned image from the apparition image is that the former often depicts deities who are moving in the air to show themselves in a designated ritual space. Many of these pictures include illustrations of clouds implying a sense of direction and speed.

According to this categorization, Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery should belong to the “visualized image” type whereby the deity is revealed in the practitioner’s mind in its original context as a result of *dhāraṇī* practice. However, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is of the third type, that is, the summoned image. One of the major characteristics of the summoned image is that it situates the existence of a viewer (or a devotee in a ritual setting) outside of the painting. The summoned image is not only a picture of a descending deity but a substitute for the deity itself. Therefore, a devotee is not depicted in the painting; instead, it requires that an actual devotee exists outside of the painting. The summoned narrative is only completed when the devotee makes a request and the deity’s responds to it. The *Hōnen shōnin eden*, 法然上人繪傳

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Kungnim Chungang Pangmulgwan, 2010), 32-41.

<sup>122</sup> This is “a metaphor for the state of liberation or nirvāṇa.” Buswell Jr. and Lopex Jr. eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 1526.

[Illustrated Biography of Priest Honen] a fourteenth-century Japanese narrative in form of a horizontal scroll, explains how summoned images were used in actual settings. In Fig. 2.3, a Buddhist nun, with her hands clasped together in front of a hanging scroll, is reciting Buddha's name (J. *nembutsu* 念佛). Although its upper part is not shown, the hanging scroll is presumably a painting of Amitābha Buddha's welcoming, a typical example of a summoned image according to Ide's categorization. There is no illustration of a devotee in this Amitābha painting, but instead, it shows an actual devotee—the Buddhist nun. The Japanese narrative scroll depicts the space where the processes of summoning and descending are not isolated: they extend beyond the canvas of the depicted icon.

In addition to Amitābha paintings, other representative examples of summoned images are provided by a series of descending paintings of the Southern Song period. These paintings are thought to have been used in *Shuilu hui* 水陸會 [Water and Land Ritual] which was a Buddhist ritual often held during the Song and Yuan dynasties. *Shuilu hui* was a ritual performed to save all sentient beings who lived, whether in water or on land. In its original context, *Shuilu hui* was used for the salvation of the deceased and their enlightenment by feeding *egui* 餓鬼 [hungry ghosts], but it was also performed for other purposes such as the protection of the state or rain-making.<sup>123</sup> Regarding the *Shuilu hui* in the Southern Song period, Shi Hao 史浩 (1106–1194) was the key person. According to the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統記 [*Comprehensive Record of the Buddhas and Patriarchs*] written by the Tiantai monk Zhi Pan 志磐 (ca. 1220–1275), Shi Hao was an official during the reign of Emperor Xiaozong 孝宗 (r. 1162–1189), who founded

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<sup>123</sup> Buswell Jr. and Lopex Jr. eds., *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 1988.

the Yuebo Monastery (月波寺) as a sanctuary for the Four Seasons *Shuilu hui* (四時水陸道場) near the Dongqian Lake (東錢湖), which is located in the southeast of Ningbo 寧波 city. The ritual was dedicated to “Heaven and Earth and to the lords and their kin (“*tiandi junqin*” 天地君親).”<sup>124</sup>

Zhi Pan wrote that twenty-six scrolls of paintings were produced for the *Shuilu hui* and that during the ritual, Buddhas, enlightened sages (賢聖), and six kinds of sentient beings (六道) were served. Thus, the twenty-six scrolls may have contained the images of these deities who descended to the place of the *Shuilu hui* at the requests of devotees. It has been suggested that Southern Song paintings of descending deities are *Shuilu* paintings created for the ritual.<sup>125</sup> Although there is no direct evidence to show that these works were used in the *Shuilu hui*, their format and iconography raise this possibility, since their subject matter corresponds to the record of Zhi Pan. For example, in the series of *Six Buddhist Realms* (Fig. 2.4), figures are descending in a diagonal direction with auspicious clouds, presumably to attend the ceremony. The *Astral Deities* (Fig. 2.5) demonstrate that stellar deities were also summoned in the *Shuilu hui*, depicting astral deities dressed in Daoist attire descending on clouds. These paintings of descending figures do not seem to be independent, but rather form a set.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Edward L. Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 237.

<sup>125</sup> Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良國立博物館, *Seichi Ninpō: Nihon Bukkyō 1300-nen no genryū: subete wa koko kara yatte kita* 聖地寧波: 日本佛教1300年の源流: すべてはここからやって来た [Sacred Ningbo, Gateway to 1300 years of Japanese Buddhism] (Nara-shi: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 2009), 313.

<sup>126</sup> It turns out that some of the extant *Shuilu* paintings were produced as a set. That is, as suggested in Zhi Pan's records, a number of *Shuilu* paintings were produced as a set for the ritual, not individually. Considering their similar size, style and format, it is also highly probable that the two scrolls of the *Astral Deities* (Fig. 2.5) were part

Stellar deities summoned for the *Shuilu hui* are also described in texts. According to *Fajie shengfan shuilu shenghui xiuzhai yigui* 法界聖凡水陸勝會修齋儀軌 [*Liturgy for the Cultivation of the Purificatory Fast of the Victorious Assembly of Water and Land for the Saints and Commoners of the Dharma-World*], written by Zhi Pan and revised by the Ming dynasty monk Zhu Hong 祿宏 (1535–1615), stellar gods of the Sun, Moon, North Pole Star, South Pole Star, Northern Dipper, Southern Dipper, Nine Planets, Six Stars of the Three Stages, Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, and the Twelve Zodiac signs are listed as those who are summoned and served in the ritual.

Therefore, can we consider the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha which has many features in common with the aforementioned descending paintings—diagonal direction, vertical format, auspicious clouds, no depiction of devotees—as a work produced for and functioning within the context of *Shuilu hui*? This is highly unlikely because Tejaprabhā Buddha neither appears in visual nor textual materials for the *Shuilu hui* ritual. Although Tejaprabhā Buddha is in many visual examples shown as the one who leads the stellar deities, as can be seen in the Boston Tejaprabhā painting, he is not included among the stellar deities in any *Shuilu hui*-related material. In other words, Tejaprabhā Buddha is not summoned for the *Shuilu hui*.

Furthermore, we need to assess how the *Shuilu hui*, or *Suryuk hoe* in Korean, was conducted on the peninsula. *Suryuk hoe* rituals in the Koryŏ and Chosŏn periods were based on the aforementioned *Shuilu hui* text from the Northern Song period. Therefore, deities summoned

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of the same set as *Six Buddhist Realms* (Fig. 2.4). Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, *Seichi Ninpō*, 313-314, fig. 118 and fig. 120. In addition, given the symmetry of these works as a whole, it is also possible that they were arranged around a missing central painting.

in the ritual were probably not very different from those in China.<sup>127</sup> Unfortunately, there is only one example thought to be a *Suryuk hoe* painting from the Koryŏ and early Chosŏn dynasties.<sup>128</sup> However, historical records provide a glimpse of the *Suryuk hoe* ritual of this period. In the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn, *Suryuk hoe* was a popular Buddhist ritual, but it was usually held as a funeral rite, and especially, during the reign of King Kongmin 恭愍王 (r. 1351–1374), *Suryuk hoe* took root as a national consolation ritual for the deceased. After the establishment of the Chosŏn dynasty, Chosŏn kings held *Suryuk hoe* for the spirits of the deceased who were executed during the dynasty change, including members of the Koryŏ royal family.<sup>129</sup> Considering the role of Tejaprabhā Buddha to expel calamities, and the purpose of the *Suryuk hoe* to console the deceased, it is very unlikely that he served in the ritual, whether in China or Korea. Again, given the Korean context, it is unlikely that the Boston Tejaprabhā painting is a *Suryuk hoe* painting.

Meanwhile, some Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery of the Ming dynasty shows iconographic

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<sup>127</sup> Kang Hosŏn 강호선, “Koryŏ shidae suryukchae ūi chŏn’gae wa Kongminwang tae kukhaeng suryukchae sŏrhaeng ūi ūimi” 고려시대 水陸齋의 전개와 공민왕대 國行水陸齋 실행의 의미 [A Study on Development of the Buddhist Rite for the Beings of Water and Land During Koryŏ Dynasty and Historical Meaning of the National Ritual for the Beings of Water and Land in the Reign of King Gongmin], *Pulgyo yŏn’gu* 38 (2013): 199-205.

<sup>128</sup> Recently Mun Myŏngdae argued that a newly discovered Amitābha Buddha painting in the collection of Hongakuji in Japan was a Koryŏ Buddhist painting produced for a *Suryuk hoe*. According to its inscription, the painting is “Suryuk sŏngsang” 水陸聖像 (“sacred image of *Suryuk hoe*”) produced in 1357. The date corresponds to the Koryŏ or Yuan dynasties. If we accept Mun’s argument, it is the only *Suryuk hoe* painting of this period. Mun Myŏngdae 문명대, “Suhodang Sŏssi kongyang Amit’a kujondo kye 1357 nyŏn chak pon’guk sajang suryuk chaeyong pultok chondo ūi ūi” 壽壺堂徐氏供養阿彌陀九尊圖系 1357년작 本國寺藏 水陸齋용 佛獨尊圖의 의미 [Affiliation of Amitabha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas Painting Donated by Suhodang Sŏ: The Meaning of a Buddha painting of 1357 for Water and Land Ritual in the Collection of Bonguksa Monastery], *Kangjwa misulsa* 47 (2016): 251-262.

<sup>129</sup> Han Sanggil 한상길, “Chosŏn chŏn’gi suryukchae sŏrhaengŭi sahoejŏk ūimi” 조선 전기 수륙재 실행의 사회적 의미 [The Social Significance of Water and Land Ritual in the Former Terms of the Chosŏn Dynasty], *Han’guk sŏnhak* 23 (2009): 682-683.



and compositional elements similar to those of the Boston Tejaprabhā painting. One might expect that these Ming images provide a clue for the Boston Tejaprabhā painting's unusual iconography, but they contain a different narrative. *Foshuo jinlun foding daweide chishengguang rulai tuoluonijing*, 佛說金輪佛頂大威德熾盛光如來陀羅尼經 [*The Buddha Speaks of the Dharani from the Effulgent Thus Come One on the Crown of the Gold Wheel Buddha of the Greatly Awesome Virtues*] from the Zhihua Monastery (智化寺) and printed in 1462, illustrates Tejaprabhā Buddha's assembly (Fig. 2.6). As seen in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, the Buddha in this illustration is riding an oxen carriage. A number of stellar gods and the Four Heavenly Kings are depicted among auspicious clouds. One major difference is that there is a devotee with a halo on the left side turning towards the Buddha. Although this illustration appears somewhat similar to the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, it is neither a descending painting nor a summoning image. This scene adopts the idea of *qiqing* 啓請 [invocation], which in Buddhist ritual means that an invocation of the object of worship is performed before reading a sutra or reciting a *dhāraṇī*. Among Tejaprabhā-related scriptures, the notion of *qiqing* first appeared in the Xixia manuscript published in 1184.<sup>130</sup> According to this text, the spatial background of *qiqing* is in heaven (“天中”), and the object of *qiqing* is not summoned. Rather, the devotee is illustrated in heaven (which is also indicated by the halo) to meet the god there. Therefore, the Zhihua illustration cannot be called a descending painting, nor can the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha be considered a *qiqing* scene. All in all, it is difficult to interpret the descending movement of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha through comparisons with *Shuilu hui* material and Ming Tejaprabhā *qiqing* imagery. Rather than comparing Tejaprabhā Buddha with similar Chinese examples, it

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<sup>130</sup> Liao, “Ming Zhihuasiben foshuo jinlun foding daweide chishengguang rulai tuoluonijing tuxiang yanjiu,” 114.

could be helpful to explore regional contexts in which the Tejaprabhā Buddha and the descending motif may have been combined.

#### 4. The Throne Authorized by Tejaprabhā Buddha

Up to this point, we have looked at the uniqueness of combining Tejaprabhā Buddha and the descending posture in our example. If the painting is not a *Suryuk hoe* painting and cannot be explained by the notion of *qiqing*, how can this iconographic idiosyncrasy be understood? Departing from the investigation of earlier Chinese references, the indigenous regional and temporal context of the painting needs to be examined.

First, it is imperative to examine the concept of the “descending star” in the Koryŏ period. On the Korean peninsula, the motif of the descending star, is recognizable in several dynastic foundation myths and birth myths of heroes and can at times even be directly related to a “descending Tejaprabhā”. For example, according to *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 [*Memorabilia and Mirabilia of the Three Kingdoms*], compiled by Iryŏn 一然 (1206–1289) in 1281, two eminent monks of the Silla dynasty (新羅, 57 BC-935 AD), Chajang 慈藏 (590–658) and Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686), were born after their mother dreamed of a star falling into their arms.<sup>131</sup> General Kim Yusin 金庾信 (595–673), who led Silla armies to the defeat of its rival

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<sup>131</sup> Iryŏn 一然 (1206-1289), “Wŏnhyobulgi” 元曉不羈 and “Chajangjŏngnyul” 慈藏定律 in *Samguk Yusa*, kwŏn 4, ūihaep'yŏn 義解編.

kingdoms Paekche and Koguryō and thus to the “unification” of the Korean peninsula,<sup>132</sup> is said to have had a pattern of seven stars on his back as a sign that he was born with the spirit of Seven Luminaries.<sup>133</sup> Of Kang Kamch’an 姜邯贊 (or 姜邯瓚, 948–1031), a military commander of the early Koryō dynasty, the legend says that a meteor fell onto his house on the day he was born. The *Koryōsa*, completed in 1451, records that he is also called the incarnation of Mun’gok sŏng 文曲星 [Literary Arts Star] which is one of the seven stars of the Northern Dipper.<sup>134</sup> All these records demonstrate that the idea of a descending or falling star was associated with the birth of great personalities. In these cases, a descending star symbolizes auspiciousness, or the person is regarded as a manifestation of the star.

The most important myth that includes the descending star motif is the tale of Chakchegŏn 作帝建 (ca. eighth–ninth centuries), recorded in the *Koryōsa*. He was the grandfather of the founder of the Koryō dynasty.

Then, an old man bowed [to Chakchegŏn] and said, “I am the dragon king of the western sea. Every evening, an old fox in the shape of Tejaprabhā Buddha descends from the sky, spreads the sun, moon, and stars among the clouds, plays music by blowing into a conch horn and beating a drum. Sitting on this rock, he recites Ongjonggyōng 臙腫經 [Sutra of Boil], then my headache gets worse. I heard that you are a good archer, so I hope [you] can get rid of the damage.” ... The music sound is heard from the air. Indeed, there was someone descending from the northwest side. Chakchegŏn doubted if he was really the Buddha, so did not dare to shoot [an arrow]. The old man came and said, “It is really an old fox, so please do not be suspicious again.” Chakchegŏn held his bow, notched an arrow and shoot it. In response to his arrow, [something] had fallen. Indeed, it was an old fox. [ 15]

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<sup>132</sup> Since only about two thirds of the peninsula came under Silla rule, while the northern part was occupied by Parhae (C. Bohai) historians nowadays tend to refer to the following period as ‘Greater Silla’ or ‘Later Silla,’ rather than ‘Unified Silla.’

<sup>133</sup> Iryōn, “Kim Yusin chŏn” 金庾信傳, in *Samguk Yusa*, kwŏn 1, kiyip’yŏn 紀異編.

<sup>134</sup> Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 (1396-1478) et al., “Kang Kamch’an” 姜邯贊 in *Koryōsa*, kwŏn 94, yŏljŏn 列傳 7.

As a reward, Chakchegŏn married the daughter of the dragon king. Although the falling one turned out to be an old fox, the use of the term “Tejaprabhā Buddha” here is significant. The origin of Chakchegŏn’s story is the tale of Kŏt’aji 居陀知 written in *Samguk yusa*. Kŏt’aji was an archer in the reign of the Silla queen, Chinsŏng 眞聖女王 (r. 887–897). The whole narrative structure of Kŏt’aji’s story is almost the same as that of Chakchegŏn, which tells that god of the west sea came to Kŏt’aji and asked him to shoot an old fox disguised as a monk who killed members of his family every morning. After he killed the fox, the god allows Kŏt’aji to marry his daughter. A similar narrative is repeated in *Kunung ponpuri* 軍웅본풀이 [Chronicle of the War Gods, Kungung 軍雄], which is a shaman epic of Cheju 濟州 Island compiled in the early twentieth century. In this epic, Wang Changgun 왕장군 shoots the dragon king of the west sea at the request of the son of the dragon king of the east sea.<sup>135</sup>

The tale of Chakchegŏn shows how the descending star motif was used in indigenous hero narratives. The story of a hero who killed a monster (or an enemy) with his bow and arrow at the request of the dragon king and married the dragon king’s daughter is reiterated with minor modifications throughout Korean history. What is noteworthy in Chakchegŏn’s story is that the monster who is killed by the main character impersonates the Tejaprabhā Buddha, but it turns out to be an old fox. Generally, in hero narratives, the monster symbolizes an obstacle that the hero must overcome in order to achieve his goal. However, Tejaprabhā Buddha in Chakchegŏn’s story is not just an obstacle. Compared to the other two stories, the identity of the enemy in this tale is

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<sup>135</sup> *Kunung ponpuri* has been orally transmitted and was eventually recorded in Hangŭl, without Chinese characters. ‘Wang Changgun’ could mean ‘General Wang’ 王將軍, but is also possible that it refers to Wang Kŏn, the founder of Koryŏ.

quite concrete, and in the sense that the story is the birth myth of a dynasty, this distinction is meaningful. As discussed earlier, Tejaprabhā Buddha is the Buddha of the Pole Star, and in the East Asian tradition, the Pole Star is believed to be the ruler who governs all the asterisms. In Chakchegön's tale, by shooting the emperor of the stellar deities and making the Tejaprabhā Buddha or the Pole Star fall, the hero achieved the authority of kingship.

There is another anecdote about Tejaprabhā Buddha and the founding of the Koryō dynasty in the *Koryōsa*. In 918, the last year of the reign of Kung'ye 弓裔 (r. 901–918) of T'aebong 泰封 (or Later Koguryō, 901–918), a Chinese merchant named Wang Changjin 王昌瑾 (K. Wang Ch'anggün) met a man at a marketplace. The man held three trays in his left hand and an old mirror in his right hand. After selling the mirror to Wang Changjin, the man disappeared. Wang Changjin found that there were phrases faintly written on the mirror. Later, it was interpreted as a prophecy that Prime Minister Wang (meaning the founder of the Koryō dynasty, Wang Kōn 王建 (r. 918–943)) would be king. Kung'ye heard this and tried to find the man who sold Wang Changjin the mirror but failed. Only a statue of the deity of Saturn, which was in front of the Tejaprabhā Buddha statue in the Palsap Monastery (勃颯寺), looked like the man. The statue also held trays and a mirror in its hands.<sup>136</sup> In this story, the man or the deity of Saturn is a messenger sent by the Tejaprabhā Buddha. By making the prophecy, the Tejaprabhā Buddha authorizes Wang Kōn's enthronement. In other words, the writer of the *Koryōsa* justifies the change of dynasty through the authorization of the emperor of the celestial world.

It is not a coincidence that Tejaprabhā Buddha is presented twice in the birth myth of the

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<sup>136</sup> For the original text, see Appendix [15].

dynasty in the official historical record. The Buddha is closely related to kingship in these tales. In the story of Chakchegön, Tejaprabhā Buddha did not descend but fell against his will. This means that the throne was not given by heaven to Chakchegön because he was not the one who would be king. However, he was actively involved in the appointment of the future kingship. This story reveals the extraordinary lineage of Wang Kōn. While Wang Changjin’s story alludes to Tejaprabhā Buddha authorizing the establishment of Koryō by Wang Kōn, the monk and the dragon king in Kōt’aji’s story and *Kunung ponpuri* merely stand for the difficulties that the hero faced; Tejaprabhā Buddha as a deification of the Pole Star is used to celebrate Wang Kōn and his auspicious lineage. By changing the monk into Tejaprabhā Buddha, thus adding the motif of the descending or falling star to Chakchegön’s story, it predicts the birth of a hero, and furthermore, that the hero will be the king of the new dynasty.

Indeed, the iconography of the Tejaprabhā Buddha reinforces the connection between the Buddha and the throne. The golden wheel that the Buddha holds in his hand is one of Tejaprabhā Buddha’s attributes.<sup>137</sup> It might have been added to Tejaprabhā Buddha’s attributes around the tenth century because the term “golden wheel” (金輪) is shown in the title of *Da weide jinlun foding Chishengguang rulai xiaochu yiqie zainan tuoluoni jing* 佛說大威德金輪佛頂熾盛光如來消災一切災難陀羅尼經 [*The Great Majestic and Virtuous Golden Wheel*

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<sup>137</sup> Chōng Chinhūi points out that the connection between Tejaprabhā Buddha and the wheel as its attribute is found in *Da Foding rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shoulengyan jing*. 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 [The Sutra of the Foremost Shurangama from the Great Buddha’s Crown Concerning the Tathagata’s Secret Cause to Cultivation, His Realization of Meaning Comprehensively and All Bodhisattvas’ Myriad of Practices] In this sutra, the golden wheel-*uṣṇīṣa dhāraṇī* (金輪佛頂陀羅尼) dispels calamities caused by devil luminaries (Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions and Nine Planets). It seems that the relationship of the golden wheel in the Tejaprabhā Buddha’s iconography is derived here in the connection between the *dhāraṇī* and the devilish asterisms. Chōng Chinhūi, “Han’guk Ch’isōnggwang yōrae shinang wa tosang yōn’gu,” 49-50.

*Uṣṇīṣa Tejaprabhā Tathāgata Averting All Calamities and Hardships Dhāraṇī Sūtra*] (T. 964).

While this was translated around the early tenth century, Bukong's earlier translation (T. 963) using the same original text does not include the words "golden wheel." Similarly, the earliest visual examples from Dunhuang (Figs. 0.2, 0.3) do not illustrate the wheel, while the Tejaprabhā image in Dazu Cave 39, carved in 922, shows this attribute. Meanwhile, the wheel is also a representative attribute of the "wheel-turning sage king" (轉輪聖王). The idea of the wheel-turning sage king as the ideal king originated in ancient India and was integrated into Buddhism. The king has thirty-two distinguishing marks (三十二相), like the Buddha, and rules the world by rolling the wheel. In the original context the concept of the wheel-turning sage king has nothing to do with the Tejaprabhā Buddha. However, their shared iconographic attribute could have encouraged the idea of a relationship between Tejaprabhā Buddha and ideal sovereignty during the Koryŏ dynasty.

Koryŏ kings took advantage of Tejaprabhā Buddha's association with kingship in state rituals. *Sojae toryang* which is a Buddhist ritual addressing Tejaprabhā Buddha is a case in point. As I will examine in Chapter 4, *sojae toryang* is the ritual used to prevent national calamities caused by abnormal movements of stars. The first *sojae toryang* in the Koryŏ dynasty was held in the first year of the reign of King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046–1083). The textual foundations of *sojae toryang* were also introduced during his reign.<sup>138</sup> Considering that King Munjong is said to have been interested in astrology, it is no wonder that he was the first to introduce *sojae toryang* and related texts to the court.

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<sup>138</sup> Kim Suyŏn 김수연, "Koryŏ shidae milgyosa yŏn'gu" 高麗時代 密教史 研究 [A Study on the History of Esoteric Buddhism in Koryŏ Dynasty] (PhD diss., Ewha Womans University, 2012), 135.

During the reign of King Munjong, various administrative structures were organized and state rituals were systematized. The introduction of *sojae toryang* may have been a part of this process. Buddhist and Daoist rituals held at the court were not just religious practices but also devices to support the government's power and authority.<sup>139</sup> *Sojae toryang*, which was the most frequently held ritual at court, should be understood in this context. The mechanism of *sojae toryang* was as follows: When a disaster happened, or was predicted by observing an unusual movement of heavenly bodies, it was thought to be the result of the ruler's misbehavior.<sup>140</sup> Therefore, the way to stop or prevent the disaster was for the ruler to cultivate his virtue or pray to the stellar deities who controlled the changes of heavenly bodies.<sup>141</sup> Of course, the latter would be a faster and more effective way to solve the problem. According to this process, whether predicted or already happened, state calamities could be an excuse to harm the king's authority and lower his esteem. Yet, it would be hasty to conclude that a number of *sojae toryang* recorded in the official history were evidence of weak royal authority or a Koryŏ king's unruly behavior. Unlike private religious rituals, state rituals were often opportunities to solidify royal authority or gather political influence, even though the king's lack of virtue was given as an ostensible reason for the ritual; that is, holding a ritual at the court was a political action. This can also be applied to *sojae toryang*. By holding *sojae toryang*, the court could resolve the disaster—whether it was actual or not—and reclaim its authority. Tejaprabhā Buddha, the object

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<sup>139</sup> Kim Suyŏn, "Sojae toryang ūl t'onghae pon Koryŏ shidae ūi ch'ŏnmun kiyang sasang" 高麗時代 密教史 研究 [A Study on Deterring Astronomical Calamities of Koryŏ through Sojae toryang], *Han'guk sasang sahak* 45 (2013): 169.

<sup>140</sup> About "harmony and correspondence" (*ganying* 感應) between the human and heavenly realms, see Chapter 1.

<sup>141</sup> Kim Suyŏn, "Sojae toryang ūl t'onghae pon Koryŏ sidae ūi ch'ŏnmun kiyang sasang," 181-182.



of worship in the *sojae toryang* ceremony, thus played an important role in stabilizing the kingship by his symbolic descent.

The link between the Tejaprabhā Buddha and the Koryŏ government is also found in material culture. Although there is no direct record proving King Munjong's favor of Tejaprabhā Buddha, some evidence indicates that he either worshipped the Buddha or took advantage of his authority. In *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* 宣和奉使高麗圖經 [*Illustrated Account of the Xuanhe Embassy to Koryŏ*], the Hŭngwang Monastery (興王寺) which was built during the reign of the King Munjong is described as follows.

Both walls have murals. Wang Ong (Koryŏ King Sukchong 肅宗, r. 1095-1105) said to Yu Kyu and others who were envoys during the years of Chongning (1102-1106), "These are [the murals] that King Mun (King Munjong) sent envoys to Emperor Shenzong (宋 神宗 r. 1067-1085) to ask to emulate [the mural of] the Xiangguo Monastery. People in [my] country look up to it. Appreciating the benevolence from the emperor, so [we] have cherished [it]."<sup>142</sup> [17]

Although there is no description about what was depicted on the wall, the record in *Dongjing menghualu* 東京夢華錄 [*Glorious Dreams at the Eastern Capital*] written in 1147 provides valuable information. According to its author, depicted on the left wall of the corridor in the Xiangguo Monastery 相國寺 is Tejaprabhā Buddha subjugating the ghosts of the Nine Luminaries.<sup>143</sup> Another eleventh-century publication, *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 圖畫見聞誌 [*Experiences in Painting*] also reports that Tejaprabhā Buddha and stellar deities were depicted

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<sup>142</sup> Xu Jing 徐兢 (1091-1153), "Wangcheng neiwai zhushi" 王城內外諸寺, *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing*, juan 17, ciyu 祠宇.

<sup>143</sup> "左壁畫熾盛光佛降九曜鬼百戲 右壁佛降鬼子母揭盂." Meng Yuanlao 孟元老 (c. 1090-1150), "Xiangguosi nei wanxing jiaoyi," 相國寺內萬姓交易 in *Dongjing menghualu*, juan. 3. On the right wall, the conversion of Hārītī (鬼子母) is painted. Because Hārītī was an unfamiliar deity for the Koryŏ people, and has never been found in Korean visual material, it is unlikely to have been depicted in the monastery.

on the walls during the reign of Song Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997). Therefore, it is highly probable that what was painted on the wall of the Hŭngwang Monastery, emulating the Xiangguo Monastery’s mural, were Tejaprabhā Buddha and his stellar attendants. This is worth noting because Hŭngwang Monastery was, as its name (“reviving the king”) suggests, closely associated with kings and the royal family of the Koryŏ dynasty. This massive monastery was built by King Munjong’s command and, later, became the memorial monastery for the royal families including King Munjong. Moreover, Ŭich’ŏn 義天 (1055–1101), who was the fourth son of King Munjong, and the State Preceptor Taegak (大覺國師), became the first abbots of the monastery. The first Koryŏ Tripitaka (初雕大藏經), which was the result of the court’s Buddhist project for defeating the Khitan invasion was housed in this monastery. In addition, official historical records show that Koryŏ kings often visited and stayed at Hŭngwang Monastery; thus, it might have also been used as a place for political gatherings and discussions.<sup>144</sup> Therefore, it would have been appropriate to select the theme of Tejaprabhā Buddha to be depicted in this royal monastery. When all these pieces of evidence are considered—the frequent performance of *sojae toryang* and the construction of the Hŭngwang Monastery, most likely with the mural of the Tejaprabhā Buddha assembly— we may conclude that Tejaprabhā Buddha was thought to be related to ideal kingship during the Koryŏ period and that his image and ritual were used in political efforts to strengthen royal authority.

It appears that the indigenous idea of the descending or falling star signifying a great personality and the well-known Buddhist iconography of the wheel-turning king were combined

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<sup>144</sup> This monastery is also famous for a rebellion. In 1363, General Kim Yong 金鏞 (?–1363) tried to assassinate King Kongmin who was staying at Hŭngwang Monastery, but his attempt failed.

with Tejaprabhā Buddha as the one who governs the celestial world and can authorize the worldly kingship of the Koryŏ ruler. Especially due to the indigenous component, Tejaprabhā Buddha might be easily imagined as a descending deity, although this Buddha is not necessarily supposed to descend from the sky. Thus, the meaning of Tejaprabhā Buddha's descent is significantly different from that of other deities, where he comes down and manifests himself to select the mundane hero and (re)authorize him as the ruler.

## **5. Other Contexts: The Literary Convention of a Chariot-rider and the Pictorial Convention of the “Descending Buddha”**

Another possible source for the association of the Tejaprabhā Buddha with the descending posture lies in Daoism, which became a prominent factor of Koryŏ religion alongside Buddhism. Although Daoism was not the state religion, as Buddhism was, textual material informs us that Daoist rituals were held at court throughout Koryŏ history. Deities addressed in Daoist rituals were not the same as those in Buddhist rituals, of course, but more importantly, stellar deities were prominently worshipped in Daoism, too. While the Tejaprabhā Buddha may be with some certainty defined as “Buddhist,” his attendants, such as the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions and the Nine Planets, are neither orthodox Buddhist nor Daoist gods, but are present in both religions. In Daoist ritual texts of the Koryŏ dynasty these stellar deities are often asked to descend from the sky.

Text of the Daoist Constellation Rite for the Descent of the Northern Dipper

Above the clear sky, [the Northern Dipper] arouse *qi* in the midst of the chaotic origin. Dipper rotates around the center and embraces all creations of the earthly world. This His supervision is not far, [thus,] one who has belief [in the Dipper] ought to make an offering. In retrospect, [I], an immature body, undertook a difficult task, [so my] spirit is exhausted. Although [I am] not kind

and congenial, [having] the Mandate [of Heaven] is not easy, so always afraid of inspection of the high and bright one. Just in time, the charioteering of coolness is coming down. Properly, [I would like to] seek profound blessing with my upmost sincerity. [Therefore] based on the principle of immortals' record, the ritual is held at the Spirit altar with majesty...<sup>145</sup> [18]

Text of the Daoist Constellation Rite for the Star of the Old Man (老人星, Canopus)<sup>146</sup>

...Humbly consider that I, your servant, with quality of foolishness, ascended to the lofty position. By deeply considering and profoundly worrying, although [I am] hardly working on strategy of control, but [in order to] achieve longevity with enduring vision, I need the help of "illuminating from above." It is foretold that [you will] be seen in the morning. So, I purify my heart sincerely, hold the ritual of wine-pouring with majesty, and humbly wait for the charioteering of coolness...<sup>147</sup> [19]

These are the texts written for *ch'orye* 醮禮 or the "Daoist Constellation Rite." According to these texts, the principle of *ch'orye* is very similar to that of *sojae toryang*. That is, in order to prevent the calamities caused by the unusual changes of celestial bodies, the king (often humbly describing himself as foolish or lacking in virtue) makes offerings to the god of the star. In the two cases above, the worshipped stars are the Northern Dipper and the Star of the Old Man (Canopus). In fact, *sojae toryang* is not necessarily a Buddhist rite, and was often held as a Daoist counterpart as well under the title of *ch'orye* and other titles. In *ch'orye*, T'ae'il 太一 [Great one or the Emperor of the Heaven], divine immortals, Eleven Planets, or Canopus are addressed instead of Tejaprabhā Buddha. What we need to focus on is the description of the

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<sup>145</sup> Yi Kyubo, "Puktu hagang ch'oryemun" 北斗下降醮禮文, in *Tongguk Isanggukchip*, kwōn 39, ch'oso 醮疏.

<sup>146</sup> The Star of the Old Man has often been classified as a Daoist deity in East Asia and combined with regional indigenous folk cults. On the Korean peninsula, the earliest extant paintings of this deity are dated to the seventeenth century, and these works had been conceived as Daoist as well. After the nineteenth century, Star of the Old Man has also been included in Buddhist paintings, especially paintings of the Buddhas of the Seven Stars. For the iconography of the deity, see Cho Huiyōng 조희영, "Tong Asia Sunoindo yōn'gu" 동아시아 壽老人圖 研究 [Study on the Paintings of Star of the Old Man in East Asia] (Master's thesis, Ewha Womans University, 2003).

<sup>147</sup> Yi Kyubo, "Noinsōng ch'oryemun" 老人星醮禮文, in *Tongguk Isanggukchip*, kwōn 40, Sōkto-sojeh'uk 釋道疏祭祝.

addressed deities. In both texts above, the objects of devotion are imagined as ones who are roaming in the air riding chariots, and being asked to come down to be served in the ritual. The narrators of the texts wait for the chariot's descent. Phrases such as “chariot riding on the wind” (乘風之馭) or “charioteering across the sky” (排空之馭) used in other *ch'orye* texts means that a divine one riding a chariot in heaven was commonly imagined in Koryŏ Daoism, which is especially relevant to the constellation cult.<sup>148</sup>

The motif of a descending celestial chariot is also found in Song paintings (Fig. 2.7). In a detail of *Jiu Ge* 九歌 [The Nine Songs], attributed to Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1049–1106), a celestial deity is riding in a decorated chariot with a canopy, which is pulled by two dragons.<sup>149</sup> His attendants also accompany this chariot. The entire assembly on the clouds is heading for the earthly world depicted slightly on the lower-right side. Although there is no obvious expression of diagonal direction, buildings in the mundane village in the bottom of the scroll imply that this entourage is coming down from above to the village. This motif, whose prototype can be traced to Tang Daoist texts, was commonly used by Southern Song painters (Fig. 2.8).<sup>150</sup> Although it is rarely seen in Koryŏ visual materials, *ch'orye* texts reveal that the motif of a descending celestial chariot, a common theme in the Southern Song context, was also prevalent in the contemporary

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<sup>148</sup> Similar imagination is found in other texts such as Yi Kyubo, “Tai'il ch'oryemun” 太一醮禮文, in *Tongguk Isanggukchip*, kwŏn 40, sŏktosojech'uk; “Wŏngunghaeng ch'ŏnbyŏn kiyang yŏngbo toryang kyŏm sŏl ch'oryemun” 源宮行天變祈禳靈寶道場兼設醮禮文, in *Tongguk Isanggukchip* kwŏn39, ch'oso.

<sup>149</sup> It is likely that the celestial deity is *Dongjun* 東君 [Lord of the East] who is the sun god and rides a dragon carriage. *Jiu Ge* is an ancient collection of poems which was a reference for the painting.

<sup>150</sup> In a Tang text, *Shangqing badao miyan tu* 上清八道秘言圖 [The Illustrated Secrets of the Eight Ways of Highest Clarity], Fusang dadi 扶桑大帝 [The Great Emperor of Fusang] is depicted as riding a chariot on clouds (Fig. 2.8). The tale of the clouds indicates the direction of his journey. Huang, *Picturing the True Form*, 305–306.

Koryō constellation cult in the Daoist literary tradition.

It is not certain whether the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha was used in *sojae toryang* or even in the Daoist constellation ritual. However, considering that Koryō Buddhism and Daoism shared many facets, especially in rituals, it is no wonder that the “descending celestial chariot rider,” which was originally a motif from common religions of China and incorporated into Daoist imagery is added to the iconography of Tejaprabhā Buddha who also rides a chariot. As a chariot rider, and as the one who can dispel calamities caused by “the change of the stars,” the role of Tejaprabhā Buddha was not very different from that of stellar deities who were worshipped both in the Buddhist and the Daoist context. Having characteristics similar to Daoist deities, it is feasible that the Buddha also shared pictorial characteristics.

In addition to the literary context examined above, pictorial conventions may have encouraged the concept of the descending Tejaprabhā Buddha. As extant Koryō Buddhist paintings suggest, the most popular subject matter for Buddhist paintings during the late Koryō period was Amitābha Buddha and the Pure Land cult. Among Amitābha paintings, the “welcoming of Amitābha Buddha,” which is a descending scene takes up many parts. According to the *Foshuo Amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經 [*Amitābha Sūtra*], Amitābha Buddha’s purpose of descent is to welcome the deceased’s soul and take him to Amitābha’s pure land.<sup>151</sup> *Amitābha*

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<sup>151</sup> T.366 *Foshuo Amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經. “舍利弗 若有善男子 善女人 聞說阿彌陀佛 執持名號 若一日 若二日 若三日 若四日 若五日 若六日 若七日 一心不亂 其人臨命終時 阿彌陀佛與諸聖眾現在其前 是人終時 心不顛倒 即得往生阿彌陀佛極樂國土” (“Sariputra, if there is a good man or good woman who hears spoken ‘Amitabha Buddha’ and holds the name, whether for one day, two days, three, four, five days, six days, as long as seven days, with one heart unconfused, then when this person approaches the end of life Amitabha Buddha and the entire assembly of holy beings will appear before him. If his mind is clear when the end comes when the end comes then he will attain rebirth in Amitabha Buddha’s Land of Ultimate Bliss.”)

*Buddha* (Fig. 2.9) is a representative example of a welcoming painting of the period. Wearing a red and green garment, Amitābha Buddha is standing alone, his feet placed on two lotus pedestals. In a three-quarter view, he is looking down and reaching out his hand as if welcoming an invisible devotee positioned outside the lower-left corner of the painting. This format was commonly used in the late Koryŏ period.

This was not the only format used for welcoming paintings. Amitābha Buddha accompanied by two or eight attendants was also a popular theme. The popularity of Amitābha-related imagery reflects the spread of Amitābha Buddha worship during this period. In the late Koryŏ period, religion's basic purpose was to fulfill the worldly wishes of ordinary people. Buddhism, the state religion, also became popularized as the cult for praying for good fortune. Regardless of sects or schools, people expected a certain response from Buddha or other Buddhist deities when they practiced their religion, for instance, by making a *dhāraṇī* sheet or reciting the Buddha's name, which were not very complicated practices. As the following paragraph shows, this way of worship was still popular in the early Chosŏn period, as an entry in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* describes:

Yi Yong, a navy soldier from Ch'ungju said in a bedevilling way, "I am always reciting [the name of] Amitābha Buddha. One day, I went to the valley of Kasŏp Monastery in the Ŭmsŏng region and recited [the name of] the Buddha loudly. Suddenly, a sound was heard from the air, so [I] listened carefully. [It] said to me softly, "What wish do you have, that you recite the name of Buddha like this?" Looking up above, there was a circular hole in yellow-, white-, and black-colored clouds, and in between, three Buddhas were sitting together. They were all white.<sup>152</sup> [20]

Amitābha Buddha descends to a devotee to take him to his paradise, but as seen above, in popular culture his descent was also understood as arriving simply to grant one's wish. In other

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<sup>152</sup> CWS, 12<sup>th</sup> day, 1<sup>st</sup> month, 5th Year of Reign of Sejong.

words, the descent of the Buddha was the type of response that believers expected. The scene of Amitābha Buddha's descent was what believers wanted to see and therefore a favorite subject matter for Buddhist painters. Unlike the welcoming of Amitābha paintings of contemporary China and Japan, however, there is no depiction of clouds in the mentioned *Amitābha Buddha* scroll. Indeed, among Koryŏ Amitābha welcoming paintings, only a few examples contain illustrations of clouds while most of this type do not. Even in these few examples, the clouds are not illustrated in the same way as they are in Chinese or Japanese works, where figures are seen riding on clouds. Rather, clouds appear in the bottom part of the scroll and not at the figures' feet. The clouds are not a vehicle but are presented as part of a dreamlike background. Thus, it seems that the descending Amitābha Buddha was a familiar enough motif for artists and believers to recognize the theme, even though no clouds were depicted as vehicles, nor were there any other direct visual aids indicating the "welcoming."

As suggested by Amitābha imagery, the motif of the "descending Buddha" was prevalent during the Koryŏ period and it might have encouraged the appearance of the descending Tejaprabhā Buddha. As examined earlier, Tejaprabhā Buddha's descent has not been described in any Buddhist texts. However, Koryŏ painters would not necessarily create an image of the descending Tejaprabhā Buddha based on any specific textual foundation but could use other familiar pictorial conventions for their paintings. "Amitābha Buddha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas," a popular theme of Koryŏ Buddhist paintings is a case in point.<sup>153</sup> The Eight Bodhisattvas and their details are described in *Bada pusa mantuluo jing* 八大菩薩曼荼羅經

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<sup>153</sup> About the Eight Bodhisattvas in the Koryŏ period, see Yang Hŭijŏng 양희정, "Koryŏ shidae Amit'a p'altae posaldo tosang yŏn'gu" 고려시대 아미타 팔대보살도 도상 연구 [A Study of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas in Koryŏ Buddhist Painting], *Misulsahak yŏn'gu* 257 (2008): 67-103.



[*The Sūtra on the Eight Great Bodhisattvas' Mandala*]. According to this scripture, the Eight Bodhisattvas are Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin, and Kṣitigarbha. However, in many Koryŏ works, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, who is wearing a crown with a small vase, replaces Ākāśagarbha, even though there is no textual reference of this grouping. For example, in the painting which is now in the collection of the Keigan-ji, Mahāsthāmaprāpta stands on the left side of the front row, and on the opposite side of Avalokiteśvara (fig 2.10). Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta are usually the attendant bodhisattvas of Amitābha Buddha in the Amitābha Triad, another widespread religious iconography in this period. Thought to form a pair with Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta was thus also added to the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, and shown standing symmetrically alongside Avalokiteśvara. This indicates that the grouping of the Eight Bodhisattvas was modified on the Korean peninsula based on conceptual or pictorial conventions that differed from the textual foundation, resulting in the creation of a unique composition.

*Amitābha Triad* (Fig. 2.11) in the collection of Leeum, Seoul is another example showing flexibility of iconographic composition. This painting depicts Amitābha Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Kṣitigarbha who welcome the deceased. What first catches the eyes is Avalokiteśvara. Holding a lotus pedestal to carry him, Avalokiteśvara bends towards the deceased, Amitābha stands upright and looks down on him, while Kṣitigarbha is shown in a frontal posture. This composition with Avalokiteśvara's unusual posture is unique among extant Koryŏ Buddhist paintings. Only a Xixia painting (Fig. 2.12) produced in the thirteenth century shows a certain iconographic resemblance, but the Xixia work depicts Mahāsthāmaprāpta—not Kṣitigarbha—as Amitābha's second attendant. Kṣitigarbha replacing Mahāsthāmaprāpta in the Leeum painting may have been caused by special religious conventions common during the

Koryō period. Pairing Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara in visual and devotional contexts was also a convention widely spread during the Tang and Song dynasties. This unique iconography of the Leeum painting, which has no textual basis but has similar foreign visual predecessors, is additional evidence for the fact that the pictorial tradition could be more powerful than doctrinal conventions.<sup>154</sup>

Having examined the religious imagination of “descending” in Daoism and Buddhism we may return to the question of the visual concepts of the descent of Tejaprabhā. Even though the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha does not show specific stylistic similarities to Amitābha’s welcoming images, it is possible that the “descending chariot-rider” of the Daoist tradition and “the descending (Amitābha) Buddha” motifs, which were influential in the literary and pictorial traditions, inspired Buddhist devotees and Buddhist painters to combine the motif of descent with Tejaprabhā Buddha in a natural way.

## **6. Conclusion**

When it comes to analyzing the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, many studies have concentrated on identifying each deity and tracing their origin. By doing so, we can understand Tejaprabhā Buddha’s origins and his pantheon prior to the production of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha.

Some researchers have focused on the future of the work by exploring how its iconography was

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<sup>154</sup> This type of Buddhist paintings depicting the ‘descending’ Amitabha Buddha (and his attendants) to welcome the deceased are thought to be hung before the deathbed of a person to remind him that Amitabha Buddha will take him to the Western Pure Land. Park Youngsook, “The Korean Art Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,” 429.

transmitted to later images. Meanwhile, the “descent” of the Buddha guides us to explore another historical circumstance: the situation—not only temporal but also spatial—in which the painting was produced. The iconography of Tejaprabhā Buddha, which was transmitted from Northern Song China, was still maintained in the late Koryŏ period. However, indigenous traditions and court rituals provided a space for—or may have even requested—a visual variation, and this has not gained any special attention among scholars thus far, it seems to reveal a specific regional and temporal context. Whether this variation, which amounts to a unique concept, was created by an individual artist or by order of a patron cannot be determined. The artist, or his patron, may not even have realized that depicting the Buddha’s descent was an unusual addition to the history of Tejaprabhā Buddha imagery. Rather, the layers of different traditions—indigenous prototypes, contemporary Daoism, court ritual, and pictorial convention—may have all contributed to the creation of the new iconography, which might have at the time only been thought of as a minor variation. It does not seem very significant at first glance, but the descent of the Buddha deserves particular attention, as it sheds light on the underlying ideas of fourteenth-century people of the Korean peninsula.

## IV. Chapter 3. Duplicated Icon: Daoist Star Worship and the Koryŏ Context

### 1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I focused on the descent motif of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha and its peculiarities. This chapter deals with those who descend: the astral deities. In the painting, a total of 65 anthropomorphic deities are represented in the Buddha's descending entourage beneath a crescent formed by the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac. Each deity's name is written within red cartouches next to the deity. This means that all these figures are not just anonymous attendants of the Tejaprabhā Buddha; their identification indicates they are considered meaningful as individual star deities or groups of celestial bodies. By representing asterisms such as the Southern Dipper and the Six Stars of the Three Stages 三台六星 (K. *Samt'ae yuksŏng*, C. *Santai liuxing*), which are not often seen in other Tejaprabhā imagery, this painting forms a unique pantheon not represented in any other extant work of art or visual culture. This chapter investigates this pantheon and its composition.

Previous research, by tracing the textual and visual references of the iconography of all the deities in early historical records, has discovered that some of the deities depicted in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha are of Daoist rather than Buddhist origin.<sup>155</sup> Because of this, this work has often been described as a synthesis of Buddhism and Daoism. In this chapter, I depart from this traditional approach—I understand the painting through asterism worship, that is, not as representing a subcategory of Buddhist and Daoist religious ideas, but rather on the basis of an

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<sup>155</sup> For example, Chŏng Chinhŭi, "Poseutŏn misulgwan sojang Koryŏ Ch'isŏnggwang yŏrae kangnimdo ũi tosang koch'al," 240-242; Kim Ilkwŏn, "Koryŏ Ch'isŏnggwang purhwa ũi tosang punsŏk kwa tobul kyosŏp chŏk ch'ŏnmun sasang yŏn'gu," 277-370.

overarching category. Previous research premises that asterism worship was part of either Buddhism or Daoism. While seeing a synthesized culture through the frame of a major ideology like Buddhism is an effective way to examine it, it may at the same time underestimate its autochthonous frame of ideas and worship. Therefore, by understanding asterism worship as an overarching “super” category, this chapter first examines the iconographic references of the so-called Daoist elements of the painting by shedding light on their non-Daoist origin and their appropriation in China. Then, shifting the focus to the Koryŏ context, I attempt to explain the two main problems that have been analyzed through the existing approach but that have not been explained by it: the composition of the unique pantheon and the duplication of certain stellar deities of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha.

## 2. Elements of religious Daoism<sup>156</sup>

Elements that may be considered Daoist in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha are the Eleven Planets, the animal symbols accompanying the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, the Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper, the Six Stars of Southern Dipper, and the Six Stars of the Three Stages (Fig. 1.4). The origin and appropriation in China of each will be analyzed in turn, followed by an analysis of how they were understood in the context of Koryŏ culture. Particularly important

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<sup>156</sup> The term “Daoism” is a translation of two Chinese words: Daojia 道家 (the school of the Dao) and Daojiao 道教 (the teachings of the Dao). The former has been used to refer to the ancient philosophy related to Laozi 老子 (fifth-sixth century BC) and Zhuangzi 莊子 (369-286 BC), and the medieval liturgical movement while the latter has mainly related to the religious forms. Daoism as a philosophy transformed to a religion during the Eastern Jin (東晉, 317-420) and Six Dynasties (六朝, 420-589) periods. In this dissertation I use the term “Daoism” for the religious thought and practice. For the definition of Daoism and its history in China, see Stephen Little, “Taoism and the Arts of China” and Kristofer Schipper, “Taoism: The Story of the Way” in *Taoism and the Arts of China*, eds, Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 13-56.

evidence for the Chinese visualization of the Daoist pantheon is provided by Yongle Palace (永樂宮), the construction of which began in 1240 and was completed in 1368. It was a temple of the Quanzhen 全真 [Perfect Realization] sect of Daoism and dedicated to Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓 (796–1016), a Tang scholar and poet who was elevated to a semi-immortal.<sup>157</sup> Worth paying attention to in the context of this study are murals from the fourteenth century on the interior walls of the Sanqing Hall, the largest building of the palace dedicated to *Sanqing* 三清 [the Three Pure Ones: *Yuqing* 玉清 [Jade Clarity], *Shangqing* 上清 [Highest Clarity], and *Taiqing* 太清 [Great Clarity]]. The murals are significant monuments: in addition to their artistic achievements, they represent a systemized Daoist pantheon. Featuring a total of 290 figures, *chaoyuan tu* 朝元圖 [Painting of Homage to the First Principle] represents a procession of immortals paying homage to the Prime or Yuanshi Tianzun.<sup>158</sup> The murals of the hall's north wall depict a number of stellar deities surrounding Zhonggong ziwei beiji dadi 中宮紫微北極大帝 [the Great Emperor of the Central Palace Pole Star of the Purple Subtlety] (hereafter, Beiji dadi) and Gouchen xingong tianhuang dadi 勾陳星宮天皇大帝 [Great Emperor of Heaven in the stellar palace of Gouchen] (hereafter, Tianhuang dadi) (Figs. 3.1, 3.2). As a rare example, which can be considered almost contemporaneous with the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha, these murals offer important material for comparison to be discussed in this chapter.

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<sup>157</sup> For brief introduction to Yongle Palace, see Jing "Yongle Palace," 10-11.

<sup>158</sup> Jing "Yongle Palace," 12.

## (1) The Eleven Planets

The Eleven Planets are comprised of the Sun, Moon, Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, Mercury, and four imaginary planets (Rahu 羅睺, Ketu 計都, Ziqi 紫氣, and Yuebei 月孛). That is, the Eleven Planets are formed by adding Ziqi and Yuebei to the more conventional group of Nine Planets, which are mentioned in early Buddhist astrology texts and were thought of as major celestial bodies in Buddhist communities in India and East Asia. In the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, the appearance of five of the eleven—Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury—is almost the same as that in the painting *Tejaprabhā with Five Planets* (Fig. 0.2), especially in regard to their accompanying animal symbols. This means that the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha accepted elements of the traditional iconography of planet deities from China.

Although the Eleven Planets have rarely been visualized as celestial bodies or as anthropomorphic deities, they often appear in other textual and visual material in East Asia, especially in China, after the tenth century. Many researchers have devoted themselves to discovering the origin of the Eleven Planets, but this origin remains unclear. The earliest record for the origin of the Eleven Planets is found in an annotated bibliography in *Tongzhi*, written by Zheng Qiao:

*Duli yusi jing*, two fascicles. The original Sanskrit text [contains] five fascicles. During the early years of Zhengyuan of the Tang dynasty, the “Duli” diviner Li Miqian brought it to the capital and [by using the book] calculated the ephemerides for the Eleven Planets to predict people’s fate.<sup>159</sup> [21]

According to this entry, the concept of the Eleven Planets and its use in astrology were

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<sup>159</sup> Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 (1104-1162), *Tongzhi*, juan 68, Yi wen lue 藝文略, di 6. The translation refers with some modifications to Bill M. Mak, “Yusi Jing – A treatise of “Western” Astral Science in Chinese and its versified version Xitian yusi jing,” 107.

transmitted through a book titled *Duli yusi jing* 都利聿斯經. However, *Xin tangshu*, an earlier record, mentions Li Miqian, who brought the book, without mentioning the Eleven Planets.<sup>160</sup>

Later records provide additional information, such as the following paragraphs from *Yuanying ji* 淵穎集 [*Collection of Yuanying*], written during the Yuan period:

In the early year of *Zhengyuan* (785-805), Li Biqian calculated the ephemerides for the Eleven Planets and transmitted it to Bao Gai and Cao Shiwei from Mt. Zhongnan. The so-called “Eleven Planets” of the commonly known ephemerides refer to the sun, moon, five planets and *Siyu* (the Four Residuals) ... The present formulation originates from the *Duli yusi jing*. *Duli* perhaps is *Dulai*. The city of Kangju in the Western region is on the edge of the Dulai waters. Thus, what is nowadays called the *Yusi jing* is an art of Brahmin and Li Biqian is a Brahmin diviner.<sup>161</sup> [22]

The similarity of the first characters of the two names Miqian and Biqian suggests that the texts refer to the same person with the surname Li. *Gujin lülei kao* 古今律曆考 [*Studies of Past and the Present Calendar Systems*], a text by Xing Yunlu 邢雲路 (1549–?) published in the late Ming period, contains similar information.<sup>162</sup> According to these two later texts, Li Miqian (or Li Biqian), who was from a Western region, introduced the idea of the Eleven Planets to China by transmitting *Duli yusi jing* in the eighth century. However, these records require further examination as they were written hundreds of years after the *Zhengyuan* reign. Moreover, some parts seem to be later additions.

The aforementioned records address a book titled *Duli yusi jing*. This book reportedly

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<sup>160</sup> Ou Yangxiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), *Xin tangshu, yiwen zhi* 藝文志 3, “都利聿斯經 二卷 貞元中 都利術士李彌乾傳自西天竺 有璩公者譯其文 陳輔聿斯四門經 一卷”

<sup>161</sup> Wu Lai 吳萊 (1297-1340), “Wangshi fanwei yaojue houxu” 王氏範圍要訣後序 in *Yuanying ji*, juan 12.

<sup>162</sup> Xing Yunlu 邢雲路 (1549-?), *Gujin lülei kao*, juan 64, *Liyi* 曆議, *Siyu* 四餘 條. “七政之外有四隱曜 紫氣月孛羅睺計都 星家以之占命 謂之四餘 共七政為十一曜是也 相傳出於西域天竺梵 蓋西域康居城都賴聿斯經 卽波羅門術...至唐貞元初 李弼乾乃婆羅門俊士 始推十一星行曆...”



includes explanations of the Eleven Planets, but no copy of it has survived.<sup>163</sup> However, given that known fragments of the text often include ideas originating from Western astronomy, it is reasonable to assume that *Duli yusi jing* originated from Hellenistic astrology and was transmitted to China in several versions of translation and modification. Through this process, the astrology and astronomy of Persia and India may have become intertwined. In addition to *Duli yusi jing*, various editions of *Yusi jing* were in circulation.<sup>164</sup> The oldest record that mentions *Yusi jing* texts is Dunhuang document P.4071, dated 974. This horoscope text compiled by Kang Zun 康遵 (dates unknown) has attracted attention from academia as a case of the “Sinicization of the Western horoscope.”<sup>165</sup> Quoting *Yusi jing*, Dunhuang document P.4071 explains horoscope astrology using the Eleven Planets. Also, a book titled *Simen jing* is referenced in the document. It is known that *Simen jing*, possibly an abbreviation of *Yusi simen jing* 韋斯四門經, was introduced by a Nestorian priest, Aluoben 阿羅本 (aka Alopen, dates unknown) in 635 and translated by another Nestorian priest, Jing Jing 景淨 (aka Adam, dates

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<sup>163</sup> There is no general agreement about what the original of *Duli yusi jing* is. It has been suggested that *Tetrabiblos*, written by the Greek astronomer Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90-168), is the original; others argue that it was the work of Dorotheus of Sidon (c.75). Yano Michio is one of researchers who agree with the former opinion. He accepts Yabuuchi Kiyoshi’s view that the title of *Simen jing* 四門經, which was likely one of the editions of (*Duli*) *Yusi jing*, is possibly a literal translation of “*Tetrabiblos* (*Four Books*).” He further argues that *Duli yusi* phonetically represents Ptolemy. In addition, Rong Xinjiang and Ho Peng Yoke also suggest that the origin of *Duli yusi jing* is Ptolemy’s work. Meanwhile, by examining extant fragments of *Yusi jing*, Bill M. Mak argues that Dorotheus’s work, *Carmen astrologicum*, may be the original of *Yusi jing*. Jeffrey Kotyk agrees with Mak by adding more evidence from the Daoist canon. Yano Michio 矢野 道雄, *Mikkyō senseijutsu : Sukuyōdō to Indo senseijutsu*, 密教占星術: 宿曜道とインド占星術 [*Esoteric Buddhist Astrology: The Japanese Sukuyōdō School of Astrology and Indian Astrology*], (Tōkyō : Tōkyō Bijutsu, 1986); Rong Xinjiang 榮新江, “Yi ge rushi Tangchao de Bosi Jingjiao jiazu” 一個入仕唐朝的波斯景教家族 [A Nestorian Persian Clan Occupies Official Positions at the Tang Court], *Yilangxue zai Zhongguo lunwenji 2* (Beijing: Beijing daxue shubanshe, 1998), 82-90; Ho Peng Yoke, *Chinese Mathematical Astrology: Reaching Out to the Stars* (London; New York; Routledge, Curzon, 2003), 71-72.

<sup>164</sup> The annotated bibliography in *Tongzhi* includes *Xinxiu yusi simen jing* 新修韋斯四門經, *Xushi xu yusi ge* 徐氏續韋斯歌, *Duli yusi geju* 都利韋斯歌訣, *Yusi chaolüezhi* 韋斯鈔略旨, *Yusi yin jing* 韋斯隱經, and *Luobin dili yusi dayun shu* 羅濱都利韋斯大衍書.

<sup>165</sup> For existing research on Dunhuang document P.4071, see Niu, “On the Dunhuang manuscript P.4071: A Case Study on the Sinicization of Western Horoscope in Late 10th Century China,” 530–531.

unknown) in the eighth century.<sup>166</sup> However, neither *Simen jing* nor any of the various editions of *Yusi jing* exists today. Only fragments of them remain in other books, which allow us to glimpse the *Yusi jing*.

Then, is *Duli yusi jing* related to the transmission of the concept of the Eleven Planets as *Yuanying ji* and *Gujin lülei kao* suggest? Some scholars argue that *Duli yusi jing* was no more than an astrology text about the Eleven Planets.<sup>167</sup> However, the works of Ptolemy and Dorotheus, which are thought to be the original of *Duli yusi jing*, as well as other Hellenist astrology texts, do not contain Ziqi and Yuebei or even Rahu and Ketu. Neither does any extant textual fragment of *Yusi jing* refer to the Eleven Planets. Although it is impossible to say with certainty that *Duli yusi jing* does not at all deal with the Eleven Planets without examining the whole text of *Duli yusi jing*, recent research suggests that the idea of the Eleven Planets was most likely not included in the book.<sup>168</sup>

If it was not through *Duli yusi jing*, when and how were the Eleven Planets introduced to China? Again, a clear answer to this question is not easy. Nevertheless, as seen above, the fact that the transmission of the Eleven Planets has often been mentioned in connection with *Duli yusi jing* is important. The transmission of *Duli yusi jing* to China and its translation do not just indicate the introduction of a book, but mean the introduction of Greek astrology to China.

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<sup>166</sup> As will be explained later, Jing Jing is the author of the inscription of *Da Qin jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei*. ‘Adam’ is written on the stele as Jing Jing’s Syriac name.

<sup>167</sup> For example, Jao, “Lun Qiyao Yu Shiyiyao.” This work is the first study about the Dunhuang document P.4071.

<sup>168</sup> For example, Niu Weixing addresses *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* 梵天火羅九曜 [*The Nine Luminaries of the Indian Hora (System)*]. Though quoting *Yusi jing*, *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* only addresses Rahu and Ketu as invisible planets. In addition, in this book, Ketu means the lunar apogee, which is the point furthest from the earth, whereas the lunar apogee has often been represented as Yuebei in other texts. In other words, *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* deals with the nine planets system wherein the meaning of Yuebei is combined. Therefore, it is unlikely that *Yusi jing*, from which *Fantian huoluo jiuyao* quoted, addresses the Eleven Planets. Niu, “Tangsong zhiji daojiao shiyiyao xingshen chongbai de qiyuan he liuxing,” 92

Although Greek astrology did not replace traditional Chinese astrology, some facets of it were accepted as novel astrological knowledge. The agents of this transmission may have been Aluoben, Jing Jing, or Li Miqian. Aluoben, who was Persian, came to China during the Tang dynasty and introduced Nestorian Christianity (*Jingjiao* 景教). Jing Jing was also from Persia and is known as the one who wrote the inscription of *Da Qin jingjiao liuxing Zhongguo bei* 大秦景教流行中國碑 [*Stele for the Propagation in China of the Luminous Religion of Da Qin*], which describes the propagation of Nestorian Christianity in China. Li Miqian is only known as a Brahmin diviner from the Western regions (“西域”). Considering that many Persians in China were often given the surname “Li” and that Nestorian Christianity was transmitted from Persia, it is highly likely that Li Miqian was a Nestorian Christian from Persia, too. He may just have been called a “Brahmin diviner” by those Chinese who were not acquainted with foreign religions.

In sum, the concept of the Eleven Planets appears to have been introduced to China along with the propagation of Nestorian Christianity. Of course, this does not mean that the two additional imaginary planets, Ziqi and Yuebei, were invented by Christian believers. Rather, in the process of the propagation of Nestorian Christianity from Persia to China, Greek astrology was also introduced. Rahu and Ketu, two invisible planets invented in India and already part of the Nine Planet concept, and Ziqi and Yuebei, were possibly conceived somewhere in Central Asia. These ideas seem to have been mixed with Greek astrology and were accepted in China. The Chinese recipients accepted this amalgamated astrological knowledge altogether as a package of foreign additions, combining the Eleven Planets with *Duli yusi jing*.

There is no evidence that either Daoism or Buddhism had a part in the transmission of the idea of the Eleven Planets. Then, why did the Eleven Planets come to be considered Daoist

celestial deities later on? This might have been because some Daoist texts address the Eleven Planets, whereas Buddhist sutras only mention Seven or Nine planets. In fact, the Eleven Planets were often represented in Daoist art, as exemplified by the mural in Yongle Palace (Fig.3.3). However, they were not popular until the Five Dynasties and the early Northern Song period. Only after 1008, when Northern Song emperor Zhenzong 眞宗 (r. 997–1022) actively supported Daoism, are they frequently mentioned in historical records. Thus, the Eleven Planets were considered Daoist deities by the early eleventh century at the latest.<sup>169</sup>

What separates the Eleven Planets from the groups of Seven or Nine is the addition of Ziqi and Yuebei. The earliest text that mentions Ziqi and Yuebei is a Daoist scripture, *Chengxing lingtai miyao jing* 秤星靈臺秘要經 [*Scripture of the Secret Essentials of the Compass Spiritual Terrace*]. This text, published in the tenth century, is a ritual manual for horoscope astrology to predict one's fate through the movement and position of stars on one's date of birth. *Chengxing lingtai miyao jing* is based on another Daoist astrology text, *Lingtai jing* 靈臺經 [*Scripture of the Spiritual Terrace*]. Both are included in *Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏, the collection of the Daoist canon, but of *Lingtai jing* only fragments still exist. While it is impossible to examine the whole text, it is thought that *Lingtai jing*, like *Chengxing lingtai miyao jing*, addresses the Eleven Planets.<sup>170</sup> Yet, *Lingtai jing* does not exclusively contain Daoist astrology, but mostly refers to a range of Buddhist astrology texts, such as *Xiuyao jing* 宿曜經 [*Scripture of Constellations and Planets*]. Interestingly, *Duli yusi jing* seems to be one of the references, because *Lingtai jing* contains ideas of Hellenistic astrology, and some parts are even similar to Dorotheus's *Carmen*

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<sup>169</sup> Niu, "Tang-Song zhiji Daojiao shiyiyao xingshen chongbai de qiyuan he liuxing," 93.

<sup>170</sup> Kotyk, "Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty," 131–132.

*astrologicum*.<sup>171</sup>

In sum, *Lingtai jing* and *Chengxing lingtai miyao jing* are based on various astrology texts that circulated in China some time around the eighth and ninth century. The fact that the Eleven Planets appear in these texts means that there were other texts mentioning Ziqi and Yuebei that are now lost. That is, the author of *Lingtai jing* selected some astrological knowledge, including the Eleven Planets, among various texts from Greece, the Middle East, India, and China and compiled it as a Daoist scripture. Later, most likely in the early Tang period, as the groupings of Seven and Nine planets became objects of worship beyond horoscope astrology, the Eleven Planets were also established as Daoist celestial deities.

After the publication of *Chengxing lingtai miyao jing*, Ziqi and Yuebei appeared as personifications, not just as planets used to predict one's fate. According to one such example, *Yuanshi Tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing* 元始天尊說十一曜大消災神呪經 [*Primordial Heavenly Worthy Speaks of the Scripture of the Eleven Planets' Great Mantra of Dispelling Disaster*], if the Five Planets go against the flow and invade a lot (*gong* 宮, literally “palace”) and mansions (*su* 宿), or they descend on the emperor's land and territory, there will be a disaster and an epidemic, and many people will die or get injured.<sup>172</sup> Therefore, one should make images of the Eleven Planets, perform rituals, or recite the Eleven Planets' great mantra to dispel disaster.<sup>173</sup> This idea that appropriate rituals can stop disasters caused by the unusual

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<sup>171</sup> Kotyk, “Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty,” 132–133.

<sup>172</sup> The exact date of *Yuanshi Tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing* is unknown., but it would be before the fifteenth century when the *Daozang* was published.

<sup>173</sup> DZ 29 *Yuanshi Tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing* 元始天尊說十一曜大消災神呪經. “吾今示汝下觀星斗 看其行度 如有五星不順 凌犯宮宿 照臨帝土及諸分野 災難競起 疫毒流行 兆民死傷 速令塑繪十一曜形儀 於清淨處建立道場 嚴備香花燈燭 請命道士 或自持念 十一曜大消災神呪經 一七日 二

movement of stars is also seen in traditional astral worship in China and in Tejaprabhā worship in Buddhism. In the text's spell to avoid calamities, the personified Eleven Planets are described. *Ziqi Zhenjun* 紫氣真君 or “Perfect Lord Ziqi” is the one who roams the galaxy riding a jade carriage or paces the (Northern) Dipper ringing a golden bell (“玉輿登廣漢，金鈴步斗飛”). *Yuebei Zhenjun* 月孛真君 or “Perfect Lord Yuebei” is described as having disheveled hair (“毛頭分怪狀”). Another Daoist scripture, *Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi* 上清十一大曜燈儀 [High and Pure Lamp Ceremony of the Eleven Great Planets], provides more information on their appearance: Ziqi wears an official hat, and Yuebei wears courtly attire and holds an axe. There are descriptions with a Daoist nuance like “limpid and calm” (“沖淡”) or “auspicious [things] do not stop” (“吉祥止止”).<sup>174</sup> While there is no reference to the lunar apogee or the leap month, the identity of Ziqi and Yuebei as Daoist deities is emphasized.<sup>175</sup> Through these Daoist texts, Ziqi, Yuebei, and, by extension, the Eleven Planets became perceived as Daoist deities in China, regardless of their astrological origin.

Meanwhile, the Eleven Planets were accepted by Buddhists as well but only in the visual

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七日 或三七日 修齋行道 禮念懺悔 即得上消天災 保鎮帝土 下禳毒害 以度兆民 汝宜聽信 轉轉教人受持 讀誦”

<sup>174</sup> DZ 198 *Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi* 上清十一大曜燈儀. “惟天一之道星 稟木德之餘氣 冠聳瑠玉 仰瞻穆穆之容 服曳飛霞 遙想鏘鏘之珮 悠然沖淡 卓爾孤高 燕居申申 主張多遜於閑適 吉祥止止 臨難自脫於 逆危 今醮土某祇薦馨香 俯殫懇款 肆披宣於蕊笈 庶上徹於叢霄 ... 切原太一之星 蓋稟夜光之炁 雖歷黑 道而可測 然居陰曜而不盈 儼冠服之飾躬 待將趨昕朝之著 凜鈇鉞之在手 又若擁大將之權 或凌犯以興災 唯特達而降福 是宜禳謝 曷罄肅恭 今醮土某薦獻甚微 精誠斯罄 將仰祈乎鸞馭 乃恭誦於靈章”

<sup>175</sup> The description of Ziqi and Yuebei can be found in an anthology *Mingwen heng* 明文衡 [Essays of the Ming Dynasty]. Yuebei symbolizes the lunar apogee, and Ziqi is related to the leap month. However, this explanation cannot be found in earlier texts. Kotyk, "Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty," 140–141.

realm.<sup>176</sup> They became a part of Tejaprabhā worship, which aimed at avoiding disaster and seeking luck, so they were illustrated as an audience of the Tejaprabhā Buddha although they do not appear in Tejaprabhā-related sutras or in any other Buddhist scriptures. Here, the Eleven Planets were not an essential part of Tejaprabhā's assembly but were just a substitute for the groups of Five, Seven, or Nine planets.

The different fields of Chinese culture accepted the idea of the Eleven Planets within their own contexts. The sharing of these Daoist-nuanced deities possibly came about because many religious beliefs in China, including Daoism and Buddhism, share similar concepts of astral worship.

## **(2) Animal Symbols of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions**

The Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions in the Boston painting are each accompanied by their animal symbol. The auspicious animals stick their heads out leftward as if they are in hiding (Fig. 3.4). Some of the animals can be recognized, while others are too faint to be identified. Behind two of the Lunar Mansions no animal is depicted (see Table 3 for details). The Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is a rare example of iconography that contains the animal symbols of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. Among contemporaneous visual material, only the mural in Yongle Palace is comparable.

It is unclear when and where this iconography was invented. Archeological evidence indicates that the idea of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions was introduced to China before the mid-

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<sup>176</sup> For more information about the Eleven Planets in Buddhist art, see Soyŏn Kim (Soyeon Kim) 김소연, “Shibiryo ūi kiwŏn munje wa chungguk Pul Togyo ūi shibiryo suyong” 십일요의 기원 문제와 중국 불·도교의 십일요 수용 [The Origin of the Eleven Planets and the Reception of the Eleven Planets in Medieval China's Buddhism and Daoism], *Pulgyo hakpo* 85 (2018): 96–99.

fifth century BC at the latest.<sup>177</sup> Among Buddhist scripts, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are mentioned in *Shetoujian taizi ershibaxiu jing* 舍頭諫太子二十八宿經 [*Prince Shetoujian's Sutra of Twenty-Eight Mansions*] translated by Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa, 223-310) in the early fourth century. However, neither the archeological evidence and nor the sutra text include animal symbols or references to animals. It was in the late Yuan or early Ming period when the animal symbols of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions first appeared in historical records, such as *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 [*The Collection of Principal Methods of the Dao*], *Yuanshi* 元史 [*History of Yuan*], and *Guoluo xingzong* 果老星宗 [*Guoluo's Astral Body*].<sup>178</sup> Thus, it seems that the animal symbols were invented in China sometime after the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions' introduction. Among the aforementioned three texts, I would like to pay attention to the two Daoist publications first: *Daofa huiyuan* and *Guolao xingzong*. In *Daofa huiyuan*, animal symbols of the Lunar Mansions are mentioned:

Twelve lunar mansions of a talisman for *Nayin*  
 East: wood scaly dragon of *jiao*, metal dragon of *kang*, earth badger of *di*, fire tiger of *wei*, water leopard of *ji*  
 West: wood wolf of *kui*, metal dog of *lou*, earth pheasant of *wei*, fire monkey of *zi*, water ape of *shen*  
 South: wood wild dog of *jing*, metal sheep of *gui*, earth river deer of *liu*, fire serpent of *yi*, water earthworm of *zhen*  
 North: wood *xiezhi* (mythical unicorn lion) of *dou*, metal ox of *niu*, earth bat of *nü*, fire pig of *shi*, water *yayu* (mythological monster) of *bi*  
 Center: Tie up the energy of the four directions and unite them.<sup>179</sup> [23]

<sup>177</sup> A lacquer clothing case from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng dated 433 BC depicts the Northern Dipper surrounded by the Lunar Mansions. David Nivision demonstrated that the formation of the system of the Lunar Mansions appeared in late Warring States and early Han materials. David Nivison, "The Origin of the Chinese Lunar Lodge System," in *World Archeoastronomy*, ed. Anthony F. Aveni (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 203-218.

<sup>178</sup> The animal symbols are also present in *Xiyouji* 西遊記 [*Journey to the West*], the popular novel published in the sixteenth century.

<sup>179</sup> "Yushu zhankan wulei qidao dafa" 玉樞斬勘五雷祈禱大法 in *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 [*Compilation of*



In this passage, five phrases are assigned for each of the four directions. These three-character phrases are comprised of one of the Lunar Mansions (e.g., *jiao*), one of the Five Elements 五行 (e.g., wood), and an animal (e.g., a scaly dragon). Unlike its title, which says “Twelve Lunar Mansions,” twenty Lunar Mansions are mentioned in the above passage. It is likely that “shi’er 十二 (twelve)” is a miswritten version of “ershi 二十 (twenty).” This passage is about a talisman for *nayin* 納音 [Containing Musical Notes]. *Nayin*, which was first explained in Ge Hong’s 葛洪 (283–363) *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 [*Embracing the Master of Simplicity*], is a system of classifying the sexagenary cycle into the five notes (*wuyin* 五音, that is, *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zhi* 徵, and *yu* 羽) of the Chinese pentatonic scale. One of five notes and one of twelve pitch standards (*shi’erlü* 十二律, that is, *huangzhong* 黃鐘, *dacu* 大簇, *guxian* 姑洗, *ruibin* 蕤賓, *yize* 夷則, *wuyi* 無射, *dalü* 大呂, *jiazhong* 夾鐘, *zhonglü* 仲呂, *linzhong* 林鐘, *nanlü* 南呂, and *yingzhong* 應鐘) are connected to one of the sexagenary cycles, which are combinations of the Ten Heavenly Stems (*tiangan* 天干) and the Twelve Earthly Branches (*dizhi* 地支). This system was used to determine the note and element governing one’s life and to predict one’s fate.<sup>180</sup>

Then, why did the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions appear in a talisman for *nayin*? *Nayin* presents two traditional thoughts. One is that musical notes are connected to nature and are governed by yin, yang, and the Five Elements (陰陽五行). *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 [*The*

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*Rituals of the Way*], juan 63.

<sup>180</sup> Donald John Harper and Marc Kalinowski, *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China : the Daybook Manuscripts of the Warring States, Qin, and Han* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 470.

*Spring and Autumn [Annals] of Master Lü*], a Chinese classical text compiled in the third year

BC, reveals this idea:

The *Qi* of Heaven and Earth are combined to produce the wind. At the winter solstice, the moon gathers the wind and gives rise to the twelve pitch-standards. In the second month of winter, daytime is shortest; therefore, [this month] gives rise to *huangzhong*. The third month of winter gives rise to *dalü*; the first month of spring gives rise to *taicu (dalu)*; the second month of spring gives rise to *jiazhong*; the third month of spring gives rise to *guxian*; the first month of summer gives rise to *zhonglü*.... If the wind and *qi* of Heaven and Earth are appropriate, the twelve pitch-standards are settled.<sup>181</sup> [24]

Beyond the musical scales, the five notes and the twelve pitch standards gained conceptual significance during the late Warring States period, particularly in calendrical systems and the Five Elements theory.<sup>182</sup> In fact, this idea lasted for more than a thousand years. In later publications, the five notes and twelve pitch standards are connected to the Five Elements and Twelve Earthly Branches, respectively.<sup>183</sup> These connections are found in *nayin*-related texts as well.

Another important base of *nayin* is that an individual's fate can be calculated by his birth hour, day, month, and year—that is, the Four Pillars (*Sizhu* 四柱). The Four Pillars are denoted by a Heavenly Stem and an Earthly Branch. The stem-branch combinations of the sexagenary cycle have been a means of recording time, which is under the influence of the Five

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<sup>181</sup> Lü Buwei, 呂不韋 (292-235 BC), *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *jixia ji* 季夏紀, *yinlü* 音律. The translation is quoted with modifications from Jung Eun Jo, “Analysis of the discourse on music of the Lüshi chunqiu mainly in comparison with the “Yuelun” chapter of the Xunzi” (PhD. diss., SOAS, 2012), 196.

<sup>182</sup> Ch'o Ch'ong eün (Jung Eun Jo) 조정은, “Ch'ön'guk sidae maryöp esö hannara ch'ogi oüm kwa sibiyul üi ümak oejök yongnye e kwanhan koch'al” 전국시대 말엽에서 한나라 초기 五音과 十二律의 음악 외적 용례에 관한 고찰 [*Wu yin and Shier lü* in Non-Musical Contexts from the Late Warring States to the Early Han], *Ch'örhang sasang* 53 (2014): 27-53. The connection between a musical scale and nature is also found in another classical text, *Huainanzi*. According to its *Tianwen xun* section, ten heavenly stems and twelve earthly branches are derived from *yinlü* [notes and pitch standard], “天地之氣 合而生風 日至則月鐘其風 以生十二律 仲冬日短至則生黃鐘 季冬生大呂 孟春生太簇 仲春生夾鐘 季春生姑洗 孟夏生仲呂... 天地之風氣正 則十二律定矣”

<sup>183</sup> *Mengqi bitan* 夢溪筆談 [*Brush Discussions of the Dream Creek*], a collection of essays written in Northern Song period is an example.

Elements.<sup>184</sup> Due to the birth and death cycle of each element and the interaction between them, each hour, day, month, and year designated by Heavenly Stem and Earthly Branch have their own nature. Someone who was born at a certain hour, on certain day, in certain month and year is supposed to bear the same nature as that time, so his fate can be predicted.

All in all, predicting one's future using *nayin* assumes that musical notes, nature, and human affairs are interconnected. The aforementioned *Baopuzi* also contains this assumption:

Somebody asked: "People say, that when taking medicine to nourish nature there are some suggestions to be followed. Is that so?"

*Baopuzi* answered: According to the *Yuce ji* 玉策記 and the *Kaiming jing* 開名經, we may all know our destiny by means of the five *yin* and the six *shu*. *Zi* and *wu* belong to *geng*, *mao*, and *yu* belong to *ji*, *yin*, and *shen* belong to *wu*, *chou*, and *wei* belong to *xin*, *chen*, and *xu* belong to *bing*, *si* and *hai* belong to *ding*. Those who get them with one word are *gong* and *to*, those with three words are *zhi* and *hue*, those with five words are *yu* and *shui*, those with seven words are *shang* and *jin*, those with nine words are *jue* and *mu*. If one's horoscope of life belongs to earth (*to*), it is not advisable to eat medicine of green color; if to metal (*jin*), it is not advisable to take medicine of white color; if to water (*shui*), it is not advisable to take medicine of yellow color; if to fire (*huo*), it is not advisable to take medicine of black color. It is so because of the inter-relation of the five elements; for wood defeats earth; earth defeats water; water defeats fire; fire defeats metal; metal defeats wood. On the other hand, for the great medicine of *Jindan* it is useless to discuss what is advisable and what is not.<sup>185</sup> [25]

As part of the universe, an individual's fate, and his or her nature, are governed by the Five Elements and their interactions.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> The relationship between the stem-branch and the Five Elements is shown in *Wuxing dayi* 五行大義 [The Great Meaning of the Five Elements]. *Wuxing dayi*, juan1, di 2, zhigan ming 支干名. “支干者 因五行而立之 昔軒轅之時 大撓之所制也 蔡邕月令章句云 大撓採五行之情 占斗機所建也 始作甲乙以名日 謂之幹 作子丑以名月 謂之支 有事於天 則用日 有事於地 則用辰 陰陽之別 故有支干名也。”

<sup>185</sup> Ge Hong 葛洪(283-363), *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 [The Master Embracing Simplicity], xianyao 仙藥, neipian 內篇. The translation is quoted from Eugene Feifel, "Nei-p'ien, Chapter XI," *Monumenta Serica* 11(1946): 27–28 with minor modifications.

<sup>186</sup> This is called “correlative cosmology.” Since the late Warring States period, Chinese thinkers describe the nature of the cosmos by employing the concept of *yin* and *yang*, the Five Elements, and other devices and their correspondences. This correlative schema embracing the entire world shaped the foundation of Han cosmology and thereafter became the basis for Chinese cosmology which influenced every aspect of culture over the next two thousand years. This idea was challenged by seventeenth-century intellectuals and replaced by the new mode of

The Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions had not been associated with China's traditional fate-calculation using the Four Pillars. Rather, as a major fate-calculating method of astrology, Chinese adopted the idea that one's original destiny star (*benmingxing* 本命星) and the cosmic chart when one was born are indicators of one's personality and fate. However, the above extract from *Daofa huiyuan* implies that the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, a foreign horoscopic idea, has been Sinicized and incorporated into the indigenous culture, such as *nayin*, especially in Daoist thought.

*Guolao xingzong*, another Daoist text, also mentions the animal symbols of the Lunar Mansions. This document, published in the sixteenth century, was supposedly written by Zhang Guolao 張果老, one of the eight Daoist immortals who lived during the Tang dynasty. It provides detailed explanations of the Lunar Mansions used in *nayin*:

All the *nayin* stars illuminate and control destiny, [one should] not avoid them. The four degrees of the Sun are as follows. *Xing, fang, mao*, and *xu* are the four degrees of the Sun. ... [There are people whose] Destiny resides in the four degrees of the Sun. Sun Horse of *xing*, Sun Rabbit of *fang*, Sun Rooster of *mao*, Sun Rat of *xu* are the four degrees of Sun, those who rely mainly on Sun. Those born in the daytime abstain from Mars and Rahu who compete with sunlight. [For them], Mars becomes *yangren*, [but if one] control[s] *yangren*, [one will] recover from one's bad luck. Rahu becomes *qifeng*. [If one tried to] compete with *qifeng*, [one's bad luck] will worsen... [There are people whose] Destiny resides in the four degrees of the Moon. Moon Deer of *zhang*, Moon Swallow of *wei*, Moon Vixen of *xin*, Moon Crow of *bi* are the four degrees of the Moon, those who rely mainly on Moon. Those born at night abstain from Saturn and Ketu. But Saturn and Ketu can obscure the Moon, so [for them], Saturn and Ketu are *yangren* killing. ...<sup>187</sup> [26]

*Guolao xingzong* also records each of the four degrees of Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal, and Water.

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thinking, as John B. Henderson suggested, but it is still influential even today. For his research, see John B. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (Taipei: Windston Press, 2011). However, correlative cosmology has not appeared exclusively in China. "A certain harmony and proportion in the world, even a consonance between ourselves and the universe" has been observed in many ancient cultures and called "primitive classification," "mythical thought," "synchronicity," or "savage thought." by modern scholars. Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology*, iv.

<sup>187</sup> Zhang Guolao 張果老 (c. 7<sup>th</sup> century), *Guolao xingzong* 果老星宗 [*Zhang Guo's Astral Body*], juan 4. *Yangren* is one of the *shensha* 神煞. *Shensha* is the auxiliary symbolic star that can affect one's day pillar. It is unknown what *qifeng* means, but is likely one of the *shensha*, like *yangren*.

The pairing of animals and Lunar Mansions is almost the same as in *Daofa huiyuan* (Table 3). The level of detailed explanation provided indicates the combination of *nayin* and astrology was already part of the Daoist tradition when *Guolao xingzong* was published.

In *Guolao xingzong*, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions assigned to the Sun, Moon, and Five Elements are components of the phrases that describe one's fate.<sup>188</sup> This is similar to the role of the Ten Heavenly Stems and Twelve Earthly Branches in designating one's Four Pillars to predict one's future. In this sense, the twenty-eight auspicious animals might have been invented as a counterpart to the Twelve Animals of the Zodiacs of the Earthly Branches.

The tradition of cyclical animals relating to one's birth year, which is still used in China today, has existed since antiquity. While its established form was published in Wang Chong's 王充 (27–100) treatise *Lun Heng* 論衡 [*Discussion of Scales*], the basic idea of the cyclical animals already existed before the third century BC, as attested by the daybooks (*rishu* 日書) discovered in ancient tombs. In the twelve cyclical animals system, each animal matches one of Twelve Earthly Branches (*zi* 子, *chou* 丑, *yin* 寅, *mao* 卯, *chen* 辰, *si* 巳, *wu* 午, *wei* 未, *shen* 申, *you* 酉, *xu* 戌, and *hai* 亥). Their association was used to predict certain occurrences, such as robbery or illness.<sup>189</sup> The long tradition of cyclical animals and their applications in divination, horoscopy, and various rituals in China encouraged the invention of another set of animal symbols, which were assigned to the Lunar Mansions.

One may thus conclude that the use of the animal symbols assigned to the Lunar

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<sup>188</sup> The Sun and Moon represent *yin* and *yang*, respectively. Likewise, the Five Elements correspond to Saturn, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter.

<sup>189</sup> Harper and Kalinowski, *Books of Fate and Popular Culture in Early China*, 468–469.

Mansions was invented by Daoists. However, this new method was not just employed in Daoism. The *Yuanshi* indicates that the Lunar Mansion animal symbols were also used in the official arena of Yuan state ritual. In a section of *Yizhang* 儀仗, which is a kind of guideline for using official ceremonial implements, such as weapons or flags, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions' flags are described. For example, the flag of *jiao* is blue, and its flame-shaped edge is red. On the flag, a female deity standing on a cloud in the air, wearing a vermilion robe and a black gown is supposed to be depicted. *Jiao* is illustrated as a two-star asterisk, and its animal symbol, a scaly dragon, should be depicted in the lower part.<sup>190</sup> The other flags also have their own animal image in the lower part. The animal set here is identical to the one described in the two Daoist texts discussed above. Considering the approximate dates of this evidence, the animal symbols of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions were invented in the thirteenth century at the latest and accepted as an iconography significant enough to be recorded in the official history.

Although available visual evidence of the Lunar Mansion animal symbols is scarce, there is evidence in addition to the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. Yongle Palace is again an important example. The Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are included as attendants of Beiji dadi and Tianhuang dadi. Each Lunar Mansion, shown in anthropomorphic form, wears an official robe and holds a tablet. What distinguishes them from the other stellar deities is the animal design on their headdresses (Table 3). The animal head is either attached to the headdress or shown in a circular frame. The wood scaly dragon of *jiao*, the metal dragon of *kang*, the sun rabbit of *fang*, the fire monkey of *zi*, and the water ape of *shen* are all represented as

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<sup>190</sup> *Yuanshi* 元史, juan 79, *yizhang* 儀仗, *yufu* 輿服 2, *zhi* 志 29. “角宿旗 青質 赤火焰腳 畫神人爲女子形露發 朱袍 黑襪 立雲氣中 持蓮荷 外仗角 亢以下七旗 並青質 青火焰腳 角宿繪二星 下繪蛟”

anthropomorphic deities, adorned with an animal head. The Lunar Mansion animals here are almost the same as the textual references in the Daoist texts and in *Yuanshi*, except for the animal of *dou*, where the crab replaces *xiezhi*, a mythical horned creature.

To sum up, the auspicious animals of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are a later addition to an existing system. Their invention may have been a response to the tradition of cyclical animals in the Chinese fate-calculating system. Even though it was the Daoists who mostly adopted this new iconography into their astrology, it also became integrated in the ceremonial context of the state during the Yuan dynasty.

### **(3) Tianhuang dadi**

Except for the Tejaprabhā triad, Tianhuang dadi is the largest figure in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. As one can guess from his attire—a crown (*juebian* 爵弁) decorated with Sun and Moon, and an official's robe—Tianhuang dadi has been regarded as a Daoist deity. In addition to Daoism, however, this deity should be understood through the supreme god from ancient China's *tianwen* and cosmology. From ancient times, China's *tianwen* has centered on the North Pole. The North Pole is often considered the center of the universe, and the Pole Star is imagined as the celestial emperor who rules over all of the celestial bureaucrats. Associated with Taiyi 太一 (the Highest One), considered the root of the universe in Daoist cosmology or the deification of the universe itself, the Pole Star has also been thought of as the place where

Taiyi resides.<sup>191</sup>

While Taiyi is first mentioned in texts from the Warring States period, the term Tianhuang dadi has been in use since the Tang dynasty. In *Jinshu*, Tianhuang dadi is explained as follows:

A star in the gate of *Gouchen* is called Tianhuang dadi. This deity is also called *Yaopobao* (Radiant Moon-soul Gem). [He] controls the numerous spirits and holds ten thousands of gods' charts.<sup>192</sup> [27]

In addition, *Chuxueji* 初學記 [*Records for Primary Education*] says:

*Wujing tongyi* (General Significance of the Five Classics) says, the great one among heavenly gods is called Haotian shangdi, that is, *Yaopobao*. [He is] also called Tianhuang dadi, and Taiyi as well.<sup>193</sup> [28]

Thus, Tianhuang dadi is a transfiguration of the Pole Star or Taiyi. Because Taiyi is part of the Daoist cosmos, Tianhuang dadi can also be considered a Daoist deity. However, as a deification of the Pole Star, whose beginnings can be traced to state rituals, his role also overarches the official realm and he must thus be regarded as a more universal object of worship.<sup>194</sup>

Yet, in the Daoist cosmos Tianhuang dadi is not the only deity related to the Pole Star, nor is this deity the highest. For example, Beiji dadi, another Pole Star deity, is illustrated beside

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<sup>191</sup> *Zhuangzi* 莊子[*Master Zhuang*] and *Lüshi chunqiu* are examples that include this term. During the Han period (206 BC–220 AD), *Taiyi* was given the status of a supreme god. Kim Ilkwön, “Pukküksöng ūi wich'i pyönhwa mit handae ūi ch'önmun ujuron” 北極星의 위치변화 및 漢代의 天文 宇宙論 [Changes in the Position of Polaris and Cosmology of Han China], *Togyo munhwa yöng'u* 13(1999): 330.

<sup>192</sup> *Jinshu*, eds. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648) et al., juan 11, zhi 志 1, tianwen zhi 天文志.

<sup>193</sup> Xu Jian 徐堅 (659-729), *Chuxueji*, juan 1, Tianwen 天文.

<sup>194</sup> For Tianhuang dadi in official astronomy, see Jing, “Yongle Palace,” 114–115.



Tianhuang dadi in the mural of Yongle Palace. There, with their attendants, both Beiji dadi and Tianguang dadi have an audience with Yuanshi tianzun 元始天尊 [the Celestial Venerable of the Primordial Beginning], the highest and main god of the palace.<sup>195</sup> This means that even though the ancient cosmology centering on the North Pole lasted, the god of Pole Star was not the supreme god in the systemized Daoist pantheon. In fact, during the Song dynasty, Tianhuang dadi was ranked in the second tier of the Daoist pantheon along with Beiji dadi and other star deities.<sup>196</sup> In the Ming period, too, Tianhuang dadi and Beiji dadi were subjects of Yuhuang shangdi 玉皇上帝 [Great Emperor of Jade].<sup>197</sup>

Kim Ilkwŏn interestingly argues that changes in the position of the North Pole Star, caused by precession of the equinox, led to the changing of the Polaris deities and the related perspective in Chinese *tienwen*.<sup>198</sup> The Pole Star during the Zhou dynasty was  $\beta$  Ursa Minor, Kochab, which was called *dixing* 帝星 [Emperor's star]. *Gouchen daxing* 鉤陳大星 [Great Star of *Gouchen*], which Tianhuang dadi symbolizes, is  $\alpha$  Ursa Minor, which is the current Pole Star and has been perceived as such since the Song and Yuan dynasties. The experience of the changing Pole Star is reflected in the iconography of the Daoist mural in Yongle Palace, where the two Pole Stars, or the two pivots of the universe under a higher one, are depicted.

Tianhuang dadi, as one of the plural Pole Stars and as an attendant of the highest one, is also seen in the Boston Tejaprabhā painting. He is a personification of Polaris, but the main deity

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<sup>195</sup> A statue of *Yuanshi tianzun* seemed to have been enshrined as the main deity but is missing now.

<sup>196</sup> Jing, "Yongle Palace," 197–202.

<sup>197</sup> Kim Ilkwŏn, "Pukkŭksŏng ūi wich'i pyŏnhwa mit handae ūi ch'ŏnmun ujuron," 336.

<sup>198</sup> Kim Ilkwŏn, "Pukkŭksŏng ūi wich'i pyŏnhwa mit handae ūi ch'ŏnmun ujuron," 319–347.

in this scene is Tejaprabhā Buddha, who is another personified Polaris and plays the role of the supreme god in his pantheon, just like Yuanshi tianzun of Yongle Palace. In other words, Tianhuang dadi, as a Daoist deity based on ancient cosmology, is given a status in the pantheon of Tejaprabhā similar to the one in the Daoist pantheon.

#### **(4) Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper, Six Stars of the Southern Dipper, and Six Stars of the Three Stages**

While in every culture throughout history the Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper have been recognized, the Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper, comprised of the conventional seven stars with two assistant stars, as represented in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, can only be found in Daoist texts. The two additional stars are called *fixing* 輔星 and *bixing* 弼星. The eighth star, *fixing*, refers to 80 Ursa Major, Alcor, which is located next to the sixth star of the Northern Dipper and is hardly visible. The ninth star, *bixing*, is invisible, meaning that it is an imaginary star. Occasions on which the eighth and ninth star are observed are thought of as particularly auspicious, as mentioned in *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 [*Cloudy Bookbag Seven Slips*] (c. 1029):

The Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper [consist of] seven sages and two recluses.... The inner assistant star is located around the third star of the Northern Dipper, which cannot be seen. Those who see it, will live long and achieve divinity. The outer assistant star is located below the sixth star of the Northern Dipper, [they are] one *cun* away from each other. Who panics or is seduced, should rise to observe it and will have a good fortune.<sup>199</sup> [29]

Indeed, it is not easy to see the eighth star with the naked eye. While it is unknown why the two assistant stars came to be added to the conventional Northern Dipper, one possible answer is that

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<sup>199</sup> Zhang Junfang 張君房 (c. 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> century) ed., *Yunji qiqian*, juan 24, reyue xingchen bu 日月星辰部 2,

“nine” is a meaningful number for Daoists.<sup>200</sup>

It is also unclear when the concept of the Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper first appeared. Scholars contend that it was invented in the late Tang dynasty and then spread widely during the Song dynasty.<sup>201</sup> Although they have been mainly described in Daoist texts, there are also examples of the Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper being depicted in Buddhist paintings. *Nine Stars of Northern Dipper* (Fig. 3.5), possibly one of the paintings for *Shuilu hui*, is a case in point.<sup>202</sup> In *Fajie shengfan shuilu shenghui xiuzhai yigui*, a manual for the *Shuilu hui* compiled in the thirteenth century, Stellar Sovereigns of the Seven Origins of the Northern Dipper (北斗七元星君) are addressed as one group of the summoned deities. In other words, the personification of the Northern Dipper for *Shuilu hui* was imagined as seven gods. However, the painting represents nine figures as Daoist material describes. That is, the iconography of the Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper was shared between Buddhist and Daoist visual culture. In the visual material, including the *Shuilu hui* painting, two assistant stars are distinguished from the other seven stars in their attire and size. In most cases, these two stars are smaller than the other seven, as if they are the attendants of the seven stars. The fact that they can hardly be seen, or are invisible, may have influenced this iconography.

The Six Stars of the Southern Dipper form another dipper-shaped asterism. *Soushen ji* 搜神記 [*Records of Searching for the Spirits*] says “Southern Dipper decrees life; Northern

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<sup>200</sup> Kim Ilkwŏn, *Uri yŏksa ūi hanŭlgwa pyŏlchari* 우리 역사의 하늘과 별자리 [*Heaven and Asterism in Korean History*] (Sŏul: Kojŭwin, 2008), 254.

<sup>201</sup> Fukui Kōjun 福井康順 et al., *Dōkyō* 道教 [*Daoism*], vol. 2 (Tōkyō : Hirakawa Shuppansha, 1983), 334.

<sup>202</sup> For a brief explanation of the Water-and-Land ritual, see “3. Summoned or invoked deities” of Chapter 2.

Dipper degrees death (南斗注生 北斗注死).”<sup>203</sup> This idea that the Southern Dipper is the antithesis of the Northern Dipper seems to have existed since the mid-first century.<sup>204</sup> Other texts provide similar perspectives on the Southern Dipper:

*Dou* or the Six Stars of the Southern Dipper take charge of longevity and the fate of the Son of Heaven, and also that of the prime minister and nobility.<sup>205</sup> [30]

The north side. The Six Stars of the Southern Dipper form the heavenly shrine. They correspond to the status of the prime minister, honor sages and gentlemen, and distribute ranks and salaries. They also control the army. Thus, they are called the heavenly mechanism.<sup>206</sup> [31]

Here, the Southern Dipper not only controls the life of the emperor (the Son of Heaven) but also assigns ranks and salaries to sages and gentlemen. In the early Song period, the idea of two Dippers was extended to the Five Dippers (northern, southern, eastern, western, and central), as exemplified by *Wudou jing* 五斗經 [*The Books of the Five Dippers*], a collection of five dipper-related scriptures.<sup>207</sup> *Taishang shuo nandou liusi yanshou duren miaojing*

太上說南斗六司延壽度人妙經 [*The Sublime Book of the Southern Dipper's Six Offices for Prolonging Life and Salvation Revealed by the Supreme Venerable Sovereign, or nandou jing*] and *Taoshang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經 [*Mysterious and Numinous Big Dipper's Supreme Perfect Book for Prolonging One's*

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<sup>203</sup> Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 315) ed., *Soushen ji*, juan 3.

<sup>204</sup> Tseng, *Picturing Heaven in Early China*, 361-362. She also mentions that this pairing of dippers goes back to the dualistic mode of Han thought—sun and moon, yin and yang, or life and death.

<sup>205</sup> Attributed to Gan De 甘德 and Shi Kun 石申, *Xingjing* 星經 [*Classic of Stars*], juan xia, compiled during the Warring State Period (5<sup>th</sup> century-221 BC)

<sup>206</sup> *Jinshu*, juan 11, zhi 志 1, tianwen zhi 天文志.

<sup>207</sup> The date of *Wudaou Jing* is unknown. It is recorded that the five books were transmitted in the early Song period and later entered the collection of the *Daozang*.

*Fundamental Destiny*, or *beidou jing*] are two of them. As the titles indicate, these Southern and Northern Dipper books deal with “prolonging life.” The titles of *Wudou jing* implies that the ancient dualistic mode of thinking assigned to the two dippers disappeared in the five-dipper system.<sup>208</sup> All the dippers in *Wudou jing* are objects of worship that can prolong and guard the believer’s life.

The Six Stars of the Three Stages refer to the three pairs of stars in the Ursa Major:

The Six Stars of the Three Stages reside in pairs. They extend from *wenchang* to *taiwei*. ... A pair of two stars in the west, around *wenchang*, is called the upper stage. It corresponds to *siming*, which supervises longevity. The next pair of two stars is called the middle stage. It corresponds to *sizhong*, which supervises the imperial family. A pair of two stars in the east is called the lower stage. It corresponds to *silu*, which supervises the army. [They] provide the means by which to display virtue (*de*) and block transgressions. ... It is called the Grand Stairway. In the upper stairway, the upper star corresponds to the Son of Heaven; the lower star corresponds to the female lord. In the middle stairway, the upper star corresponds to the local lords and the Three Excellencies. The lower star corresponds to the ministers and the noblemen. In the lower stairway, the upper star corresponds to gentlemen, and the lower star corresponds to the commoners. [They] provide the means by which to harmonize *yin* and *yang* and bring order to a myriad of things.<sup>209</sup> [32]

These three stages, consisting of *xujing*, *liuchun*, and *qusheng*, gave birth to me, raised me, and protect my body.<sup>210</sup> [33]

Like the Northern and Southern Dippers, the Six Stars of the Three Stages are also related to longevity. Moreover, according to *Beidou jing*, this asterism is also in charge of nurturing. As the asterism of nurturing, the Six Stars of the Three Stages are compared to a farmer in *Kaiyuan*

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<sup>208</sup> This is a result of extending the idea of the Northern and Southern Dippers based on China’s traditional concept of the five directions (五方位). Kim Ilkwŏn, *Uri yŏksa ūi hanŭlgwa pyŏlchari*, 267. A pair of fifteenth century Chinese paintings depicting celestial Buddhas and deities of the Five Dippers in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (M.83.223.1, M.83.223.2) exemplifies that this phenomenon also entered Buddhist culture.

<sup>209</sup> *Jinshu*, juan 11, zhi 1, tianwen zhi.

<sup>210</sup> Fu Dongzhen 傅洞真 (ca. 12<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries), *Taoshang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真經註 [Commentaries on *The Perfect Book of Fundamental Destiny and Prolonging Life of the Supreme Mysterious Soul*], juan 3.

*zhanjing* 開元占經 [*Classic of Astrology from the Kaiyuan Reign*] of the Tang period.<sup>211</sup>

The Northern and Southern Dippers, and the Six Stars of the Three Stages are familiar celestial bodies. These have been related to life, longevity, and nurturing, and these associations were often mentioned in Daoist texts, as we have seen so far. However, the correlation between human affairs and the asterisms is not a Daoist invention. As in the case of Tianhuang dadi, connotations on the Northern Dipper, the Southern Dipper, and the Six Stars of the Three Stages were part of *tianwen*, handed down since antiquity, from times when Daoism had not yet generated its religious aspect and invented its pantheon. Like Daoists, astronomers and historians, who were in charge of state affairs, accepted the ancient *tianwen* tradition. However, it was the Daoists who devotedly worshipped these stars and represented them as personified deities based on the tradition.

I examined the iconographical references of the celestial deities depicted in the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha, which have been thought of as Daoist elements, and realized that most of them can also be found in the mural of Yongle Palace. In the assemblies of Tianhuang dadi and Beiji dadi, the two emperors of heaven, various deities are included: the Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper, the Six Stars of the Southern Dipper, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions with animal symbols, Tiangang dasheng 天罡大聖 [Great Saint of the Heavenly Spirit] (another deification of the Big Dipper), the Six Stars of the Three Stages, the Eleven Planets, and historical founding masters who transmitted the lamp (歷代傳燈祖師). Although many of them

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<sup>211</sup> Gautama Siddha 瞿曇悉達 (c. 8th century), *Tang Kaiyuan zhanjing* 唐開元占經 [*Canon of Astrological Divination from the Kaiyuan Era of Tang*], juan 67. “黃帝占曰 三能 (蘇氏曰 能音台) 者 三公之位也 諸侯 農人也 一名天柱 太一之舍道也 文昌之庭也 在下名曰天奇。”

either derived from indigenous *tianwen* or have a foreign origin, rather than originating in Daoism, this mural implies that the astral deities were considered Daoist in fourteenth century China. Except for *Tiangang dasheng* and the historical founding masters, the mural's astral deities are identical to those of Tejaprabhā Buddha's assembly in the Boston painting. Given that the Yongle Palace has been considered a representative masterpiece of the established Daoist discipline and iconography of the time, and the date of the mural is thought to be almost contemporaneous with the Boston painting, the latter appears to be a Daoist painting but for one issue: the Tejaprabhā Buddha usurps the throne of the Daoist Polaris god. Then, how can we understand the combination of this seemingly Daoist celestial pantheon with the Tejaprabhā Buddha, a kind of Buddhicized Polaris?

### **3. The Koryŏ Context**

Since the concept of each of the stellar deities was transmitted from China to the Korean peninsula, tracing their Chinese backgrounds is indispensable to understanding the iconography. However, the culture in which the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha was created may also have influenced the forming of this unprecedented pantheon. Thus, layers of culture and religion that are based on earlier regional traditions need to be investigated.

#### **(1) Worshipping nature**

The Koryŏ people worshipped not only celestial bodies but also nature spirits, including mountains, streams, and the earth. They believed that all of these elements of “our country”

(*aguk* 我國, *adongbang* 我東方, or “*uri nara*” in the Korean reading) were the basis of their

lives. This idea is revealed in King Taejo’s *Ten Injunctions* (*Hunyo sipjo* 訓要十條):

Clause 5: I achieved the great task of founding the dynasty with the help of the elements of mountain and river of our country (of Sam-Han, i.e. the Later Three Kingdoms). The Western Capital, P’yongyang, has the elements of water in its favor and is the source of the terrestrial force of our country (*aguk*). It is thus the veritable center of dynastic enterprises for ten thousand generations. Therefore, make a royal visit to the Western Capital four times a year—in the second, fifth, eighth, and eleventh months—and reside there a total of more than one hundred days and by this means secure peace and prosperity.

Clause 6: I deem the two festivals of Yōndūng (The Lantern Festival) and P’algwan (the Assembly of Eight Precepts) of great spiritual value and importance. The first is to worship Buddha. The second is to worship the spirit of Heaven, the spirits of the five sacred, and other major mountains and rivers, and the dragon god. ...<sup>212</sup> [34]

As seen in clause 6, worshiping nature was one of state-sponsored faiths along with Buddhism.

Because nature’s spiritual virtues were at the root of the state, Koryō people should make offerings to “the mountains and rivers of ‘our country.’” Meanwhile, clause 4 implies another facet of the Koryō founder’s attitude:

Clause 4: In the past, we have always had a deep attachment for the ways of China and all of our institutions have been modeled upon those of Tang. But our country occupies a different geographical location and our people’s character is different from that of the [Han] Chinese. Hence, there is no reason to strain ourselves unreasonably to copy the Chinese way. Khitan is a nation of savage beasts, and its language and customs are also different. Its dress and institutions should never be copied.<sup>213</sup> [35]

While not directly related to religion, these quotes from the *Ten Injunctions* demonstrate the attitude of the Koryō elite towards foreign cultures.<sup>214</sup> This clause states that, although many

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<sup>212</sup> *Koryōsa*, kwōn 2, sega 世家2, 4<sup>th</sup> month, 26<sup>th</sup> years of Reign of T’aejo (943). The translation is quoted from Peter H. Lee ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 264 with my own explanations in parenthesis.

<sup>213</sup> *Koryōsa*, kwōn 2, sega 2, 4<sup>th</sup> month, 26<sup>th</sup> years of Reign of T’aejo (943). The translation is quoted from Lee ed., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* vol. 1, 264, with minor modification. The emphasis by underlining is mine.

<sup>214</sup> The idea behind clause 4 is a cosmological thought that different geographical areas on earth have different corresponding portions of the sky, with their pertinent asterisms. For this system of astral-terrestrial correspondences,



parts of the Koryŏ's state system derived from Chinese institutions, there was no need to blindly follow their model. Although the clauses were meant to assure the success and continuation of the dynasty itself, the attitude they reveal can well be applied to religious thought and practices. That is, even though Buddhism and Daoism had been transmitted from China, their systems, doctrines, and practices were modified in Korea based on its indigenous culture.

As seen in clauses 5 and 6, as a result, indigenous belief, such as the nature worship and regional forms of Buddhism, was emphasized and maintained by the state through official rituals. *P'alghanhoe* 八關會 [Festival of the Eight Precepts] is an example of regional Buddhist practice, reflecting a deeply rooted faith, which existed on the peninsula before the foundation of Koryŏ. The origin of *P'alghanhoe* can be traced to a ritual for lay Buddhists, *Ba jiezhai* (八戒齋, also *Ba guan zhai jie* 八關齋戒, Eight Precepts Observed by Lay Buddhists, Sanskrit: *aṣṭāṅga-samanvāgatôpavāsa*). This practice, which was exercised in both India and China, involves following eight out of the Ten Precepts (十戒) for one day and making offerings to Buddha.<sup>215</sup> In Koryŏ, however, *P'alghanhoe* was not only performed for Buddhist deities but also for folk deities, like “the spirit of heaven, the spirits of the five sacred and other major mountains and rivers, and the dragon god.” This is why it is also described as an “assembly of offering to Buddha and pleasing the spirits” (*kongbul nakshin ji hoe*, 供佛樂神之會).<sup>216</sup>

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see David W. Pankenier, “Characteristics of Field Allocation (*fenye* 分野) Astrology in Early China,” in *Current Studies in Archaeoastronomy: Conversations across Time and Space*, ed. J. W. Foutan and R. M. Sinclair (Durham, N.C.: Carolina Academic Press, 2005), 499-513.

<sup>215</sup> For *Ba jiezhai* in India and China, see An Chiwŏn 안지원, *Koryŏ ūi kukka pulgyo ūiryŏ wa munhwa* 고려의 국가 불교 의례와 문화 [*Royal Buddhist Ritual and Culture of Koryŏ*] (Soul: Sŏul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2005), 120-139.

<sup>216</sup> *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ* 高麗史節要 [*Essentials of Koryŏ History*], kwŏn 1, 11<sup>th</sup> month, 1<sup>st</sup> year of Reign of T'aejo. It is recorded that T'aejo decided to hold a magnificent *P'alghanhoe* as annual event following the precedent of

As mentioned above, early Koryŏ texts address mountains, rivers, or dragons as examples of the nature spirits. As the name of the dynasty already suggests, Koryŏ founders saw themselves as successors of Koguryŏ. In the old kingdom, astral worship had been a significant part of the spiritual culture. Following this lead, the Koryŏ court often made official offerings to astral deities. Thus, celestial bodies may have been regarded and worshipped as indigenous nature spirits as well. This is also indicated by a critical remark of Ch'oe Sŭngno 崔承老 (927-989).

Offerings made at the Ancestral Temple and on the Altar of the Land and Grain of our dynasty often do not follow the law. Sacrifices to mountains and Daoist rituals (醮) for the stars are excessively importunate. This is to say, "Sacrifices should not be frequently repeated. Such frequency is indicative of importunateness; and importunateness is inconsistent with reverence."<sup>217</sup>[36]

This passage from Ch'oe Sŭngno's *Shimu isipp'al cho* 時務二十八條 [*Twenty-Eight Articles on Current Affairs*], which criticizes the official rituals for nature spirits as being held too often, combines Daoist rituals for star worship with sacrifices to mountains. Hence, it indicates that the worship of stars was a major facet of nature worship in the early Koryŏ period.

However, unlike mountains and rivers in "our country," stars cannot be monopolized. Therefore, it was inevitable that the various myths and connotations of major asterisms circulating in China influenced *ch'ŏnmun* on the Korean peninsula, but these were reinterpreted based on Koryŏ's own local context.

Meanwhile, the worship of nature is found in Koryŏ Daoism as well. The Daoism that

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Kungye who held the ritual every year. T'aejo refers to it as "assembly for offering Buddha and pleasing the spirits. "設八關會 有司言 "前王每歲仲冬, 大設八關齋 以祈福, 乞遵其制." 王曰 "朕以不德 獲守大業 盍依佛教 安輯邦家." 遂於毬庭 置輪燈一所 香燈旁列 滿地光明徹夜 又結綵棚兩所 各高五丈餘 狀若蓮臺 望之縹緲 呈百戲歌舞於前 其四仙樂部龍鳳象馬車船皆新羅故事 百官袍笏行禮 觀者傾都 晝夜樂焉 王御威鳳樓觀之名爲供佛樂神之會. 自後 歲以爲常."

<sup>217</sup> Ch'oe Sŭngno chŏn 崔承老傳, *Koryŏsa*, kwŏn 93, yŏljŏn 6

had developed on the Korean peninsula differed significantly from its Chinese counterpart. For example, Chinese Daoism has a hierarchically organized pantheon with Yuanshi tianzun or Yuhuang shangdi at its apex. However, on the Korean peninsula, there had been a long tradition of an archaic Daoism based on Tangun worship.<sup>218</sup> Tangun, the legendary founder of Kojosŏn 古朝鮮 (?–108 BC), the first kingdom of Korea, was the highest deity of Korean Daoism, which included ideas of immortality, shamanism, and mountain worship. This tradition of integrated regional folk belief exerted its influence even after a more systemized Daoism was transmitted from China during the reign of King Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–1122).

In sum, astral worship was not an independent faith during the Koryŏ dynasty. It was part of broad nature worship, which had its roots in prehistoric times. As seen in the *Ten Injunctions*, nature spirits interacted with people who lived in their realm. Thus, they were also related to some degree to their ethnic or regional identity. Even though the indigenous worship of nature and stars had not been established as an organized religious system, it was not discarded by the new Koryŏ dynasty, but was kept and continued for generations.

## **(2) A Dualistic Perspective on the Stars**

Before and during the Koryŏ dynasty, stars appeared in two different ways in the visual material—as elements of a microcosm representing the afterlife and as supernatural beings engaging in human affairs. Koguryŏ’s tomb murals are generally accepted as examples of the former. Hoping that the dead souls would continue their life after death, their tombs were designed as the afterlife reflecting their lifetime. Approximately 25% of excavated tombs of the

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<sup>218</sup> Chŏng Chaesŏ 鄭在承, *Han'guk togyo ūi kiwŏn kwa yŏksa* 한국 도교의 기원과 역사 [*The Origin and History of Korean Daoism*] (Sŏul: Ihwa yŏja taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2006), 55–56.

Koguryō period have asterism images.<sup>219</sup> The stars are present on the ceiling or walls and symbolize the celestial hemisphere. The Sun, Moon, Northern Dipper, Southern Dipper, Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, etc. are usually represented. These are the traditionally well-known celestial bodies that anyone can easily observe with the naked eye. Since they are depicted as reflecting their actual position in the night sky, the ceilings of the tombs become a kind of archaic star map. However, the stars presented on the ceiling are not regarded as deified, exerting magical powers over one's life. Some Koryō tombs have star images, too, giving evidence that the idea of a microcosm for the dead was still conceivable.

Yet, the stars are also often mentioned in historical records as objects of official worship for the sake of the dynasty. As seen in the critical remark by Ch'oe Sūngno quoted above, the Daoist ritual *ch'o* 醮 (C. *jiao*) was one of the main official rituals held at the court.<sup>220</sup> In the *Koryōsa*, *ch'o* is defined as “making offerings to heaven and earth, and to mountains and rivers within the territory,”<sup>221</sup> and in *Suishu* 隋書 [*Book of the Sui Dynasty*] as “having a ritual for Tianhuang, Taiyi, Five Planets and Lunar Mansions”.<sup>222</sup> In addition to many Daoist deities,

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<sup>219</sup> Kim Ilkwōn, *Uri yōksa ūi hanūlgwa pyōlchari*, 85.

<sup>220</sup> The number of *ch'o* ritual—whether only for astral deities or for various natural spirits including stellar deities—held at the court during the Koryō period is 191. This number only counts the cases recorded in the official history but it seems that there were more. Among 191 cases, 100 are called *Ch'inch'o* 親醮 which means that the King in person organized the ritual. Kim Ch'ōrung 김철웅, *Koryō sidae ūi Togyo 고려시대의 도교 [Daoism of Koryō Dynasty]* (P'aju: Kyōngin Munhwasa, 2017), 108-109. It implies official characteristic of star worship of the time.

<sup>221</sup> *Koryōsa*, kwōn 63, zhi 17, ye 禮 5, *kirye sosa chapsa* 吉禮小祀 雜祀. “七月 大醮于毬庭 國家故事 往往遍祭天地及境內山川于闕庭 謂之醮.”

<sup>222</sup> *Suishu*, *jingji zhi* 經籍志. “夜中於星辰之下 陳放酒脯 餅餌 幣物 歷祀天皇 太乙 祀五星列宿爲書如上 章之儀以奏之 名之爲醮.”

astral deities account for a considerable proportion of deities addressed in *ch'o*.<sup>223</sup> The purpose of *ch'o* varies, but basically this official ceremony assumes that celestial bodies could become involved in human affairs and were able to grant wishes such as dispelling calamities or bringing rain. The Northern Dipper, the Nine (or Eleven) planets, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, and Polaris, which had been visualized in the tombs for the afterlife, appeared again as deified objects in official ceremonies.

This dualistic perspective is reflected in two different modes of representing the stars. Stars represent an element of an individual's afterlife within a private space, such as Koguryō's tomb. In this closed space, they symbolically show how heaven operates, which helps the microcosm imitating this world to work well for the dead. In the official arena, on the other hand, the stars were included in a system of state rituals as objects of faith, able to bring blessings to country and people. Whether included in Buddhist or Daoist worship, the stars were given the ability to intervene in the secular world. Moreover, neither of the two perspectives was replaced by the other; they coexisted, but in different realms.

### **(3) The Multiplicity of the Supreme Being**

Most religions are polytheistic, including the folk cult, Buddhism, and the Daoism of the Koryō dynasty. Moreover, as they coexisted, the pantheon imagined by the Koryō people appears to have been somewhat fluid and fairly crowded. This does not mean, however, that there was no

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<sup>223</sup> Kim Ch'ŏrung, *Koryō sidae ūi Togyo*, 181–185, table 9. Moreover, table 8 on 174–175 lists the titles of ritual texts written for *ch'o*. It shows that many of them were dedicated to stars such as the Northern Dipper, the Eleven Planets, and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. Kim asserts that the objects worshipped in a Daoist ritual during the Koryō dynasty can be categorized into three groups: heavenly gods (天神), the heavenly realm (天界), and stellar gods (星宿神). The third, stellar gods, became the main object of worship after the reign of King Ŭijong 毅宗 (r. 1146–1170).

Supreme Being. The tradition since antiquity of worshipping heaven has yielded a rich and complicated history of thought on the peninsula about the Supreme Being. During the Koryŏ period, many different Supreme Beings were venerated. In the *Koryŏsa*, Sangje 上帝 [Heavenly Emperor], Sangch'ŏn 上天 [Supreme Heaven], Hwangch'ŏn 皇天 [August Heaven], Hoch'ŏn sangje 昊天上帝 [Supreme Emperor of the Vast Heaven], Ch'ŏnhwang sangje 天皇上帝 [Supreme Emperor of August Heaven], and T'ae'il 太一 (C. *Taiyi*) are mentioned. That is, deified heaven was not conceived as a single deity but as a plurality.<sup>224</sup> These terms indicate that diverse worldviews coexisted during the Koryŏ period.

As demonstrated by the case of the Supreme Beings, religious plurality allowed for many different perceptions of the natural spirits. This can be applied to astral worship, too. On the Korean peninsula, elements of Buddhism, Daoism, and their cosmology had been accepted over a long period of time. As a result, some stars and astral deities were represented in manners adhering to Buddhism or Daoism, but this does not necessarily mean that their intrinsic meanings corresponded to orthodox Buddhist or Daoist cosmology. Thus, even if some elements of Buddhism and Daoism were found within a text or image, it would be too simple to explain this through a synthesis of the two religions. Rather, it is necessary to investigate how the astral deities, leaving the Chinese context behind, have been perceived in a culture where multiple nature spirits derived from one object coexisted and where major asterisms played different roles

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<sup>224</sup> According to existing research, Sangje and Sangch'ŏn were general terms, whereas Hoch'ŏn sangje and Ch'ŏnhwang sangje were used in the Confucian and Daoist contexts, respectively. Kim Ilkwŏn, "Koryŏ shidae ūi tawŏnjŏk chigoshin kwannyŏm gwa kŭ ūiryŏ sasangjŏk paegyŏng," *고려시대의 다원적 지고신 관념과 그 의례 사상적 배경* [The Multiplicity of Supreme Beings and Their Ritual Background during the Koryŏ Dynasty], *Han'guk munhwa* 29 (2002): 119–135. All these terms have also been used in China, but their meaning was not the same.

in different realms.

#### 4. The Stars of the Koryŏ People

The astral deities and the pantheon represented in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha reflect both the astral worship and the Tejaprabhā worship of the late Koryŏ period. Although the origin of each can be traced to China's *tianwen*, they were each placed in a different context and were perceived in slightly different ways.

##### (1) The Pole Star

As in the case of the multiple Supreme Beings, there are several deities representing the Pole Star. Tejaprabhā Buddha and Tianhuang dadi, both depicted in the Boston painting, are examples. In addition, Taiyi was also worshipped as a god of the Pole Star.<sup>225</sup> All these Pole Star deities have different meanings; thus, they played different roles in Koryŏ religious culture. Chapter 2 already discussed Tejaprabhā Buddha as a wheel-turning king or as an ideal ruler.

Tianhuang dadi has often been worshipped in *ch'o*. The existing texts for *ch'o* indicate that rituals for Tianhuang dadi were in many cases related to rebellions.

Text for *ch'o* Ritual dedicated to Tianhuang [dadi] on the first day of the year:  
The rise of good fortune depends on the first day of the first month of the year. What military commanders do first is to get the help of heaven, earth, and men. I, your servant, think that certain persons obediently received a solemn order and were sent to fight an unruly person. Considering their sin, their life, which hardly stays a moment, should not be saved. How could they evade punishment by a fluke, instead? As time goes by, it has already been over a year. It is shameful that I could not make any contribution. As the new year has just begun, however, I will be able to succeed [in defeating the enemy]. So I exhaust myself in prayer [to you] with a burning heart [just] relying on the dirty black mirror [of my self]. [I] dare to hope for a selfless way (Dao). With your dignity, [please] send us your help silently and make the handle of the Dipper point to the

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<sup>225</sup> Taiyi has been equated with Tianhuang dadi in many Chinese texts and even in late Chosŏn documents. Kim Ch'ŏrung, *Koryŏ sidae ūi Togyo*, 195. However, since Tianhuang dadi and *Taiyi* were worshipped separately in the Koryŏ period, these two must have been regarded as different deities.

direction of *yin* (Northeast). [I wish to] defeat the enemy's bastion in the East and to send a report of victory to the palace, which has the north at its back.<sup>226</sup> [37]

In addition to this text wishing to suppress a rebellion, Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1169–1241), the famous scholar official, also left *ch'o* texts dedicated to Tianhuang dadi, praying for victory in the war. It seems that Tianhuang dadi was thought to be associated with military affairs more than any other deity.

Meanwhile, dispelling natural disasters, especially drought, was why the Koryŏ people often prayed to Taiyi,<sup>227</sup> although Taiyi was sometimes mentioned in a *ch'o* text hoping to subdue rebels too.<sup>228</sup>

... The meteor had lost its proportion, that is how bad it is. Drought became a disaster. Even if there were grain, [how could] I eat it? [When I] look up at the sky and gaze at the clouds, the blazing sun comes out, [instead of rain]. Thus, [I] respectfully, carefully and sincerely offer this prayer, hoping that [you] approve this offering and give your blessing. ... Please moisten [the soil] enough so that grain will grow, [our] country will flourish, the war will cease, and [everything] will be peaceful for generations.<sup>229</sup> [38]

Generally, each star as an object of worship had its own role. The Pole Star took charge of various calamities, such as natural disasters, wars, and diseases. These wide-ranging roles were divided into multiple Pole Star deities in Koryŏ astral worship. This role-sharing was not necessarily related to Buddhism or Daoism but rather to autochthonic belief. For this reason, each Pole Star deity had its own significance to be separately addressed.

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<sup>226</sup> Yi Kyubo, “Chŏngdanhaeng Ch'ŏnhwang ch'oryemun 正旦行天皇醮禮文,” in *Tongguk isanggukchip*, kwŏn 38, toryang je ch'o so chemun. 道場齊醮疏祭文

<sup>227</sup> Kim Ch'ŏr-ung, *Koryŏ sidae ūi Togyo*, 199.

<sup>228</sup> Yi Kyubo, “T'ae'yil ch'oryemun,” 太一醮禮文, in *Tongguk isanggukchip*, kwŏn 38, toryang je ch'o so chemun.

<sup>229</sup> Pyŏn Kyeryang 卞季良(1369-1430), “Sogyŏkchŏn haenggiwu kyŏm yusŏng kiyang Tae'yil ch'orye samhŏn ch'ŏngsa,” 昭格殿 行祈雨兼流星祈禳 太一醮禮三獻青詞, in *Tongmunsŏn*, kwŏn 11.



## (2) The Northern Dipper

Given that the Northern Dipper has been an important celestial body since ancient times, it is surprising that mention of a personified Northern Dipper is hardly found in Korea before the late Koryŏ period.<sup>230</sup> Unlike the Pole Star, which is represented in anthropomorphic form in many ways, the Northern Dipper was worshipped as it was—that is, as an asterism, often shown as a dots-and-lines diagram.

The imagery of the Northern Dipper carved on the Dolmens of the Neolithic period and illustrated in Koguryŏ tomb murals indicates that the visualization of the Northern Dipper and its worship have a long history on the Korean peninsula. The fact that it was the celestial body that appeared most frequently in both textual and visual material demonstrates how influential the Northern Dipper cult was. All the images of the Northern Dipper from the Dolmens and the tomb murals are composed of dots and sometimes of lines. This convention continued after the founding of the Koryŏ dynasty.

Koryŏ can be regarded as a transitional period in which the cults of the Northern Dipper as an asterism and as anthropomorphic deity coexisted. Many Koryŏ tomb murals include the stars of the Northern Dipper on the ceiling, following the tradition of Koguryŏ tombs. Although details changed, the Northern Dipper's positioning in the tombs showed that it still symbolized the center of the universe. Even outside the contexts of tomb murals, the Northern Dipper was often depicted as seven dots shaping a dipper, as exemplified by the seven stone discs created around the twelfth century near the Unju Monastery 雲住寺, in Hwasun, South Chŏlla Province (Fig. 3.6). These stone discs, each measuring three to four meters in diameter, are spread out

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<sup>230</sup> The Northern Dipper depicted as an anthropomorphic deity in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha could be one of the earliest examples of a personified Northern Dipper in Korean art history.

over the Ch'önbul Mountain 千佛山 valley in the shape of a dipper, undoubtedly representing the Northern Dipper (Fig. 3.7). Interestingly, at a moderate distance from these disc stones, a Buddha triad—a bodhisattva is now missing but a little trace of it remains—is carved on the ridge (Figs. 3.8, 3.9). There has been no agreement among scholars on identifying the Buddha. One convincing argument for identifying it as Tejaprabhā is that the position of the Buddha triad in relation to the location of the stone discs of the Northern Dipper corresponds to the actual position of the Pole Star and the Northern Dipper.<sup>231</sup>

Although there is no critical evidence indicating the Buddha's identification, ritual contexts, the existence of these stone artifacts, and orally transmitted tales in the Hwasun area in the Hwasun area are worth considering for the production of these stones. With some variations, the tales can be summarized as follows.<sup>232</sup> An eminent monk, Tosön 道詵 (827–898), realized that his Chinese master, who taught him geomancy, suppressed the spiritual energy of Korean mountains using his supernatural power in order to weaken Silla's vitality. Thus, Tosön tried to remedy the state by building “a thousand of stupas and a thousand of buddhas” (千佛千塔) near Unju Monastery to remedy defects.<sup>233</sup> However, he could not complete the construction because of a worker's ruse. It has been said that this area would have been the future capital of a state as a future king would be born there and the *wabul* (臥佛, reclining Buddha) (note the

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<sup>231</sup> Kim Ilkwön, “Hwasun Unjusa puktu ch'ilsöng wönbansök kwa sanjöng wabul üi koryö ch'önmunhak,” 181-213.

<sup>232</sup> Chönnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan 전남대학교 박물관, Hwasun-gun 화순군, *Unjusa chonghap haksul chosa* 운주사 종합학술조사 [*Comprehensive Studies about Unju Monastery*], (Kwangu: Chönnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan, 1991), 349-374.

<sup>233</sup> The number of stupas and buddhist figures is not exact but symbolic. To date, only about 90 of buddhist figures and 20 of stupas remain. It seems that the project of producing the stupas and figures was halted considering that there are many relics incompleated.

aforementioned Buddha triad) would have had to stand up if Tosŏn had successfully finished the construction. Tosŏn's project, which produced a number of the stupas and Buddhist figures, was based on his *Pibo* (裨補, geomantic supplementation) theory that topographical deficiencies can be moderated by geomantic supplementation. We should not accept these tales collected during the twentieth century as historical fact. Even the date of Unju Monastery remains controversial. However, it should be noted that the tale is linked to a new state's foundation and geomancy. It is especially significant considering that Wang Kŏn was a follower of Tosŏn's geomancy theory. As Chapter 2 discussed, Tejaprabhā Buddha was related to Wang Kŏn's heroic heritage and authorization as a new ruler. Along with the stone Northern Dipper, folk tales about this site related to kingship indicate it is highly possible that the Buddha was perceived as Tejaprabhā Buddha. If we accept the Buddha is no other than Tejaprabhā Buddha, we may conclude that the stone Northern Dipper was created as the stellar attendant of the Tejaprabhā Buddha, but in diagrammatic form. This means that, at the time, even in the Buddhist context, the Northern Dipper was imagined as a natural object rather than a personified one.

An example of the anthropomorphic form of the Northern Dipper, the “Stellar Sovereigns of the Seven Origins” (Ch'ilwŏn sŏnggun 七元星君), first appeared in the late Koryŏ period. Apart from the Boston Tejaprabhā painting, a relief on the Ten-Story Stone Pagoda from the Kyŏngch'ŏn Temple Site depicting Tejaprabhā Buddha's assembly includes Ch'ilwŏn sŏnggun. The seven figures at the bottom of the scene are represented as officials wearing robes and holding tablets. Their representation differs from the Northern Dipper in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, where the Ch'ilwŏn sŏnggun are shown as monk-like figures holding tablets. It seems that Northern Dipper deities based on foreign inspiration—especially from China—appeared in this period, but their iconography had not been settled yet.

We may conclude that there was no established tradition of depicting the Northern Dipper in an anthropomorphic form when the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha was created. The Northern Dipper in the painting is illustrated in two different forms: as an eight-star asterism and as nine personified deities. With regard to the former (Fig. 3.10), only *fixing* is added to the conventional seven stars. This is, in fact, the way in which the Northern Dipper is depicted in some Koguryō tomb murals.<sup>234</sup> Meanwhile, the latter is comprised of nine figures, including *fixing* and *bixing*. This discrepancy between the number of stars in the two formats is most probably due to the different references used for each. It seems that the painter followed the indigenous tradition for the asterism sign on the one hand and referred to China's Northern Dipper imagery illustrating seven main deities and two assistants on the other. The two different modes of depicting the Northern Dipper may have implied two different perspectives towards the Northern Dipper—as a significant component for cosmic operation and as a group of dedicated deities in a religious context. Both modes of representation were apparently still considered efficacious in the late Koryō period.

Even in the early Chosŏn period, the Northern Dipper in its asterism form was thought to be more important than its anthropomorphic version:

King [T'aejong] said: For what reason was the Temple of Great Purity built? According to the old books, many titles in *tianwen* are deceptive. Nowadays, rituals to those who are called a certain lord or certain emperor are too many. I believe that it goes against what's right. The Northern Dipper is the only thing that I see with the naked eye and worship.<sup>235</sup> [39]

This record shows that the Northern Dipper was not conceived as a “certain lord” or a “certain emperor,” but as a natural object that can be observed with one's eyes. In fact, Ch'ilwŏn

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<sup>234</sup> The Tök'hŭng-ri tomb and Kakchŏ ch'ong (Tomb of the Wrestlers) are examples.

<sup>235</sup> CWS, 27th day, 1st month, 16th Year of Reign of T'aejong (1416).

sōnggun and Ch'ilsōng yōrae 七星如來 [Buddhas of Seven Star]), the two personifications of the Northern Dipper, were not widely worshipped until the mid-Chosŏn period.

### (3) The Eleven Planets

The significance of worshipping the Nine or Eleven Planets in Koryŏ is revealed by the existence of *Kuyodang* 九曜堂 [Hall of the Nine Planets] at the court. The name suggests that the Nine Planets were deities venerated in *Kuyodang*. Since no other place for astral worship of the early Koryŏ period is known, we may conclude that worshipping the stars focused on the Nine Planets. In the late Koryŏ dynasty, however, the Nine Planets-centered astral cult changed:

In the fourth year of King Kojong's reign (1217), in the third month, on the day of *renwu*, from the [images of] the Eleven Planets in *Kuyodang*, a sound like music was heard.<sup>236</sup> [40]

This entry in the *Koryŏsa* indicates that sometime before 1217 images, in the form of statues or paintings, of the Eleven Planets were enshrined in the hall, either replacing the Nine Planets or adding to them. Moreover, King Ch'ung'nyŏl 忠烈王 (r. 1274–1308) held a *ch'o* ceremony for the Eleven Planets in *Kuyodang* in 1288.<sup>237</sup> Thus, it seems that in the thirteenth century at the latest, the Eleven Planets became a major object of Koryŏ astral worship. The Eleven Planets in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha seem to reflect this religious tendency of the late Koryŏ period.

The religious characteristic of *Kuyodang* is much debated. Sŏ Yun'gil suggests that *Kuyodang* and the cult of Nine Planets should be understood in the Buddhist context in the sense

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<sup>236</sup> *Koryŏsa*, kwŏn 53, chi 7, ohaeng 五行 1.

<sup>237</sup> *Koryŏsa*, kwŏn 63, chi 17, ye 5, kirye sosa chapsa.

that the concept of Nine Planets was based on Buddhist astrology.<sup>238</sup> However, recent studies argue that *Kuyodang* was Daoist because it was a place for *ch'o*, the Daoist ritual.<sup>239</sup> This uncertainty, however, may imply that the cult of Nine or Eleven Planets was neither exclusively Buddhist nor Daoist. It is recorded that *Kuyodang* was built in 924 by King T'aejo along with *Ojesögwön* 外帝釋院 [Outer Indra Hall], and *Shinjungwön* 神衆院 [Guardian Deities Hall], which were Buddhist shrines.<sup>240</sup> This suggests that, when *Kuyodang* was built, it was also intended as a Buddhist place. However, as time went by, its religious identity changed, as demonstrated by the many *ch'o* ceremonies held there. The later addition of the statues of the Eleven Planets, which were thought to be Daoist deities at this time, adds evidence to this interpretation. In other words, the cult of planets has experienced changes in its religious dedication.

This change was possible because astral worship was not considered exclusively Buddhist or Daoist; rather, it was a part of grand nature worship, as explained earlier. When the system of state-supporting religious rituals was built at the newly established court, astral worship was incorporated into official ceremonies and, therefore, formats were borrowed from major religions—initially Buddhism. However, celestial bodies that carried particular meaning in indigenous cults, such as the Northern and Southern Dippers, the Six Stars of Three Stages—to

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<sup>238</sup> Sö Yun'gil, 서윤길 “Kuyo shinang kwa kü sasang öllyu” 구요 신앙과 그 사상 원류 [The Cult of Nine Planet and Its Ideological Origin], in *Koryö milgyo sasangsa yön'gu* (Söul: Pulgwang ch'ulp'anbu, 1993), 386–422.

<sup>239</sup> Kim Ch'örung, *Koryö sidae üi Togyo*, 218. Chöng Chinhüi attests that *Kuyodang* was generally considered a Daoist hall, whereas Daoism was not clearly distinguished from Buddhism when it came to the worship of the Nine Planets. Chöng Chinhüi, “Koryö Ch'isönggwang yörae shinang koch'al”고려 치성광여래 신앙 고찰 [A Study on the Cult of Tejaprabha Buddha in Koryö], *Chöngshin munhwa yön'gu* 36.3 (2013): 326–327.

<sup>240</sup> *Koryösa*, kwön 1, 9th month, 7th years of Reign of T'aejo (924),

be discussed next—or the Old Man Star (C. *laoren xing*, K. *noin sǒng* 老人星) were objects that were also venerated in Daoism. Thus, for the Koryŏ people, elements of the Daoist pantheon, closely interwoven with indigenous folk belief, may have been well suited for astral worship. Astral worship in the Koryŏ court was then over time practiced in a Daoist way. As a result, in the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods, Daoist ideas and rituals were applied to worshipping the stars, as the case of the Eleven Planets demonstrates. The existence of representations of the Eleven Planets in *Kuyodang* gives evidence of the flexibility of stellar worship in this dynasty. This flexibility was possible—maybe even necessary—because star worship had not been firmly tied with or derived from a certain doctrine—it was based on an ancient regional cult.

#### **(4) The Six Stars of the Three Stages**

Each figure representing the Six Stars of the Three Stages in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is named: “the Son of Heaven 天子星,” “the Female Lord 女主星,” “the Local Lord 諸侯星,” “the Minister 卿星,” “the Nobleman 士星,” and “the Commoner 庶星” (Table 4). This identification corresponds with the description in *Tianwenzhi* of the *Jinshu*. An early Chosŏn astronomy book, *Ch’ŏnmun ryuch’o* 天文類抄 [*Patterns of the Sky in Detailed Account*], which contains similar contents, demonstrates that the basic notion of this asterism from the *Jinshu* was still adhered to in fifteenth century Chosŏn.

The Six Stars of the Three Stages have been meaningful asterisms in Chinese *tianwen*, but they were even more important in Korea. “Six Stars of the Three Stages,” “*Santai xing* 三台星” in Chinese, is pronounced as “*Samt’ae sǒng*” in Korean. Its first syllable “sam” means ‘three’ in Sino-Korean, but “*sam* 삼” is also an indigenous Korean word for “pregnancy,” or “fetus.”

Other indigenous Korean words—“*Samsin halmōni*” (birth grandmother, *Samsin*) and “*Samjul*” (umbilical cord)—also contain the same “*sam*.” Due to similarities in pronunciation, the Six Stars of the Three Stages, which had already been originally been related to birth, nurturing, and longevity in Chinese *tianwen* texts, had acquired an even stronger association with “birth” for speakers of Korean.<sup>241</sup>

The Six Stars of the Three Stages have been acknowledged as the stars of birth since Koguryō times, as some Koguryō tomb murals demonstrated (Table 4). Interestingly, it seems that there were different ways to depict the Six Stars of Three Stages. In the Tōkhūng-ni tomb, they are illustrated as six dots consisting of two rows of three dots. Three lines connect to two dots each, like a ladder. Similarly, the so-called Tomb of the Twin Pillars (*Ssangyōng ch'ong*) murals contain an image of two rows of three dots, indicating the Six Stars of the Three Stages, but the way of connecting the dots is different from that used in the Tōkhūng-ni tomb. Meanwhile, in the Tomb of the Wrestlers (*Kakchō ch'ong*), the asterism is depicted as three dots right next to the Northern Dipper. It consists of three pairs of stars and looks like a three-star asterism at first glance. This is why it has often been called the “Stars of the Three Stages” as well. The Koguryō tomb murals give evidence that the asterism had been visualized as both three

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<sup>241</sup> Most of the contemporary Korean vocabulary is based on (ancient) Chinese and can be written in Chinese characters. Only about 25% of Korean words today are indigenous. There is almost no material about the ancient Korean language, but a study shows that in the seventeenth century, the pure Korean word “*sam*” meaning “birth” was written as “삼”, and its pronunciation was the same or very similar to that of the Sino-Korean word “*sam*” meaning “three.” We have no evidence about the ancient Korean word and its pronouncement, but the special connotation of the word “*sam*” in the Korean peninsula may have had a long tradition given the images of the Six Stars of the Three Stages in the Koguryō tombs. Chōng Yōnshik 정연식, “Koryō mal sōgok-ri kwōnjun myo ūi samsōng kwa t'aesōng” 고려 말 서곡리 權準 묘의 三星과 胎星 [Three Stars and Birth Stars in the Tomb of Kwōn Chun Located in Sōgok-ri in the Late Koryō Era], *Inmun nonch'ong* 31 (2017): 199-207.



stars and six stars.<sup>242</sup>

Among the Koryŏ examples, Kwŏn Chun's 權準 (1281–1352) tomb is worth considering. Kwŏn Chun was the granduncle of Kwŏn Kŭn, who wrote the inscription on the Chosŏn star map discussed in Chapter 1 (Fig. 1.5). On the ceiling of his tomb, only the Northern Dipper and the Six Stars of the Three Stages composed of three dots are illustrated.<sup>243</sup> This indicates that the Koguryŏ convention of representing a microcosm in a tomb was maintained but in a simpler form. The three-dot asterism occupying half of this abbreviated cosmos shows itself as the antithesis of the Northern Dipper—that is, as the symbol of birth.<sup>244</sup>

While the artists of tomb murals in the late Koryŏ period preferred the three-dot format over the six-dot one in representing this celestial body, other contemporary astronomers or artists chose another mode: they depicted it as six-star asterism connected by five zigzagging lines. The Chosŏn star map and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha are the examples. Whereas this asterism is shown as three personified deities in the Yongle Palace mural and as three pairs of closely connected dots in the Suzhou star map, the Six Stars of the Three Stages were certainly conceived as six stars in late Koryŏ Korea.

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<sup>242</sup> There are many other three-dot asterism images in Koguryŏ tomb murals, but it is debatable what they represent. What I have included here are only examples which are thought to be highly probable representations of the Six Stars of the Three Stages.

<sup>243</sup> Many studies agree that this three-dot asterism is the Six Stars of the Three Stages, but there have been differing views as well. Kim Ilkwŏn argues that these are three stars of the North Pole (北極三星), which was a Koguryŏ-invented celestial notion, and Chŏng Yŏnsik thought that it was Orion's belt. Kim Ilkwŏn, *Uri yŏksa ūi hanŭlgwa pyŏlchari*, 329-330; Chŏng Yŏnsik, "Koryŏ mal Sŏgongni Kwŏn Chun myo ūi samsŏng kwa t'aesŏng," 207–208.

<sup>244</sup> Generally speaking, the Southern Dipper was less popular in this era. It was shown in Koguryŏ tomb murals but disappeared and, as demonstrated by Kwŏn Ch'ŭn's tomb, was replaced by the Six Stars of the Three Stages. As they became popular as the stars of birth, the Southern Dipper, which is only observed during the summertime on the peninsula, lost its status as the antithesis of the Northern Dipper. Chŏng Yŏnshik, "Koryŏ mal sŏgok-ri kwŏnjun myo ūi samsŏng kwa t'aesŏng," 212-213.

### **(5) Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions**

As explained earlier, the tradition of the Lunar Mansions has its roots in China since antiquity, but its combination with auspicious animals developed into a new form hundreds of years later. From there it was also introduced to the neighboring countries. In addition to the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, there is another example of the Lunar Mansion animal images from Korea—a decorative banner. It is one of the original four decorative banners used as official ceremonial flags of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea. On the red banner, which is the only remaining one, the Seven Animals of the South (南方七獸)—wild dog, sheep, river deer, horse, deer, serpent, and earthworm—are depicted in circular frames (Fig. 3.11). This arrangement is not the same in design and color as described in the above-mentioned *Yuanshi*, but the illustrated animals are identical.

Among the visual material from the Korean peninsula, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is the only example representing the Lunar Mansion animals apart from this banner. One can easily notice that the matching between the Lunar Mansions and the animals is different from the Chinese examples discussed earlier (Table 3). The order of the animals partially corresponds to the Chinese examples, but it does not match with the Lunar Mansions. A possible explanation is that the artist referred to an image of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, rather than to any textual reference. He may have copied the animal images without matching them with the asterisms and, as such, may have regarded the auspicious animals merely as decoration. We may presume that the original context of the auspicious animals and Lunar Mansions—that is, *nayin* or the Chinese fate-calculating system—was not completely introduced to Korea at the time. The

many errors in the arrangement of the auspicious animals stand in contrast to the relatively detailed illustration of their asterism diagrams. Each star's shape and relative magnitude are quite accurately represented. The contrast in representation of the two modes demonstrates that the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions were understood as important indicators in dividing the celestial sphere and as attendants of Tejaprabhā's assembly, but not in their astrological context.

### **(6) The Pantheon of Tejaprabhā**

Then, how was Tejaprabhā's pantheon composed? What needs to be pointed out first is that, although the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha seems to be a kind of star map, it did not function as such. In other words, scientific accuracy for practical purposes was not required. Nevertheless, due to the convention of depicting asterism diagrams shared by astronomers and artists across different genres and intellectual disciplines, the painter of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha was able to illustrate each diagram fairly precisely. However, discrepancies occur when all the asterisms are represented in one place, as in a planisphere. For example, the six-star asterism, which is included in Sagittarius in modern astronomy, is duplicated in Tejaprabhā's cosmos as the Southern Dipper and as the *dou* of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. One might say that Tianhuang dadì and Tejaprabhā both symbolize the Pole Star and are therefore also examples of a duplicated celestial body. However, the relationship between these two is not the same as in the case of the Southern Dipper and the *dou*, because Tianhuang dadì and Tejaprabhā are completely separate entities. Being established in distinct contexts, they were different deities having different titles, iconographies, and characteristics. Moreover, their initial connection to Pole Star was weakened as they became supreme stellar gods within their own Daoist and Buddhist contexts. Meanwhile, the Southern Dipper and the *dou* have strong identities as asterisms, rather

than as religious gods. In addition, many *tianwen* texts have pointed out that they have the same referent. In the painting, not only are their personifications repetitive but their dipper-shaped diagrams are also duplicated. This is why the painting looks decisively irrational. If it were meant to be a star map, it would be a critical error to have a celestial body presented twice.

In fact, this is not the first case of a duplication of Southern Dipper and *dou*. Such a duplication had already appeared in Tökhwa-ri tomb no. 2, built in the Koguryō period. In this tomb, the grand Northern and Southern Dippers occupy the ceiling, and the smaller Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are represented around the lower part of the ceiling (shown on the outer rim in the diagram of Fig. 3.12). Most of the Lunar Mansion images, including the *dou*, have flaked off due to the erosion of the tomb, so they are no longer visible. Considering the existing fragmented murals and inscriptions, however, it becomes apparent that the initial pictorial program included the complete set of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions. In other words, the Southern Dipper and *dou* were represented together in the mural.<sup>245</sup>

We have to be aware that stars, though natural objects, if imagined as combinations of the dots and lines of asterisms, were perceived through human reflection and ideas of grouping. Thus, in their visualization, modern concepts of accuracy—of how the celestial sphere is represented “as it is”—did not matter when it came to nature worship. The asterism diagrams in the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha do not try to copy the actual sky. Their purpose is to identify each deity, just like the red cartouches containing their names, and to assist the cosmic functioning of the painting, similar to the asterism images in the tomb murals. However, the cosmic functioning

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<sup>245</sup> The arrangement of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions here is different from that of other tomb murals in China. Kim argues that it is for placing the Southern Dipper and the *dou* in the same cardinal direction. Thus, the artist of the Tökhwa-ri tomb knew that these two were not different entities. Kim Ilkwōn, “Koguryō kobun pyōkhwa ūi pyōlchari kojōng” 고구려 고분벽화의 별자리考定 [Identification of Asterism Images in Koguryō Tomb Murals], *Paeksan hakpo* 47(1996): 90–91.

here was not for a dead soul, as in the tombs, but for the living who approached the painting with mundane wishes. Hence, the dual perspectives that were exerted in separate fields are now revealed together in this painting.

It is uncertain whether the Southern Dipper or the *dou* of the Lunar Mansions was recognized first by people on the Korean peninsula. However, the fact that the two have coexisted means that when the new concept was introduced, it did not replace the older one. There was no one-to-one link between the signifier and signified. The Southern Dipper as counterpart of the Northern Dipper in Koguryō tombs disappeared as the significance of the Six Stars of the Three Stages grew. However, as seen in the Boston painting and confirmed by historical records, the Southern Dipper became an important celestial body again during the Koryō period. That is, layers of different connotations of the six-star asterism in Sagittarius were accumulated throughout history. A certain layer was emphasized depending on a certain religious preference, but that does not mean that other layers were discarded. Others dominated in different eras and areas.

The iconography of Tejabrahmā's pantheon, as represented in the Boston painting, seems to consist of a combination of Buddhist and Daoist deities with no prior case of its unique composition. As far as the stellar deities are concerned, textual evidence suggests that there was no fixed Tejabrahmā pantheon in medieval Korea. Examples of grouping stellar deities are found in the *Koryōsa*:

[On the day of *guiwei* 癸未, in the sixth month, sixth year of Reign of Ŭijong (1152)] in the Hall of Bright benevolence, [King Ŭijong] conducted a *ch'o* ritual for seventy-two stars and for Tianhuang dadi, Taiyi, and also for sixteen deities to dispel infectious disease.<sup>246</sup> [41]  
[On the day of *jiyou*, 己酉 in the second month, King Ŭijong] worshipped (*ch'o*) the Eleven Planets, the Southern and Northern Dippers, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, and the Twelve

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<sup>246</sup> *Koryōsa*, kwōn 17, sega 17, 6th month, 6th years of Reign of Ŭijong (1152).

Lots [of the zodiac] in the Hall of Enhancing cultural refinement. ... On the day of *xinyou* [in the third month, King Ŭijong] worshipped Taiyi, the Eleven Planets, the Southern and Northern Dippers, and the Twelve Lots [of the zodiac] in the inner court.<sup>247</sup> [42]

We do not know how the seventy-two stars were composed. If we refer to the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha's pantheon and other textual records, the number seventy-two could be the sum of the Eleven Planets, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, the Nine Stars of the Northern Dipper, the Six Stars of the Southern Dipper, the Six Stars of the Three Stages, and the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac. I exclude Tianhuang dadī from this calculation because he is separately mentioned. Except for the fact that the Tejabrahā triad has replaced Taiyi, it is possible that the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha's pantheon is a union of astral deities mentioned in this record. As seen in the aforementioned record, written on the day of *jiyou*, however, the seventy-two deities were not always referred to together as a group, so this was not a fixed union. The grouping seems to have been fluid. The pantheon of the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha may also have been created based on this fluidity.

## 5. Conclusion

The fact that the Boston Tejabrahā painting presents dozens of deities with attributes, name cartouches, and asterism diagrams identifying each figure asserts that none of these is without meaning. In understanding the meaning of each deity, how helpful are the classical *tianwen* texts of China, which are distant from the painting in time and space? After scrutinizing the iconographical beginnings of each deity and their non-orthodox Buddhist or Daoist appropriation,

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<sup>247</sup> *Koryŏsa*, kwŏn 19, sega 19, 23th years of Reign of Ŭijong (1169).

we had to understand the circumstances of the fourteenth-century Korean peninsula where the painting was created. Here, a fundamental question had to be raised. Is this work a Buddhist painting? If Buddhist painting merely means a painting representing a Buddha, the answer should be yes. If it is defined as a work containing a Buddhist doctrine, or as a work exclusively produced for a Buddhist community or for a Buddhist ritual, the answer cannot be easily given. The multiple connotations of each deity—the Eleven Planets, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, and the Six Stars of the Three Stages—in the late Koryŏ dynasty may not have been Buddhist. The process from the composition of the pantheon to its visualization is beyond our present-day concept of the religion. It rather appears to be based on a cult that transcends Buddhism, Daoism, folk belief, and state-supporting ideas, mainly focusing on broad astral worship. In that sense, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is not only an image of Tejaprabhā's gathering but could also function as a star mandala, a representation of the cosmos derived from tomb murals or a kind of dhāraṇī amulet, as we will see in the next chapter.

## V. Chapter 4. Stars in a Line: Appropriation of Visual Elements Across Media and Cults

### 1. Introduction

In previous chapters I described characteristics of the Tejaprabhā cult in the Koryŏ dynasty through an analysis of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. Through my description I focused on the cult's cultivation of the image of an ideal ruler through emphasis of the Buddha's descent, and extension of the Tejaprabhā's pantheon based on an indigenous *tianwen* tradition. The Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting indicates that this "foreign deity" was reinterpreted and integrated into Koryŏ's established religious tradition. Meanwhile, some stylistic elements of the work still indirectly connect the Tejaprabhā Buddha to his original context: tantric dhāraṇī worship. This chapter will investigate these stylistic elements.

In Chapter 1 I argued that the similarity in ways pictorial practices are used in different forms of media tend to correlate with the cultural homogeneity of the regional environment. For example, while drawing an asterism using dots and lines was universal, the asterism diagrams of the Suzhou star map from the Song dynasty and the *Ch'ŏnsang yŏlch'a punyajido* from the Chosŏn dynasty are not entirely the same. Visual differences between artistic images are often caused by different intentions or style of the individual artists. However, the differences seen in these two planispheres were instead caused by differences in collective astronomical knowledge and the special interests of the respective places and times. In the production of religious paintings "intention" and "style" are subordinate to formal and iconographic principles and are much less important than "practice." In fact, the maintainability of "practice," which has been addressed in both religious and ritual studies, is also valid when explaining the production of



visual material. This is why I use the term “pictorial practice,” “tradition,” or “convention,” to explain the asterisms in the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha and their idiosyncrasies. Pictorial practice for asterism diagrams is conserved in each cultural area. At times asterisms became much more powerful forces for change than other sources such as the development of science, or the extension of astronomical knowledge.

The phenomenon of visualization in the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha being shared with other works will be examined again in this chapter using a more case-specific approach. The visual element with which this chapter is mainly concerned is the artificial strings of stellar deities along the edges of the painting (Fig. 4.1). Unlike asterism diagrams, this compositional element is rarely seen in other contemporary religious images. This element can be regarded as the result of agency expressed by the artist (most likely in communication with his patron), rather than a common visual convention of a community or period. By researching this unique formal element, we can get a glimpse at the probable iconographic predecessor of the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha, and a facet of the function of the painting as a religious artefact. Analysis of this case will lead us to affirm that visual similarity does not necessarily signify similarity in meaning or characteristics, but sometimes is a consequence of creative appropriation.

## **2. Intended Two-Dimensionality**

In the Boston painting, dozens of stellar deities stand encircling the Buddha and his central attendants surrounding the oxen carriage. These relatively small figures look to the left, just as the center group does. Among them, the outermost figures on the left, right and bottom of the painting are the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, as explained in Chapter 1 (see Fig. 1.4). In this

chapter I intend to focus on the arrangement of these figures.

From *Gui* 鬼, who is standing at the lower left of the painting to *Niu* 牛, in the bottom right corner, twelve figures are depicted lined up in a row. To each side of the painting, the remaining sixteen of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are shown. They form two vertical lines of eight figures each, although these are not as regular as the lines in the bottom row. The arrangement of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions thus forms an angular U-shape resembling a human chain enclosing the canvas. Other groups of stellar deities, such as the Six Stars of Three Stages and the Six Stars of South Dipper, are represented below the carriage. They are not part of this U-shaped gathering, yet stand in lines as well. The Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac are represented in the uppermost part of the painting, forming an arc. Unlike other stellar deities, the Zodiac is not represented in anthropomorphic form, but as twelve symbols in roundels.

At first glance, it seems that the painter was not very interested in drawing the Tejaprabhā Buddha's gathering in a three-dimensional space. Yet, the central group with the Buddha and the carriage is drawn in a three-quarter view and the use of diagonal lines and appropriate proportions evokes a spatial setting. Unlike the main group, all of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, the Six Stars of Three Stages and the South Dipper are depicted in the same size. If we assume that this procession occurs in a three-dimensional space in the painting some figures would be in the foreground while others were in the background. Moreover, almost none of the figures overlap, and due to no indication of any ground each figure seems to be floating in the air. This two-dimensionality is further enhanced when we look at the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac. The roundels of the Zodiac symbols, which look like a border decoration isolated from the main scene, are flat. Their symmetrical arrangement and frontality make the edge of the

painting appear even flatter.

Indeed, two-dimensionality is prevalent in most Koryō Buddhist paintings, as exemplified by *Amitābha Buddha with Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (Fig. 4.2). Painters of both Buddha's preaching and welcoming scenes usually employ a frontal and symmetric composition, combined with a three-quarter view. These artists did not devote themselves to creating a sense of space. Each figure in the *Amitābha Buddha with Eight Great Bodhisattvas* appears flat, as if drawn from stencils, due to the lack of shading, chiaroscuro, or perspective. As in other Koryō Buddhist paintings, in this work the decorative aspect is emphasized through the use of semi-transparent colors and the diaphanous superimposition of layers, at the expense of a display of three-dimensionality. As a result, there is no sense of depth despite the fact that the figures overlap each other. Compared to contemporary Chinese or Japanese Buddhist paintings Koryō works in general tend to be flatter. Thus, three-dimensionality was not the main concern of Koryō artists.

Even allowing for such a stylistic characteristic of Koryō Buddhist painting, some pictorial elements that are only used in the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha further enhance the two-dimensionality of this work. The manner of drawing stellar deities standing in horizontal and vertical lines may be a deliberate visual device rather than a result of the artist's (lack of) skill or the period's style. If this is the case, why did the painter choose this arrangement? Additionally, is there an intention behind selecting this two-dimensional arrangement? This chapter focuses on a formal analysis of elements within the work. I would like to approach these questions with the assumption that this specific form carries certain meaning or intentions. My approach in this analysis shall lead to the identification and interpretation of the scene.

### 3. The *Dasuiqiu Dhāraṇī* Print from Ruiguang Monastery Pagoda as an Iconographic

#### Reference

The *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni* 大隨求陀羅尼 or Mahāpratisarā dhāraṇī, a print found in the pagoda of Ruiguang Monastery 瑞光寺, Suzhou (Fig. 4.3) (hereafter, Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī) provides the most significant reference material in considering the arrangement of stellar deities in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha.<sup>248</sup> This dhāraṇī print was produced in 1005 and has been discussed by many researchers. It is often mentioned as an iconographic predecessor of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, and as an example of an iconographically “incorrect” work<sup>249</sup>. *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*

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<sup>248</sup> Jean-Pierre Drège and Eugene Wang call this kind of artefact a ‘printed dhāraṇī’ or ‘dhāraṇī print’ while Paul Copp calls it a “dhāraṇī amulet” and Ma Shichang speaks of “dhāraṇī mandalas” or “dhāraṇī altars.” In this dissertation, I use the term ‘dhāraṇī print’ or ‘dhāraṇī sheet’ in order to focus on its formal properties, not on its function in ritual. “Dhāraṇī” is a Sanskrit term meaning “mnemonic device,” or “code.” It is “a verbal formula believed to retain or encapsulate the meaning of lengthier texts and prolix doctrines.” It often refers to a “mantra” or spell which has no semantic meaning (mostly in Sanskrit) but is deemed efficacious. However, a paper or silk sheet on which the “dhāraṇī” is written is also called “dhāraṇī.” Jean-Pierre Drège, “Les Premières Impressions des Dhāraṇī de Mahāpratisarā,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 11(1999): 22-54; Wang, “Ritual Practice without Its Practitioner?,”; Paul Copp, “Altar, Amulet, Icon: Transformation in Dhāraṇī Amulet Cultures, 740-980,” *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 17 (2008): 239-264; Ma Shichang 馬世長, “Da suiqiu tuoluoni mantuluo tuxiang de chubu kaocha” 大隨求陀羅尼曼荼羅圖像的初步考察 [A Basic Research on the Iconography of Dasuiqiu Dhāraṇī], *Tang yanjiu* 10 (2004): 527-581. Regarding the definition of “dhāraṇī”, see *The Princeton dictionary of Buddhism*, ed. Buswell Jr. and Lopez Jr., 621-622, 1308-1309. *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints, including the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī are made of paper sheets that can be easily folded or rolled so as to be carried and stored. Therefore, it is possible that the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī was used as an amulet even though there is no direct evidence.

<sup>249</sup> Important studies and publications about the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī from the Ruiguang Monastery pagoda include the following: Chen Yuyin 陳玉寅, “Suzhoushi ruiguangsi ta zaici faxian beisong wenwu,” 蘇州瑞光寺塔再次發現北宋文物 [New Discoveries of Northern Song Relics at Ruiguang Pagoda, Suzhou], *Wenwu* 9 (1986): 81-83; Le Jin 樂進 and Liao Zhihao 廖志豪, “Suzhoushi ruiguangsi ta faxian yipi wudai, Bei-Song wenwu,” 蘇州市瑞光寺塔發現一批五代, 北宋文物 [A Number of Finds of Cultural Relics of Ruiguang Monastery, Suzhou during Five Dynasties and Northern Song Dynasty], *Wenwu* 11 (1979): 21-36; Song Ilgi 송일기, “Soju Sōgwangsat'ap ch'ult'o püksong ch'ogiüi pulgyo munhōn yōn-gu” 蘇州 瑞光寺塔 出土 北宋初期의 佛敎文獻 研究 [A Study on the Early North Sung Period Buddhist Literatures Found in the Pagoda of Suzhou Ruiguang Monastery], *Han'guk tosōgwan chōngbo hak'oeji* 45.a (2014): 81-102; Suzhou bowuguan 蘇州博物館, *Suzhou bowuguan cang Huqiu*

大隨求陀羅尼經 [*Dasuiqiu Dhāraṇī Sutra*] is written on the sheet but the main deity depicted is Tejabrahā Buddha, not Mahāpratisarā (*Dasuiqiu* Bodhisattva) the main deity of the sutra.<sup>250</sup>

The Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print consists of four parts: (1) a rectangular area at the center, where Tejabrahā Buddha with Nine Planets and Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac are illustrated, (2) a middle zone framing the central scene filled with Siddham script, (3) borders on the left, right and the upper edges of the print with the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions garbed as officials along with patterns of flowers and vajras, and (4) the bottom zone with an inscription in Chinese characters flanked by two armored guardians. The central scene picturing Tejabrahā Buddha's gathering is very similar to that of the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha except that the deities face

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*Yunyansi ta, Ruiguangsi ta wenwu* 蘇州博物館藏虎丘云岩寺塔瑞光寺塔文物 [The Cultural Relics of the Pagoda of Yunyan Temple and the Pagoda of Ruiguang Temple (Tiger Hill, Suzhou), Collected by Suzhou Museum] (Beijing : Wenwu chubanshe, 2006); Wang, "Ritual Practice without Its Practitioner?"; Chen Wancheng 陳萬成, "Jingde ernian banke Dasuiqiu duoluoni jing yu huangdao shier gong tuxiang," 景德二年板刻《大隨求陀羅尼經》與黃道十二宮圖像 [A Dasuiqiu Dhāraṇī Printed in the Second Year of *Jingde* and the Iconography of the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac] in *Zhongwai wenhua fialiu tanyi : yixue qita*, ed. Chen Wancheng (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 2010), 25-51. Meanwhile, in her study of the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha painting, Chōng Chinhūi suggests the possibility that the iconography of 'descending Tejabrahā Buddha' might have been transmitted to the Korean peninsula through a dhāraṇī amulet like the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print. Chōng Chinhūi, "Poseutōn misulgwan sojang Koryō Ch'isōnggwang yōrae kangnimdo ui tosang koch'al," 228-229.

<sup>250</sup> Mahāpratisarā (Bodhisattva), a deification of dhāraṇī, is one of the five female protectors of Vajrayāna Buddhism. (The Sanskrit term "pratisarā" means circle, bracelet, etc.) Mahāpratisarā is translated as *Dasuiqiu* 大隨求 in Chinese. "Suiqiu" 隨求 literally means "wish-fulfillment" but also is one of Chinese transliterations of dhāraṇī, thus, often means "talisman" as well. Paul Copp, *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Columbia University Press 2014), 230; "Mahāpratisarā," in *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, ed. Buswell Jr. and Lopez Jr., 1250-1251. *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* is usually an abbreviation of *Pubian guangming qingjing chicheng ruyibao yinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 translated by Bukong (T. 1153) but can refer to other translations of the sutra such as *Fo shuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神呪經 translated by Baosiwei (T. 1154), Tibetan or Sanskrit editions. These editions, possibly from the same original text, deal with the efficacy of Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī. Hashimura Aiko 橋村愛子, "Dazuigu mandara shiron-kakusareta chūsei tōzai kōshō to igyō" 大隨求曼荼羅試論—隠された中世東西交渉と意樂 [A Study on Dasuiqiu Mandala – Hidden Medieval East-West Relations and Intentions], in *Ronshū tōyō nippon bijutsushi to genba* (Chikurinsha, 2012): 211-229. In this dhāraṇī print, the title of the Chinese inscription at the bottom part is that of Baosiwei's version is written whereas excerpts from Bukong's version follow.

right in the former, while in the latter they are facing left. The Buddha is seated in a carriage pulled by an ox, and his nine attendants walk with the Buddha on the ground. Stars depicted on the ground imply that these figures are stellar deities roaming around the celestial space. Usually, the deity shown at the center of this sort of artefact is its main theme and the object of devotion. Because of this, at first glance this work seems to be a dhāraṇī print based on *Chishengguang tuoluoni jing*, the textual basis of the Tejaprabhā worship. Contrary to expectations, however, the Siddham inscription written in (2) is the *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*. This discrepancy will be discussed later.<sup>251</sup>

The symbols of the Zodiac in roundels depicted in an arc enclosing the Buddha's party draws our eye to the upper part of the painting. This arrangement of the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac is not commonly seen in Buddhist works other than the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. There are cases in which the symbols of the Zodiac appear in roundels, but these often irregularly float around the Tejaprabhā Buddha (Fig. 4.4) or form a circle around the central deity like a rosary (Fig. 0.4).

This unique arc-shaped arrangement is relevant with respect to the dhāraṇī print's rectangular format. Most dhāraṇī sheets regardless of being printed or handwritten are rectangular or circular, and designed in accordance with their format. Furthermore, as in a mandala, the central symmetry of the entire composition matters. The main object of worship is located at the center, and lower deities or various patterns are arranged in a concentric circle or

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<sup>251</sup> Indeed, earlier examples of *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇīs do not include Mahāpratisarā Bodhisattva's image as its central deity, while later examples do so. Copp, "Altar, Amulet, Icon." It seems that the appearance of Mahāpratisarā Bodhisattva as the personification of *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī, and its visualization, happened later than the translation and circulation of *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* and its cult in China.

square shape forming a multi-layered structure adhering to a certain order.<sup>252</sup> Though it is not a concentric form, the arc-shaped arrangement of the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac emphasizes the central scene. This encourages the viewer to give attention to the main deity, making this the focus of the piece. As a result, this not just a Buddha's procession, but a framed pivot at the apex of this rectangular mandala.

There are several easily identified visual resemblances between the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha despite the spatial and temporal gap separating the creation of the two. The gathering of Tejaprabhā Buddha at the center and the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac arranged in an arc over the Buddha are some components shared between the pieces. I will focus on how the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are depicted in the image. The Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are divided into four groups: North, East, South, and West. Each cardinal direction consists of seven Lunar Mansions. As discussed in Chapter 1, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are not illustrated following the order of their actual positions on the celestial sphere or any star map in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. The seven deities within each group stand in an orderly manner, but as a whole are arranged regardless of cardinal direction. Furthermore, there are no visual markers distinguishing the groups. Without cartouches, there is no way to identify which group a figure belongs to.

Although no figures are depicted along the bottom zone, the arrangement of the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī sheet is otherwise not very different from that of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. The fourteen figures stand on each side of the sheet without any indication of what

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<sup>252</sup> Eugene Wang mentions that the design of dhāraṇī prints outlines a ritual. The central scene is the vision that the devotee will obtain after the ritual, especially in the form of spell-craft. Wang, "Ritual Practice Without Its Practitioner?," 132-138.

group they belong to. Unlike other dhāraṇī sheets, where all the figures and objects face the center, the composition of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions here does not adhere to centrality. Rather than turning toward the central scene these deities stand facing left, the same direction as the central Buddha and his attendants. This is reminiscent of the *mise en scène* of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, where the Tejaprabhā Buddha and various stellar deities form a marching procession. Although the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are pictured in a separated frame, their identical orientation implies that the stellar deities inside and outside the central frame are positioned within the same narrative scene.

The many similarities between the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha include the gathering around the Tejaprabhā Buddha, the arched arrangement of the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac, and most importantly the placement of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions in straight rows. These similarities suggest that the pictorial composition of the latter is somehow related to the former. While their genre, purpose and material differ, their common visual elements indicate that the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha is a Koryŏ variation of a *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni* (hereafter, *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī*) sheet or a very similar kind of object. It looks as if the artist of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha selected certain visual elements from the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print in order to produce a Tejaprabhā Buddha image and reconstructed them based on his own pictorial tradition. However, neither the artist of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha nor any contemporaries who lived on the Korean peninsula could have seen the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print in person because it was produced in the early eleventh century and deposited in the crypt of the pagoda at the Ruiguang Monastery. Therefore, the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print cannot have



provided direct inspiration for the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha.<sup>253</sup> How can we connect the Boston painting to the dhāraṇī print from China? Although Tejaprabhā Buddha is visualized in the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print the fact that the print is based on the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult, and not solely on Tejaprabhā Buddha worship, provides a key to connecting the two objects.

It is important to note that the cult of the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī has existed since the Silla period on the Korean peninsula. The earliest records of “Dasuiqiu” or “Suiqiu” are to be found in *Samguk yusa*. 三國遺事 [*Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*]

Poch’ŏn always drew and consumed water from his numinous cave. For this reason, in his declining years his flesh body flew in the air and landed beyond the Yusa River and stopped for a time in the Changch’ŏn Grotto in the Country of Ulchin, where he chanted the Pratisarā Dhāraṇī as his task both day and night. The god of the grotto appeared in bodily [form] and addressed him saying, “I have been the god of this cave for 2,000 years. Today was the first time I heard the true explanation of the Pratisarā [Dhāraṇī].” He requested to receive the bodhisattva’s precepts, and after he had received them, the next day, there was no longer any [supernatural] entity in the grotto. Poch’ŏn was startled and [thought it was] strange.<sup>254</sup>

According to this text, Poch’ŏn, who was the first son of the Silla king Sinmun 神文王 (r. 681-692) cultivated his religious sense in the Changch’ŏn Grotto near Ulchin by reciting “Pratisarā Dhāraṇī (*Suiqiu* dhāraṇī)” every day and night. This record indicates how this area converted under Poch’ŏn from the indigenous cult of the grotto god to Buddhism. More specifically, to the cult of (*Da*)*Suiqiu* dhāraṇī worship.<sup>255</sup> Although *Samguk yusa* was written in

<sup>253</sup> Considering its medium, however, it is possible that Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī was printed in greater number, distributed to worshippers and copied many times. Therefore it is also possible that some of successors of the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī with a similar design were transmitted to the Korean peninsula where the cult of *Dasuiqiu* had already been established, as will be explained following.

<sup>254</sup> Iryŏn, “Taesan oman chinsin 臺山五萬眞身,” in *Samguk yusa*, kwŏn 3, t’apsang 塔像. Translation quoted from Richard D. McBride II, *Domesticating the Dharma: Buddhist Cults and the Hwaŏm Synthesis in Silla Korea* (University of Hawaii Press, 2007) 112, with minor modifications.

<sup>255</sup> Sim Hyŏnyong 심현용, “Sŏkjomulro pon Uljin chiyŏk pulkyo munhwa” 석조물로 본 울진지역 불교문화 [Buddhist Culture of Ulchin Area Through Its StoneWorks], *Pangmulgwanji* 11(2004): 120-121.

the late Koryŏ period rather than the Silla period, this anecdote regarding the spread of *Suiqiu* dhāraṇī cult on the Korean peninsula should not be neglected. Another record, *Paeksŏngsansa chōndaekilsangt'ap chungnap pŏpch'imji* 百城山寺前臺吉祥塔中納法殿記 [*The Record [of the Treasure] of Dharma Deposited in the Auspicious Stupa on the Front Altar of Paeksŏngsan Monastery*], written in 895, also provides valuable evidence showing that the *Suiqiu* dhāraṇī cult had existed on the peninsula since the late ninth century at the latest. It states that Baosiwei's translation of *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* (T.1154) “*Sugu chūktūk taejajae tarani (sinjukyōng)* 隨求即得大自在陀羅尼(神呪經)”<sup>256</sup> was one of the deposits in the stupa alongside various other sutras and relics.<sup>257</sup>

Furthermore, there is firm evidence from the Koryŏ period indicating the spread of *Suiqiu* dhāraṇī cult. In the early 2000s the process of researching an Amitābha Buddha statue enshrined in the Cha'un Monastery 紫雲寺 in Kwangju, Chŏlla Province brought attention to many Buddhist objects. Sutras, manuscripts, fabrics, and Buddhist implements were all found interred in the statue. Among these was a *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī print (Fig. 4.5).<sup>258</sup> No dhāraṇī prints of this type had previously been discovered in Korea, but the term “*Dasuiqiu*” written as its title informs us that this is the same type of artefact as the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints of China.

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<sup>256</sup> Literally “[the Sūtra of] the Great Ease Dhāraṇī [Spiritual Mantra] by which Wishes are Fulfilled as Soon as They are Sought.”

<sup>257</sup> National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage website. “Han'guk kŭmsŏngmun chonghap yŏngsang chŏngbo shisūt'em,” Hanhuk Kŭmsŏkmun Chonghap Chŏngbo sisūt'em 한국금석문 종합영상정보시스템 [National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage]. Accessed May 16, 2019. [http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/\\_third/user/frame.jsp?View=search&No=4&ksmno=2872](http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/_third/user/frame.jsp?View=search&No=4&ksmno=2872)

<sup>258</sup> Song Ilgi, “Kwanju Cha'unsa mokjo Amitabuljwasang ūi pokjang chŏnjŏk ko,” 光州 紫雲寺 木造阿彌陀佛坐像의 腹藏典籍考 [A Study on the Texts Interred in Inner Recesses of a Seated Wooden Amitābha Buddhist Statue of Cha'un Monastery, Kwangju], *Sŏjihakbo* 28(2008): 87.

Unfortunately, very little research has been done on this Cha’unsa dhāraṇī print.<sup>259</sup> According to its inscription, the Cha’unsa *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī was produced in “Chungwŏn-bu 中原府, Koryŏ” (current Ch’ungchŏng province) in 1184, but when it was interred in the statue remains unknown.<sup>260</sup> In the print, a seated deity is depicted at the center.<sup>261</sup> Surrounding the deity, the Siddham text forms nineteen concentric circles.

The Cha’unsa dhāraṇī print is a rare but not a singular example of a dhāraṇī print found on the Korean peninsula. To date six *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints have been identified. A *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī print excavated in 2007 from an Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva statue at the Pogwang Monastery 普光寺 in Andong shows another incident of a circular Siddham inscription (Fig. 4.6). This dhāraṇī print was made around the late twelfth or early thirteenth century making it roughly contemporary with the Cha’un Monastery dhāraṇī print’s production.<sup>262</sup> These dhāraṇī prints from Cha’un and Pogwang Monasteries indicate that printed dhāraṇīs intended to be

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<sup>259</sup> To date, only two articles have been published. Song Ilgi, “Kwanju Cha’unsa mokjo Amitabuljwasang ūi pokjang chŏnjŏk ko.”; Ok Nayŏng 옥나영, “Cha’unsa mokjo Amitabuljwasang ūi pokjang yŏūiboin Taesuku t’arani pŏmja kuntarasang ūi chejak paegyŏng” 紫雲寺 木造阿彌陀佛坐像 腹藏 「如意寶印大隨求陀羅尼梵字軍陀羅相」의 제작 배경 [Background of *Yŏūiboin Taesugu Bŏmja Gunt’arasang* interred within Inner Recesses of Seated Wooden Amitābha Buddhist Statue of Cha’un Monastery], *Ihwa sahak yŏn’gu* 53 (2016): 147-180. Recently, a general investigation on the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī of Koryŏ period, partially dealing with Cha’unsa *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī, has been published. Kim Pomin 김보민, “Koryŏ sidae Sugu darani yŏn-gu” 고려시대 隨求陀羅尼 연구 [A Study on the Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī of the Koryŏ Period], Master’s thesis, Myongji University (2018), 24-28.

<sup>260</sup> Song Ilki, “Kwanju Cha’unsa mokjo Amitabuljwasang ūi pokjang chŏnjŏk ko,” 83.

<sup>261</sup> Song argues that the deity is Vairocana Buddha, but Ok doubts this identification because the clothing of the deity is closer to that of a bodhisattva. Ok Nayŏng, “Cha’unsa mokjo Amitabuljwasang ūi pokjang yŏūiboin Taesuku t’arani pŏmja kuntarasang ūi chejak paegyŏng,” 171.

<sup>262</sup> Pulkyo munhwajae yŏn’guso 불교문화재연구소, *Andong Pogwangsa mokjo Kwanŭm posal chwasang*, 안동 보광사 목조관음보살좌상 [A Seated Wooden Avalokiteśvara Statue of Pogwang Monastery, Andong] Taejŏn: Munhwajaech’ŏng, Sŏul: Pulkyo munhwajae yŏn’guso (2009): 88-89. Although there is no inscription indicating the date and the place of production, this print is thought to be a Koryŏ relic, not a print transmitted from China, due to its formal similarity to the Cha’unsa dhāraṇī print. Kim Pomin, “Koryŏ sidae Sugu darani yŏn-gu,” 28-30.

recited and deposited in Buddhist statues were produced during the Koryŏ period. The *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī was a popular theme for this type of relic.

These *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints are similar in format to those discovered in China in the respect that Siddhaṃ or Chinese text is arranged in circles or squares around a central image.<sup>263</sup> In China earlier handwritten examples seem to have been produced starting in the Tang period. In a print excavated from a mid-Tang tomb at Xian, a six-armed *Dasuiqiu* Bodhisattva and a kneeling male devotee are illustrated at the center (Fig. 4.7). The devotee might be the beneficiary of this dhāraṇī print. Surrounding the center scene, Siddhaṃ text is written in a rectangular formation. At the outer rims ritual implements such as swords and vases are depicted. Several other *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheets with similar design aspects such as an outer zone containing ritual implements, letters arranged in a circle or square in the middle area, and the central scene with the main deity (sometimes with a devotee), have been identified. These earlier examples of the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī are believed to be representations of ritual space.<sup>264</sup> From the tenth century onward, *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints have elaborate designs and often emphasize Siddhaṃ text for incantation (Figs. 4.8, 4.9). Despite these changes in the design and nature of the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheets the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult was maintained throughout the Tang and Song dynasties. It is most likely that through its introduction to the Korean peninsula dhāraṇī sheets started to be produced there, too. However, no one can be sure when this happened. The *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult existed starting in the late Silla period at the latest, and dhāraṇī prints

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<sup>263</sup> According to Paul Copp, eighteen *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇīs discovered in tombs dating to the eighth ninth and tenth centuries are known so far. If we broaden our scope to those found in stupa such as Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī, the number would be higher. Copp, “Altar, Amulet, Icon,” 239-240.

<sup>264</sup> Copp, “Altar, Amulet, Icon,” 240-249. Eugene Wang suggests that they visualize a ritual platform as well as a verbal act. Wang, “Ritual Practice without Its Practitioner?,” 133-134.

produced since the Tang dynasty in China may have served as prototypes for the dhāraṇī prints circulated in Koryŏ. Using this information, we may suggest a date before the late twelfth century for the earliest circulation of *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints on the Korean peninsula. This estimation predates the production of the Cha'un Monastery dhāraṇī print. Yet, due to their portability we cannot exclude the possibility that dhāraṇī prints of similar format and design also existed elsewhere in East Asia earlier than one might expect. These prints may have been circulated among many countries across borders, but are not preserved any more.

In light of the spread of the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult in East Asian countries the relationship between the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha becomes clearer. The design of the two *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints from Cha'un Monastery and Pogwang Monastery positioned the dhāraṇī manuscript in a circular form around the central deity. These prints differ from the Ruiguangsi print which has Siddhaṃ text in a rectangular formation and a central framed scene. However, circular *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints were also produced in China as exemplified by another *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī deposited in the Ruiguang Monastery stupa with the previously mentioned print (Fig. 4.10). Unlike the rectangular one, the manuscript of this dhāraṇī print is written in Chinese characters arranged in a circular form. This proves that different types of *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇīs coexisted and could be used at the same time. Many examples of dhāraṇī prints in Korea exhibit the circular form of the dhāraṇī inscription, while the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī and some other examples in China also have a rectangular form or a combination of both forms. We may assume that at least two types of dhāraṇīs from China were introduced to Koryŏ even though only examples of one type are extant.<sup>265</sup> No examples similar to the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī

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<sup>265</sup> Regarding examples of circular or rectangular types of dhāraṇī prints circulated in Korea and China, see Kim

with Tejabrahmā Buddha have been found in Korea. However, the spread of *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī in premodern Korea informs us that this rare type of *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī could well have been transmitted to the peninsula and been one of the references for the Tejabrahmā Buddha painting.

As a conclusion so far, the visual denominators linking the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha and the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print suggest that the former is a kind of variation of the latter in a Koryŏ-specific way. The Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha is not a print or an amulet, but a silk hanging scroll like other Koryŏ Buddhist paintings. Its production and usage cannot have been the same as those of the dhāraṇī print. However, we can observe how certain visual elements, or the composition of an object, could be transferred to other objects regardless of medium, size, or purpose. Shared visual elements between these pieces include the scene of Tejabrahmā Buddha's procession and the symbols of celestial bodies. This is a case of partial iconographic appropriation across different media and art forms.

This exchange between media, between mass-circulated prints and painting, has been addressed by many Renaissance and Baroque studies. For example, Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff noted the compositional dialogue between print and other media (tapestry, painting, and drawing) through sixteen-century "Boschian" prints emerged in Hieronymus Bosch's hometown after his death. The authors not only point out visual similarities between images of different genres, they suggest that the print could possibly serve as a model for the paintings with the same composition.<sup>266</sup> Bronwen Wilson's study on Venetian printmaking is especially noteworthy in

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Pomin, "Koryŏ sidae Sugu darani yŏn-gu," Appendix 1 and 2, figs 1-16.

<sup>266</sup> Marisa Bass and Elizabeth Wyckoff, "Sons of 's-Hertogenbosch: Hieronymus Bosch's Local Legacy in Print," *Art in Print* 5, no.4 (2015): 4-12.

the context of our study. Wilson asserted that the medium and modes of representation of the prints served to redefine the city's urban identity by seeing the city "from the eye of a bird, on paper as an image" and disseminating it to foreigners. More than merely demonstrating a transmission of a certain image from medium to medium, her study also focused on the generic characteristics of print: "the repetition and the sedimentation of visual conventions that forged iconicity."<sup>267</sup> If a successor of the Ruiguangsi print circulated in Koryŏ was one of the main references of the Boston scroll, these characteristics of printed medium may have contributed to placing Tejaprabhā Buddha at the center as the iconic deity. Yet, the Boston painting is not just an iconic image; the painting's unique composition also needs to be discussed.

#### **4. Tejaprabhā Buddha in Two Different Contexts**

Although the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha and the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print share similar iconographic elements, the pictorial programs of these objects should not be interpreted in similar ways. Due to their distinct purposes and the context they were used in the two objects and their shared visual elements must have functioned in very different ways. *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheets like the Ruiguangsi print have attracted academic interest and have been interpreted based on their usage in religious practice. Some scholars refer to *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheets as "amulets"<sup>268</sup> indicating the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print may have been used as an amulet as well. It

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<sup>267</sup> Bronwen Wilson, "Venice, Print, and the Early Modern Icon," *Urban History* 33, no. 1(2006): 39-64.

<sup>268</sup> For example, Paul Copp, "Altar, Amulet, Icon: Transformation in Dhāraṇī Amulet Cultures, 740-980"; Gergely Hidas, "Mahāpratisarāvidyāvidhi: The Spell-manual of the Great Amulet," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 63, no.4 (2010): 473-484.

has been suggested that the basic composition of a *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī print is based on the setting of a ritual platform and the ritual process. Eugene Wang provides the following interpretation:

The Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī prints are latecomers to the genre of ritual pictures related to spell craft. Such pictures encompass ink drawings of a ritual platform diagram, silk paintings, and woodblock prints. The ritual platform – or whatever derived from it – is their denominator. Geometric order is their shared formal property. While they map out the spatial setting of the ritual, they telescope or collapse the extended process of a ritual practice. [...] These designs typically arrange Sanskrit letters [sic] in a rectangular formation surrounding a central figural scene. Clearly the figural scene pictures the vision obtained as a result of following some prolonged incantation. The deity so envisioned thus varies according to what the spell-chanting practitioner wishes for.<sup>269</sup>

Thus, the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print and other *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheets are not just amulets, but physically and symbolically visualized ritual settings of sorts. The central deity in the print is the one whom a devotee seeks to envision through the ritual. The dhāraṇī spell and ritual implements in the prints represent the physical ritual space. This helps the devotee in spell chanting and their visualization of the deity. As Wang says, it shortens the process of ritual.<sup>270</sup> The dhāraṇī print was used practically as a ritual object and then deposited in a tomb or stupa.

In describing how Koryō Buddhist paintings functioned we need to consider their relation to certain ritual processes. These functions should be considered independent from those governing a dhāraṇī print during a ritual. The research addressing the usage of Koryō Buddhist

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<sup>269</sup> Wang, “Ritual Practice without Its Practitioner?,” 132-134.

<sup>270</sup> As a symbolization or abbreviation of religious practice, the Tibetan prayer wheel consisting of a cylinder and handle is noteworthy. When one turns the cylinder, which contains a roll of Buddhist scriptures or *mantra*-inscribed paper, the devotee can gain the same merit as if reading or reciting the entire text. That is, a simple and rapid spinning of the wheel substitutes for a difficult and time-consuming practice. Whereas dhāraṇī served as an abbreviation of a ritual through a visual similarity, the case of the prayer wheel being a replacement by simpler behavior does not necessarily relate to the contents of the Buddhist texts or practice of recital. These examples indicate that acts of condensing religious practice for the sake of the practitioners’ economy and convenience appeared in many different ways. For discussion of the Tibetan prayer wheel, see A. R. Wright, “Tibetan Prayer-Wheels,” *Folklore* 15, no. 3 (1904): 332-333; See also L. Carrington Goodrich, “The Revolving Book-Case in China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 7, no. 2 (1942): 130-161.



painting is considerable, but most is based on guesswork.<sup>271</sup> This is because direct evidence showing how the artefacts were used such as inscriptions on paintings or related contemporary documents are rarely found. Very few inscriptions remain and only occasionally give us a glimpse of how Buddhist painting was used in the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods. Some of these inscriptions can be seen below:

(1) In the year of *Ŭrhae*, twelve paintings of Buddha and Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva were painted. [King Ch'ungnyŏl] held a Buddhist ritual at court and wished the [Yuan] emperor happiness.<sup>272</sup> [43]

(2) Paejŏng, assistant chancellor, went to Yuan and offered a painted Buddha [to the Yuan emperor] on the orders of the King.<sup>273</sup> [44]

(3) When [I] went there again less than a few months later, [the monastery] was brilliantly decorated in colorful paintwork. When [I] went there a third time, paintings presenting the gathering of Vairocana Buddha, Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and Samantabhadra Bodhisattva were hanging at the center. These were newly produced. On the right and left sides hung portraits of many of the Avatamsaka Sect's patriarchs. These are old ones that have been repaired.<sup>274</sup> [45]

(4) Humbly hoping that the emperor [lives for] ten thousand years and that the three royal

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<sup>271</sup> Important studies on the usage of Koryŏ Buddhist painting include Kim Chŏnghŭi 김정희, “Koryŏ purhwa ŭi kinŭng kwa yongdo e kwanhan koch'al” 高麗佛畫의 기능과 용도에 관한 考察 [A Study on the Function and Purpose of Buddhist Painting in Koryŏ dynasty], *Yŏllin chŏngshin immunhak yŏn'gu* 4(2003): 105-126; Pak Ŭn'gyŏng 박은경, “Koryŏ purhwa ŭi pyŏnjuk: ponji, hwap'ok, kŭrigo pong'ane taehan shiron” 고려 불화의 변죽: 本地, 畫幅 그리고 奉安에 대한 시론 [Some Issues in Koryŏ Buddhist Paintings: Material, Width of the Silk and Enshrinement], in *Tongashia Pulgyo hoehwa wa Koryŏ purhwa - Che3hoe Kungnim chungang pangmulgwan Han'guk misul shimp'ojiŏm Charyojip*, ed. Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan (Sŏul: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan, 2010): 96-110. Many publications on Koryŏ Buddhist painting adhere to a classification according to the probable function of Koryŏ Buddhist painting: enshrinement, ritual, education, etc. However, the categories are not isolated but overlap to some degree. For instance, a Buddhist painting produced to be used in a ritual can be enshrined in a monastery and become an object of worship after the ritual. Or it can be made for merit-making and then used in a ritual for the same purpose. So, it is impossible to clearly classify Buddhist painting using such categories. Yet, the categories are still significant in that they suggest major functions of Buddhist painting of the Koryŏ period. Moreover, the classification can be applied to other contemporaneous religious paintings from China and Japan, and even to those of Chosŏn dynasty Korea.

<sup>272</sup> *Koryŏsa*, kwŏn 28, sega, 11<sup>th</sup> month, First Year of the Reign of King Ch'ungryŏl (1275).

<sup>273</sup> *Koryŏsa*, kwŏn 22, sega, 12<sup>th</sup> month, Second Year of the Reign of King Ch'ungsŏn (1310).

<sup>274</sup> Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352-1409), “Pŏwangsa chosadang ki” 法王寺祖師堂記, in *Yangch'onjip* 陽村集 [Collected Works of Kwŏn Kŭn].

highnesses come back home soon, so [I] newly created a painting of Amitābha Buddha.  
Commissioned by Kwŏn Poksu  
[Hope that] sentient beings in the dharma realm and my own body will be reborn in the Land of  
Amitābha Buddha. [I] vow with an adept, Kyemun and Pak Hyojin  
In the tenth year of *Dade*<sup>275</sup> [46]

As seen above, Buddhist paintings of this period were often made for a ritual or were hung at a monastery as an object of devotion and decoration. Some paintings were held at court or a private place, while others were made for enshrinement. Even in a secular setting certain rituals, such as burning incense or offering flowers, could be performed. As seen in text (2) paintings could also serve as diplomatic gifts. Records about Buddhist paintings given to foreign rulers as gifts in the Chosŏn dynasty have been found.<sup>276</sup> Text (4) indicates that the production itself was the primary purpose of the object. According to Buddhist belief commissioning or producing a Buddhist object was thought to be good deed through which people could accumulate merit and achieve rebirth in Amitābha Buddha's Pure Land after death or have their wishes fulfilled while still living. Political situations also served as motivation to produce Buddhist paintings in the Koryŏ period as exemplified by text (4). Though this painting may have been enshrined somewhere and worshipped its main function was to accumulate merit and fulfill the commissioner's wish. In addition, paintings like *Illustration of the Visualization Sutra* (Fig. 4.11) indicate that Buddhist imagery also served to visualize the contents of sutras for

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<sup>275</sup> Inscription from *Amitābha Buddha* (dated 1306) housed in the Nezu Museum in Tokyo.

<sup>276</sup> In *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, there is an article indicating that the Chosŏn King bestowed Buddhist paintings along with other materials to a ruler of Japan. "Chujŏng, the envoy of Ouchi, entered the court and [notified his intention to] bid farewell [to King T'aejong]. The King went to the main hall and comforted them. By request of Tŏgung (Ouchi), [King T'aejong] specially bestowed a set of Tripitaka, a leaf of Boddhi tree sutra, a trumpet, an iron bell, a portrait of the patriarch, and a portrait of monk Naong on him." CWS, 26th day, 4th month, Ninth Year of Reign of T'aejong (1409). Transmission of artistic or religious objects from the Korean peninsula to Japan as diplomatic gifts has been pointed out by scholars. Kenneth R. Robinson, "A Japanese Trade Mission to Chosŏn Korea, 1537-1540: The *Sonkai tokai nikki* and the Korean Tribute System," in *Tools of Culture: Japan's Cultural, Intellectual, Medical, and Technological Contacts in East Asia, 1000-1500s* (Association for Asian Studies, 2009), 71-101.

believers not familiar with complicated Buddhist doctrines.

The functions of Koryō Buddhist paintings mentioned above are not Koryō-specific, but universal in that they can be applied to religious paintings from different times and areas. It is clear that the function and usage of extant Koryō Buddhist scrolls were quite different from those of dhāraṇī prints. This is regardless of whether they were produced during the Tang, Song, Yuan, or Koryō dynasties. Similarly, the main deity of each object also conveys a different meaning.<sup>277</sup>

The main deity of both the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print and the Boston painting is Tejaprabhā Buddha. However, this deity's significance within each object is not the same. It is worth examining why Tejaprabhā Buddha is depicted in the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print. The Siddhaṃ letter surrounding the central scene is from *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*. Even if we assume that the maker or patron of this dhāraṇī print could not read Siddhaṃ script and could not fully understand what was written, it is clear that he or she knew the source of the paragraph. The inscription written on the bottom of the print reads:

The Sūtra of the Great Accord with What is Sought Dhāraṇī by the Great Bright King Impossible to Overcome with a Universally Shining, Pure, Blazing, and Wish-Fulfilling Heart of the Precious Seal.

What this dhāraṇī is, Buddhas for as many as the 9.9 billion grains of sand in the Ganges River preach together, if someone sincerely recites it and holds it on his neck and arms, he [will] earn the protection of all the Buddhas from ten directions, bodhisattvas, (?) dragons, and ghosts in person; all sins in the body [accumulated] for countless eons [will] be destroyed altogether and transcend all disasters. If you write down this dhāraṇī and enshrine it in a temple, storm, hail, rainfall, untimely hot and cold, thunder and lightning can be stopped. All the devas' fighting and arguing can be stopped. Mosquitos, horseflies, grasshoppers and all other things that eat away seedlings and crops will be destroyed. All these will be eliminated. Say inexhaustible merit.

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<sup>277</sup> Regarding the size, Pak Ŭn'gyōng provides a table of the heights and widths of about 160 extant Koryō Buddhist paintings. More than one third of them are 50-60cm in width, 80-150cm in height. The number of smaller paintings is only about 30. Pak Ŭn'gyōng, "Koryō purhwa ũi pyōnjuk," 98-99. However, considering that the largest Koryō Buddhist painting—*Water-moon Avalokiteśvara* housed in Kagami jinja 鏡神社, Japan—is 430 cm high, it is possible that much larger Buddhist paintings were produced and that only paintings of moderate "transportable" size have been preserved.

Humbly hope that:

The Emperor [lives for] ten thousand years, and a thousand years again. May ten thousand people stay well. Dhāraṇī for entering the pure: om amṛ ri te hūṃ paḍ Dhāraṇī for entering the [world of] touch: om kro ddhā na hūṃ jjaḥ

Attributed to a Buddhist monk of Great teaching of Brahman study, Xiuzhang's writing, so the merit will be exerted by holding its print. Humbly hope that:

Deceased parents will be reborn as men and devas soon, and that the whole family altogether is well...

Written in the day of the eighth month in the second year of *Jingde* [47]

(Underlining by the author)

The inscription begins with the title, “The Sūtra of the Great Accord with What is Sought Dhāraṇī by the Great Bright King Impossible to Overcome with a Universally Shining, Pure, Blazing, and Wish-Fulfilling Heart of the Precious Seal (普遍光明焰鬘無垢清淨熾盛思惟如意寶印心無能勝(摠持)大明王大隨求陀羅尼)” which is the title of *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* translated by Bukong. After the title follows the benefits of holding and reciting this dhāraṇī. Among the following phrases, the underlined segment (“若有書寫此陀羅尼 安於幢刹 能息一切惡風雹雨 非時寒熱 雷電霹靂 能息一切諸天鬪諍言頌[訟] 能息[除]一切蚊蚋[虻]蝗虫及諸餘類食苗稼者 悉能退散”) is an excerpt from Bukong's translation. It clearly indicates that this object is none other than a *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* based on *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing*. Therefore, anyone who could read Chinese characters was able to understand what this object was, even without knowledge of the Siddhaṃ letter.

One might expect Mahāpratisarā Bodhisattva, or *Dasuiqiu* Bodhisattva, to be depicted as the main deity at the center. Yet extant *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* prints, including the Ruiguangsi one, give evidence that other deities such as a Vajra warrior could be depicted as the figure the patron wished to envision. Not all versions of the *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī jing* deal with Mahāpratisarā Bodhisattva per se, but provide the benefit of *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī*. Rather, this scripture prescribes how to draw a *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* for different devotees in specific situations. According to the

devotee and his circumstances the central deity illustrated in the dhāraṇī varies. It can be Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, Maheśvara or other deities. Interestingly, the text translated by Bukong discusses the effect of astral deities.

The one who recites this should draw their main deity, then he will be able to avoid calamities caused by persecution of their birth stars by the Nine planets such as the sun, moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, comets and Rahu. If a woman who cannot bear children and Sandha or Pandaka (sterile male) and this kind of person holds this Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī, they will have children. If such people want to achieve this, they should draw Nine planets and Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions and then draw the image of themselves at the center, may your wishes be fulfilled.<sup>278</sup> [48]  
(Underlining by the author)

The Nine Planets and Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions are the preferred object of worship for someone who is sterile. It is difficult to know how the astral deities came to be related to fertility through this scripture. This excerpt does not match the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī in every detail. For instance, there is no mention of Tejaprabhā Buddha. However, the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī picturing Tejaprabhā Buddha, the Nine Planets, and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions, implies that at some point Tejaprabhā Buddha became the central figure in astral deities related fertility. In this sense, the Tejaprabhā Buddha of Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī cannot be understood without considering the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult of eleventh century China. Tejaprabhā Buddha was a deity often chosen by someone who was infertile.<sup>279</sup> One might say that the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī illustrates the Tejaprabhā Buddha cult of the period. However, the Tejaprabhā Buddha cult seen here was part of broader religious practice rather than a single belief system.

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<sup>278</sup> T. 1153 *Pubian guangming qingjing chicheng ruyibao yinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經, juan 2

<sup>279</sup> In fact, the design and central deities of extant artefacts do not correspond to the contents of the sutra in every detail. It seems that the main deity of a *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī was chosen by its donor based on his/her preferences, rather than the sutra. Therefore, a *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī with a Tejaprabhā Buddha image does not necessarily indicate that it was made for someone who wanted children, but simply that someone chose Tejaprabhā Buddha as his/her object of devotion.

The Tejaprabhā Buddha of the Boston painting is an object of devotion and seems to have no direct link to the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult within the painting's pictorial program. Though Tejaprabhā Buddha worship is not an isolated belief, but a part of Koryō religious culture, the Tejaprabhā Buddha depicted here is an independent icon like the Amitābha Buddha or Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva in other Koryō Buddhist paintings. Unlike the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha illustrates a systematic pantheon under the rule of Tejaprabhā Buddha. Clearly, this relatively new god was accepted by Koryō people like a Mahayana Buddha who governs his own world rather than one of the deities summoned within the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult.

The Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha and Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī demonstrate that two different objects can share similar iconographic elements even when their intrinsic characteristics are dissimilar. Iconographic resemblance of Tejaprabhā Buddha's entourage and the surrounding stellar gods in these two objects may prompt us to put them in the same category. However, as we have seen so far there are more differences between the two than one might expect. The Tejaprabhā Buddha in the Ruighangsi print is the one visualized in the mind after using the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī. Tejaprabhā Buddha is not available for all believers but only the one who writes (or commissions) or holds and recites the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī in order to resolve a personal issue. Meanwhile, the Buddha in the Boston painting manifests himself directly to the devotee. Wherever such paintings were hung, objects of this kind remained sacred images representing an immediate manifestation of Buddhist deities who would fulfill one's wishes and at times substitute the deities themselves. In other words, a similarity of formal properties does not guarantee similarity in function or practice. A visual form is often considered to hold meaning, but it can be transposed from one setting to another as a 'formula' without its contents. How can this have happened? What was the driving force behind this phenomenon?

## 5. Creative Appropriation

How was a certain visual element selected, transplanted and incorporated into the visual concept of another object of entirely different material and genre? The element in this case is the Tejaprabhā Buddha's procession, accompanied by the stylistic arrangement of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions facing the same direction as the central deities in *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī*. As explained earlier, the appropriation of visual elements from one medium to another is often observed in visual culture, especially in the case of printed works due to their relatively easy production, distribution, and transport. They have been important visual inspirations for many artworks of different genres and media.<sup>280</sup> I do not intend to emphasize how unusual the transmission of shared visual elements between *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* and the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha was, but instead to explain their background.

We need to be aware that only the depiction of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions informs us that the painting's iconographical source could be the *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī*. Other common elements such as Tejaprabhā Buddha's entourage can also be found in paintings from Dunhuang. However, the strict positioning of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions is an element that appears unprecedented in Buddhist painting. A rectangular type of *dhāraṇī* with Tejaprabhā Buddha and the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions lined up at the edges circulating during the Koryŏ dynasty may have served as the visual source. Therefore, it becomes necessary to closely

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<sup>280</sup> For instance, Chinese painting manuals which were reproductions of famous masters' works were important visual references for Chosŏn painters. In their own way, Chosŏn painters selected some visual elements from the manuals and used it in their works. Burglind Jungmann, *Pathways to Korean Culture Paintings of the Joseon Dynasty, 1392–1910* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 12

investigate relations between the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting and *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī print of Koryō in terms of format.

One possible hypothesis is that *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī prints were one of the rare references for pictures of Tejaprabhā Buddha in the Koryō period. Tejaprabhā Buddha was not a traditional figure, but a deity that had emerged relatively late. Textual documents indicate that Tejaprabhā Buddha was probably introduced in the late Silla period. Transmission of the iconography of the Buddha seems to have lagged behind in that there is no indication of Tejaprabhā Buddha-related imagery from the Silla or early Koryō period.<sup>281</sup> When the Tejaprabhā cult gained popularity during the late Koryō dynasty visual sources available on the Korean peninsula for picturing Tejaprabhā Buddha in a work such as the Boston painting might have been scant. The *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī featuring the Tejaprabhā Buddha image may have provided a helpful reference regardless of its original context. Accordingly, the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions that occupy the border area could have been transposed to the Koryō hanging scroll format, maintaining their arrangement without any specific intention.

Another more convincing possibility is that the patron of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha had expectations for the Tejaprabhā Buddha icon that were not very different from what was asked of the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī. Thus, the artist partially maintained the composition of the dhāraṇī—the arc-shaped Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac as well as the Twenty Eight Lunar Mansions which are thought to be an efficacious form—in order to make the painting conform to a kind of dhāraṇī amulet used at the time. As explained in Chapter 2, preventing disaster is a

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<sup>281</sup> Even in China, the earliest surviving Tejaprabha Buddha image is dated 897 (Fig. 0.2) while Tejaprabha-related texts were transmitted to China before the ninth century.



major ability of Tejaprabhā Buddha. People also prayed to this buddha for more specific wishes such as having children, as *Dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* prescribes. In any case, worshipers would think that making a luxurious silk painting with gold pigment would be more efficacious than using a printed dhāraṇī sheet. Similarity in expected efficacy may have prompted the painter of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha to use a small printed amulet as a model when he drew his sketch for the painting.

Although it was not part of the *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* cult Tejaprabhā Buddha worship in the Koryŏ period was also based on dhāraṇī practice. As esoteric Buddhism was widely practiced during the Koryŏ dynasty, many different dhāraṇī sutras were printed and disseminated. *Chishengguang tuoluoni jing* is the basis of the Tejaprabhā Buddha cult and was one of these.<sup>282</sup> Like other dhāraṇī sutras, *Chishengguang tuoluoni jing* introduced the merits of holding and reciting the Tejaprabhā dhāraṇī rather than worshipping the Buddha. Popularization of the Tejaprabhā dhāraṇī cult resulted in the dhāraṇī practice occupying an important position in Koryŏ Buddhism.<sup>283</sup> As explained in Chapter 2, *Chishengguang tuoluoni jing* was the textual foundation of *Sojae toryang*, or the Calamity-Dispelling Ritual. According to the *Koryŏsa*, *Sojae toryang* was the most frequently held official Buddhist ritual at court and served to prevent national disaster attributable to abnormal movements of celestial objects.<sup>284</sup> In other words, the

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<sup>282</sup> At least two versions of *Chishengguang tuoluoni jing* were known in Koryŏ. *Foshuo chishengguang da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing* 佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經 (T. 963) and *Foshuo da weide jinlun foding chishengguang rulai xiaochu yiqie zainan tuoluoni jing* 佛說大威德金輪佛頂熾盛光如來消災一切災難陀羅尼經 (T. 964) are the example.

<sup>283</sup> About esoteric Buddhism in the Koryŏ period, see Kim Suyŏn, “Koryŏ shidae milgyosa yŏn’gu.”

<sup>284</sup> According to *Koryŏsa*, *Sojae toryang* was held 150 times whereas *Pulchŏng toryang* 佛頂道場 [Uṣṇīṣa Ritual] which is the second frequently held ritual was recorded 37 times.

cult of the Tejaprabhā dhāraṇī and the related perspective on celestial bodies exercised great influence on national belief and ceremonies. Given this context, paper or silk sheets like *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī would have been the most suitable objects for visualizing Tejaprabhā Buddha. Paper or silk sheets were more appropriate formats for amulets made for the dhāraṇī practice than a silk hanging scroll. Though there are no extant artefacts, it is highly possible that Tejaprabhā Buddha dhāraṇī sheets were also produced and used in ritual. In that case we would need to consider why Koryŏ people produced the Tejaprabhā image as a silk hanging scroll like Boston Tejaprabhā painting despite dhāraṇī sheets being the familiar format for this theme.

First, silk hanging scrolls were a common format for Buddhist paintings. Only a limited number of paintings from the Koryŏ dynasty have survived, and most are Buddhist paintings. Apart from illustrations in manuscripts and on ritual implements most Buddhist images, including iconic representations and sutra illustrations, are of the hanging scroll type. Considering that most of Koryŏ Buddhist paintings were hung not only in monasteries but also in private places, this would be the proper format for any devotee to have. Thus, Tejaprabhā Buddha, a deity originating in esoteric Buddhism who was at the time perceived as a popular Mahayana Buddha, could become a subject matter for Koryŏ artists, who were accustomed to the hanging scroll format.

Secondly, a tradition of producing Tejaprabhā Buddha images not only in the form of printed dhāraṇī but also in painting may have existed in Koryŏ. This assumption is supported by some contemporaneous Tejaprabhā silk (or hemp) paintings that have been found in neighboring regions. Paintings produced from the Xixia kingdom exemplify this.<sup>285</sup> In addition, a silk

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<sup>285</sup> For those works, see footnote 16 of Introduction.

hanging scroll representing Tejaprabhā assembly owned by Seigan Monastery 誓願寺, Japan of either Yuan or Koryō production, was once revealed to the public in 2015.<sup>286</sup> Though detailed information has not been provided by the monastery, this work with ‘preaching type’ composition suggests that more Tejaprabhā hanging scrolls were possibly produced in Koryō but not preserved.

In addition, changes in the characteristics of dhāraṇī worship could be also a reason for the choice of subject matter. After the period of Yuan intervention dhāraṇī worship, which was the preserve of esoteric Buddhist monks, became popularized. The numbers of official Buddhist rituals sponsored by the court decreased during this period. Instead, Buddhist monks from non-esoteric schools held private esoteric rituals in their monasteries to help overcome the country’s crisis. In the meantime, dhāraṇī practice, which dispels various disasters, immediately attracted lay devotees as well as Buddhist monks. For those suffering difficulties in their lives dhāraṇī practice presented an easier option for resolving difficulties than complicated Buddhist doctrine. As a result, private esoteric rituals were widespread, and dhāraṇī worship became popularized, shedding its esoteric quality as it became integrated into established Buddhist culture.<sup>287</sup> Dhāraṇī worship was even combined with Pure Land worship, which was the most popular faith for lay devotees at the time. For example, a Buddhist apocrypha circulated in the late Koryō period, entitled *Hyōnhaeng sōbanggyōng* 現行西方經 [*Manifesting activities [for entering] the*

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<sup>286</sup> This painting was displayed in the special exhibition of the collection of Seigan Monastery held in 2015, but thus far, no research has been done nor has it been published. According to a newspaper article about the exhibition, quoting an expert, this painting, applying color and gold on silk, seems to have been produced in Yuan China or Koryō. Minoura Takayanagi 箕浦成克, “Jizō jū zu o hatsu kōkai 地藏十王圖を初公開,” *Kyōto shinbun chōkan* 京都新聞 朝刊, October, 31, 2015.

<sup>287</sup> Kim Suyōn, “Koryō shidae milgyosa yōn’gu,” 205-214.

*Western Paradise*], prescribes dhāraṇī practice in order to achieve rebirth in Amitābha Buddha's paradise.<sup>288</sup>

The shift in dhāraṇī worship may have induced changes in related visual objects as well. The tolerance for depicting esoteric deities like other Mahayana Buddhas would be an example despite Tejabrahmā Buddha not being considered a strictly esoteric Buddha. The extension of Tejabrahmā Buddha's pantheon seen in the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha could be another result of the new situation.<sup>289</sup> Namely, the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha is a case in which an esoteric Buddha derived from the dhāraṇī cult is represented on the basis of Koryŏ traditional painting practice, while partially maintaining its own iconography.

With these considerations in mind, the transplanted visual form must be recognized not just as a design element, but a meaningful constituent of the work. Certain visual elements were used in the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha because of an expectation of efficacy, rather than any text-related meaning. For example, the asterism diagrams and the Twelve Symbols of the Zodiac were not familiar to most people as they had almost no access to astrological knowledge. Despite this they are used in the Boston Tejabrahmā Buddha. It is highly probable that the asterism diagrams and Twelve zodiac emblems were not incorporated for the sake of informed viewers, but as mysterious illegible signs full of efficacy. As briefly discussed in Chapter 1, the illegibility of certain visual forms or characters can be related to the magical effect imputed to them. It is

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<sup>288</sup> About *Hyŏnhaeng sŏbanggyŏng* and the Koryŏ Buddhist community's responses to the situation of the late Koryŏ period reflected in its publication, see Nam Tongsin 남동신, "Yŏmal sŏnch'o ūi wigyŏng yŏn'gu : Hyŏnhaeng sŏbanggyŏng ūi punsŏk ūl chungshimŭro" 麗末鮮初의 僞經 研究—現行西方經의 分析을 中心으로 [Apocrypha from the Transition Period Between the Koryŏ and Chosŏn Dynasties: Focusing on the Analysis of *Hyŏnhaeng sŏbanggyŏng*], *Han'guk sasangsa* 24 (2005): 225-265.

<sup>289</sup> For the pantheon of the painting, see Chapter 3.

plausible that the asterism diagrams are not intended to deliver astrological or astronomical information. Rather, their function is like that of the Siddham text in the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print. In both cases religious efficacy is derived from unintelligibility.

Likewise, the depictions of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions standing in a line denotes more than what appears on the surface. They are a part of Tejaprabhā Buddha's procession, and at the same time, the outermost presiding deities of Tejaprabhā Buddha's pantheon. Their position and strict arrangements are reminiscent of the rectangular type dhāraṇī prints which had circulated in East Asia. This impression is reinforced when we see the entire composition of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, which is basically centralized and hierarchical. Furthermore, an intentional two dimensionality reveals the idiosyncrasy of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha as a religious image as well as a link to its reference. The artist may have wanted to make potential viewers recall a dhāraṇī sheet whose format was familiar for them, while also making the painting a sort of systemically framed mandala with a hierarchical order opposed to a narrative scene like "Amitābha Buddha's welcoming," or a deified star map. Although there is no trace of the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī cult in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha, some formal properties potentially derived from the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī appear here with their own meaning and function as iconographic elements. By picturing deities in a line alongside the border this hanging scroll painting becomes a kind of huge amulet so that its worshipper could expect greater efficacy. This could have been a way in which Koryō people interpreted a newly introduced tantric deity within their own tradition.

## 6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to trace possible iconographic models of inspiration for the unique composition and choice of elements of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. Although there is no extant earlier example of a hanging scroll, a *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī print excavated at the Ruiguang Monastery stupa with its depiction of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions suggests the possibility that a *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī served as a reference for the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha's artist. One may call this "iconographic transmission." In this case, however, the transmitted elements left the original medial and ritual context of the earlier object to be given a new background in the later work. In this way the iconography of the predecessor was not completely, but only partially, bequeathed to the successor.

By this I do not mean that it is an incomplete transmission. Rather, in order to draw a relatively unfamiliar subject offering few exemplars the artist used various available sources, selected certain visual elements, and created his own pictorial program. This was done by appropriating and rearranging them while at the same time remaining consistent with the given painting convention. Therefore, I believe a "creative appropriation" of transmitted visual elements is a more appropriate way to describe this phenomenon. Visual resemblance between two representations, whether whole or partial, is often understood as one-way transmission. The word "creativity" is not frequently used in Buddhist painting, where existing pictorial convention is firmly rooted. However, it was impossible to receive a certain cultural element from another tradition without exercising creativity.

## VI. Conclusion

By analyzing the iconographic and stylistic characteristics of the “The Descent of Tejabrahā Buddha” in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, this dissertation investigated numerous historical contexts that made the production of this fourteenth-century Korean artwork possible. These contexts include, in particular, the *tianwen* tradition of East Asia and its adaptation of Greek, Near Eastern and Indian cosmological ideas, the autochthonic folk cults and hero narratives of the Korean peninsula, and the designs of dhāraṇī amulets as accessible visual references. Furthermore, this study treated the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha as not only a product of the intersection of these three, but also as the result of an artist’s intentional and unintentional pictorial practices.

Chapter 1 of the dissertation discussed the asterism diagrams, the most unique aspect of the painting. These diagrams place the work in a broader category than that of “Buddhist painting.” The artist’s method of recording asterisms, which is shared by the makers of contemporaneous astronomical texts and images, implies that the boundary between the production of Buddhist paintings and that of non-religious or non-artistic relics was less clear than could be expected. Because of the lack of extant comparable relics, previous discussions of the production of Buddhist images from the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods have been limited to discussions of “Buddhism” and “painting.” However, the visualization of the stars shown in the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha and in other astronomical relics suggests the necessity for taking a wider perspective when examining the methods of producing such paintings and the iconography employed at that time. To be specific, similarities between the Boston Tejabrahā Buddha and the images of *ch’ŏnmun* (C. *tianwen*) material from the early Chosŏn period—a

publication and a star map—indicate that contemporaneous *ch'ōnmun* standards, which seem to have had nothing to do with Buddhist painting, functioned as an important background of the painting.

Employing the motif of a star descending (or falling) onto the Korean peninsula, Chapter 2 investigated the “Koreanized” meaning of the Tejaprabhā Buddha, the main deity in the Boston painting. Combined with the heroic narratives of a “descending star” associated with the birth of great personalities, such as Chakchegön, the grandfather of the founder of the Koryō dynasty, and the legitimation of the Koryō royal family, the Tejaprabhā Buddha was given new, political meaning. This new meaning, which was unknown in China from where the Buddha’s cult spread to the Korean peninsula, indicates that this foreign deity was reinterpreted and reimagined. While the Tejaprabhā Buddha was introduced as the “Buddha of the Pole Star,” it seems that in Koryō Korea, his identification with “the Pole Star” was more strongly emphasized than that with the “Buddha.”

The stellar pantheon also reveals the indigenous facet of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. As Chapter 3 examined, while the stellar deities featured in the painting were mentioned in some Buddhist and Daoist texts, they were originally derived from the *tianwen* of Han China. In the process of adaptation into the Korean *ch'ōnmun* tradition, their characteristics changed slightly and therefore differed from those of their Chinese counterparts. I noted above that, to the Koryō people, the Pole Star was more important than the Buddha when it came to addressing the Tejaprabhā Buddha. Similarly, the Buddha’s assembly should be seen as the pantheon of astral deities worshipped in the fourteenth-century on the Korean peninsula, rather than as a pantheon of Buddhist or Daoist deities. This change in viewpoint may explain some discrepancies in the



work. For example, the painting seems to include many “errors,” including the duplication of some stars. However, what was important for the artist, the patron and other devotees was not astronomical or scientific accuracy, but was instead how they conceived and imagined the celestial bodies. The composition of the pantheon in the painting implies that its special iconography is based on a broad astral worship transcending Buddhism, Daoism, and folk cult.

Chapter 4 traced a possible visual reference in the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha to a unique composition; the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī of the early eleventh century is similar to the painting in iconography and composition. However, because of the temporal and geographical gaps between the two relics, it is impossible for the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī to have been a direct inspiration for the painting. Rather, we can consider the possibility that the Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī’s iconography and composition were transmitted to the Korean peninsula through other relics that bridged the gaps in time and distance, including the *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇīs, which are known to have been circulated in the Koryō kingdom. In spite of the differences between the two works’ media and purposes, the artist who created the silk hanging scroll quite apparently adapted the dhāraṇī’s design. This was possible because the Tejaprabhā Buddha cult had basically been related to dhāraṇī practice, and *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī images featuring the Tejaprabhā Buddha may thus have provided the artist with a rare reference for visualizing the deity. As a result, whether intentional or not, the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha reminds the viewer of a huge dhāraṇī image, quite conceivably leading the devotee to expect from it an efficacy similar to that of a dhāraṇī sheet.

The historical layers behind the Boston Tejaprabhā painting that have been examined here cannot explain the painting’s every facet. To examine the entire social, cultural, and religious contexts of all the elements of the painting is beyond the scope of this thesis, if not

impossible. Its Buddhist facets, particularly in regard to worship and iconography, have been addressed by many prior studies of the Tejaprabhā Buddha. What I attempted to discover were the image's "non-Buddhist" elements; an artwork can become more significant as a subject for historical research when layers that have been previously unknown or overlooked are addressed. Such layers can be found by looking beyond the category of "Buddhist painting" that has seemed to define this work.

The "non-Buddhist" elements focused on in this dissertation, namely, the asterism diagrams, the indigenous heroic motif, and the seemingly Buddo-Daoist pantheon, are idiosyncrasies of the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha. These elements can be explained by the concept of *ch'ōnmun*. Hence, as a multi-faceted representation of the *ch'ōnmun* concept, this painting was analyzed regarding multiple ways of worshipping the stars. Stars have been observed, recorded, respected as natural objects, and worshipped as religious deities. At first glance, the Boston painting seems to depict a single narrative, but, indeed, it directly or indirectly depicts the many different facets of the *tianwen-ch'ōnmun* tradition that were developed over a thousand-year period on the peninsula.

Although I presumed that the Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha comprises many different historical layers, this does not mean that the painting is an end point. It is not easy to trace what happened to the painting after its production or to suggest its ultimate purpose or function. Considering its iconography and the *ch'ōnmun* of the time, which was often monopolized by the court, it is possible that the painting was used in that context, for instance, as a central icon in a certain ritual, privately or officially held at the court. The painting may have been seen as a Buddhist version of the planisphere or as a type of pictorial *dhāraṇī* image. It may have hung in a

shrine as a religious icon, as did other Koryŏ Buddhist paintings. In any case, it is obvious that this painting became a cultural context in itself, forming another layer of *ch'ŏnmun* history, as demonstrated by two iconographical successors that have come down to us, the Tejabrabhā Buddha preserved at the Kōrai Bijutsukan in Kyoto, dated 1569, and the so-called “Sudo-am” painting, dated 1644. (Figs. 1.17 and 5.1)<sup>290</sup> The relationship between the Boston Tejabrabhā Buddha and these two latecomers and the development of star worship on the Korean peninsula that is connected to Chosŏn *ch'ŏnmun* are, however, beyond the scope of the present research and therefore remain to be investigated.

As is the case with most other Koryŏ Buddhist paintings, the concrete situation for which the Boston Tejabrabhā Buddha was created cannot be reconstructed. Nevertheless, because of its uniqueness and its idiosyncrasies, it can shed light on religious and cultural aspects of the Koryŏ dynasty which otherwise receive little attention.

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<sup>290</sup> For important research on these paintings, see Introduction, 14.

## TABLES

**Table 1. The earliest Buddhist scriptures to use the term “Chishengguang”**

	Title	Translator (period)	Term used
1	北斗七星護摩法 (T. 1310) <i>Beidou qi xing huma fa</i> [The Method of Making a Homa Offering to the Seven Stars of the Big Dipper]	Yixing 一行 (673-727)	熾盛光要法
2	宿曜儀軌 (T. 1304) <i>Xiuyao yigui</i> [Manual of the Constellations and Celestial Bodies]	Yixing 一行 (673-727)	熾盛光佛頂
3	佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉祥陀羅尼經 (T. 963) <i>Foshuo Chishengguang da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing</i> [Tejaprabhā’s Great Majestic, Virtuous and Auspicious Dhāraṇī Sūtra for Averting Calamities]	Bukong (Amoghavajra) 不空 (705-774)	熾盛光
4	佛說大威德金輪佛頂熾盛光如來消災一切災難陀羅尼經 (T. 964) <i>Foshuo da weide jinlun foding Chishengguang rulai xiaochu yiqie zainan tuoluoni jing</i> [The Great Majestic and Virtuous Golden Wheel Uṣṇīṣa Tejaprabhā Tathāgata Averting All Calamities and Hardships Dhāraṇī Sūtra]	Unknown 失譯 (circa 906)	熾盛光如來
5	大妙金剛大甘露軍拏利焰鬘熾盛佛頂經 (T. 965) <i>Da miao jingang da ganlu jun na li yan man Chisheng foding jing</i> [The Great, Wonderful, Diamond Army of Great Sweet Dew’s Blazing Narayan Garland on the Crown of the Buddha’s Head Sūtra]	Damoqina (Dharmasena) 達磨栖那 (Tang dynasty)	熾盛佛頂, 熾盛光明佛頂

6	<p>大聖妙吉祥菩薩說除災教令法輪 (T. 966)</p> <p><i>Da sheng miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun</i></p> <p>[The Great Sage, Wonderfully Auspicious Bodhisattva, Speaks of Eliminating Disasters and of Teachings that Command the Dharma Wheel]</p>	<p>Shilobatuoluo (Śīlabhadra) 尸羅跋陀羅 (Tang dynasty)</p>	<p>熾盛光佛頂</p>
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Table 2. The images of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions.




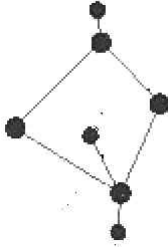
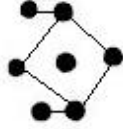
		Tang Butiange	Chosŏn Butiange	Suzhou Star map	Chosŏn Star map	Boston Tejaprabhā Buddha painting
East	Jiao 角					
	Kang 亢					
	Di 低					
	Fang 房					
	Xin 心					
	Wei 尾					
	Ji 箕					

North	Dou 斗					
	Niu 牛					
	Nü 女					
	Xu 虛					
	Wei 危					
	Shi 室					
	Bi 壁					


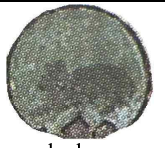


West	Kui 奎					
	Lou 樓					
	Wei 胃					
	Mao 昴					
	Bi 畢					
	Zi 觜					
	Shen 參					

























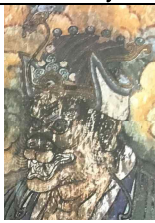



















South	Jing 井					
	Gui 鬼					
	Liu 柳					
	Xing 星					
	Zhang 張					
	Yi 翼					

	<p>Zhen 軫</p>					
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**Table 3. Auspicious animal symbols of Twenty-eight Lunar Mansions in visual materials.**

		Guolao xingzong	Daofa huiyuan	Yuanshi	Yongle palace	Boston painting	Ceremonial flag of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea
East	角 jiao	角木蛟	角木蛟	蛟 scaly dragon	 Dragon or scaly dragon	 scaly dragon	
	亢 kang	亢金龍	亢金龍	龍 dragon	 Dragon or scaly dragon	 dragon	
	氐 di	氐土貉	氐土貉	貉 badger	 badger	 badger	
	房 fang	房日兔		兔 rabbit	 rabbit	 rabbit	
	心 xin	心月狐		狐 vixen	 vixen	 vixen	
	尾 wei	尾火虎	尾火虎	虎 tiger	 tiger	 tiger	
	箕 ji	箕水豹	箕水豹	豹 leopard	 leopard	 <i>xiezhi</i>	
North	斗 dou	斗木獬	斗木獬	獬 <i>xiezhi</i>	 crab	 ox	

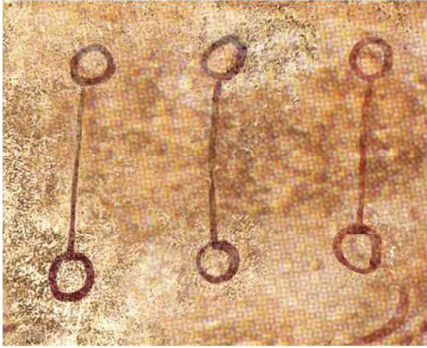

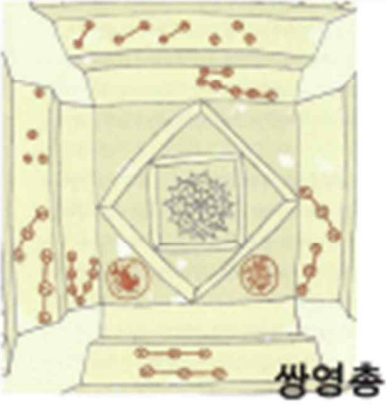


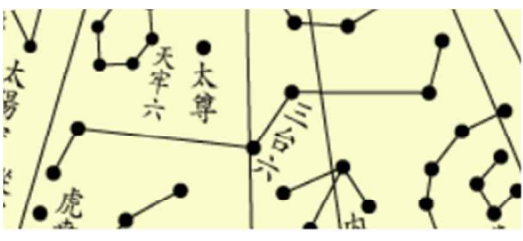


	牛 niu	牛金牛	牛金牛	牛 ox	 ox	 bat	
	女 nǚ	女土蝠	女土蝠	郜 (bat)	 bat	 leopard	
	虛 xū	虛日鼠		鼠 rat	 rat	 rat	
	危 wēi	危月燕		燕 swallow	 swallow		
	室 shì	室火豬	室火豬	豬 pig	 pig		
	壁 bì	壁水兪	壁水瑜	兪 yayu	 yayu	 wild dog or wolf	
West	奎 kuī	奎木狼	奎木狼	狼 wolf	 wolf	 earthworm	
	婁 lōu	婁金狗	婁金狗	狗 dog	 dog	 serpent	
	胃 wèi	胃土雉	胃土雉	雉 pheasant	 pheasant	 deer	
	昴 mǎo	昴日雞		雞 rooster	 rooster	 horse	

	畢 bi	畢月烏		烏 crow	 crow	 river deer	
	觜 zi	觜火猴	觜火猴	猴 monkey	 monkey	 sheep	
	參 shen	參水猿	參水猿	猿 ape	 ape	 ape or monkey	
South	井 ding	井木犴	井水犴	犴 wild dog	 wild dog	 yayu(?)	
	鬼 gui	鬼金羊	鬼金羊	羊 sheep	 sheep	 ape or monkey	
	柳 liu	柳土獐	柳土獐	獐 river deer	 river deer	 crow	
	星 xing	星日馬		馬 horse	 horse	 rooster	
	張 zhang	張月鹿		鹿 deer	 deer	 pheasant	
	翼 yi	翼火蛇	翼火蛇	蛇 serpent	 serpent	 dog	

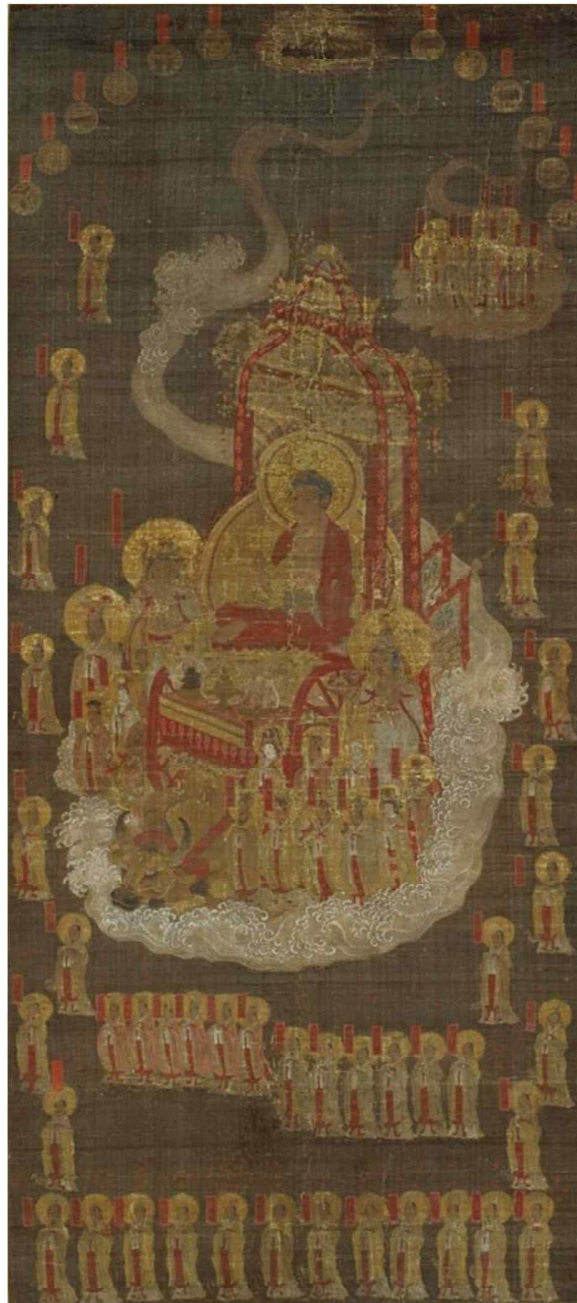
	軫 zhen	軫水蚓	軫水蚓	蚓 earthworm	 earthworm	 swallow	
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**Table 4. Six stars of Three stages in visual materials**

<p>Tökhüŋ-ri tomb, 408</p> 	<p>Kakchō ch'ong (Tomb of the Wrestlers), early 5<sup>th</sup> century</p> 
<p>Ssanyōng ch'ong, late 5<sup>th</sup> century</p> 	<p>Kwōn Chun's tomb, 14<sup>th</sup> century</p> 
<p>Suzhou star map, 1247</p> 	<p>Chosōn star map, 1395</p> 
<p>Yongle palace, 1358</p> 	<p>Boston Tejaprabhā painting, 14<sup>th</sup> century</p> 

**FIGURES**



**Fig. 0.1. The Descent of Tejabrahma Buddha, Late 14<sup>th</sup> century, color on silk, 124.4×54.8cm, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston**





**Fig. 0.2. Tejaprabhā with Five Planets, 897, color on silk, 55.4×80.4 cm, British museum**



**Fig. 0.3. Tejaprabhā Buddha and other celestial beings, late Tang period, color on paper, 30.5×76.cm**

**Bibliothèque Nationale de France**



**Fig. 0.4. Tejaprabhā Buddha and the Eleven Planets, 1090, 127×142×105cm, Niche 169, Beishan, Dazu, Sichuan province, China. After Chōng Chínghūi, 2017, Pl.23**



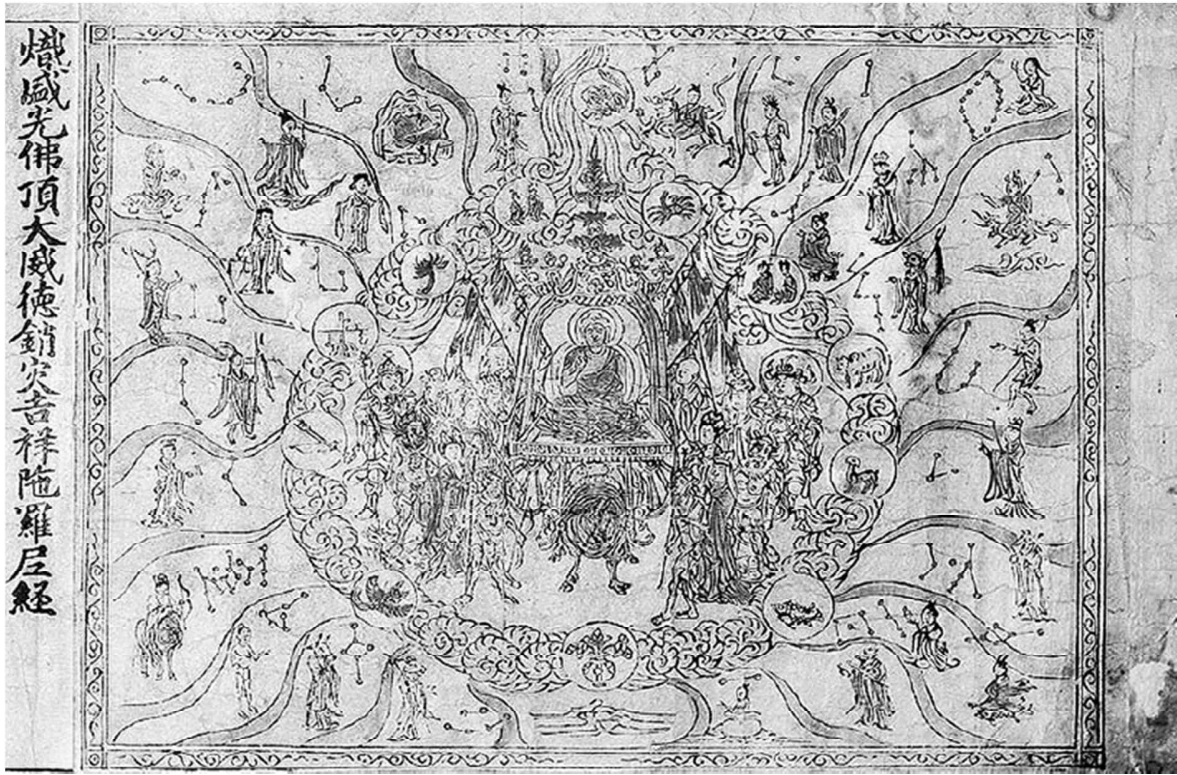
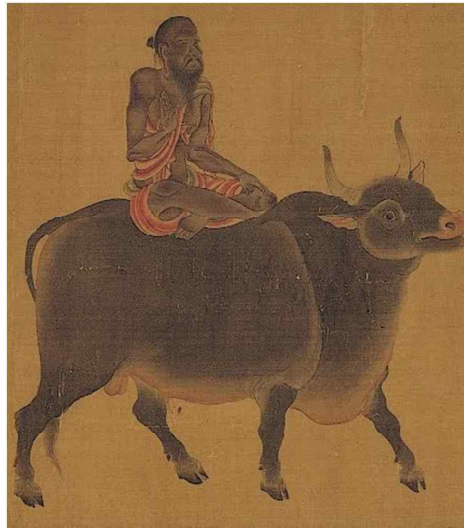


Fig. 0.5. Frontpiece of *Chishengguang foding da weide xiaozai jixiang tuoluoni jing* 熾盛光佛頂大威德銷災吉祥陀羅尼經 [*Tejaprabhā's Great Majestic, Virtuous and Auspicious Dhāraṇī Sūtra for Averting Calamities*], 972, woodblock print on paper, total 28.4×143.8cm, Kaminobō, Nara, Japan



**Fig. 0.6.** Attributed to Zhang Sengyou, Saturn from *The Five Planets and Twenty-eight Constellations*, early 6<sup>th</sup> century, color on silk, total 489.7×28cm, Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts

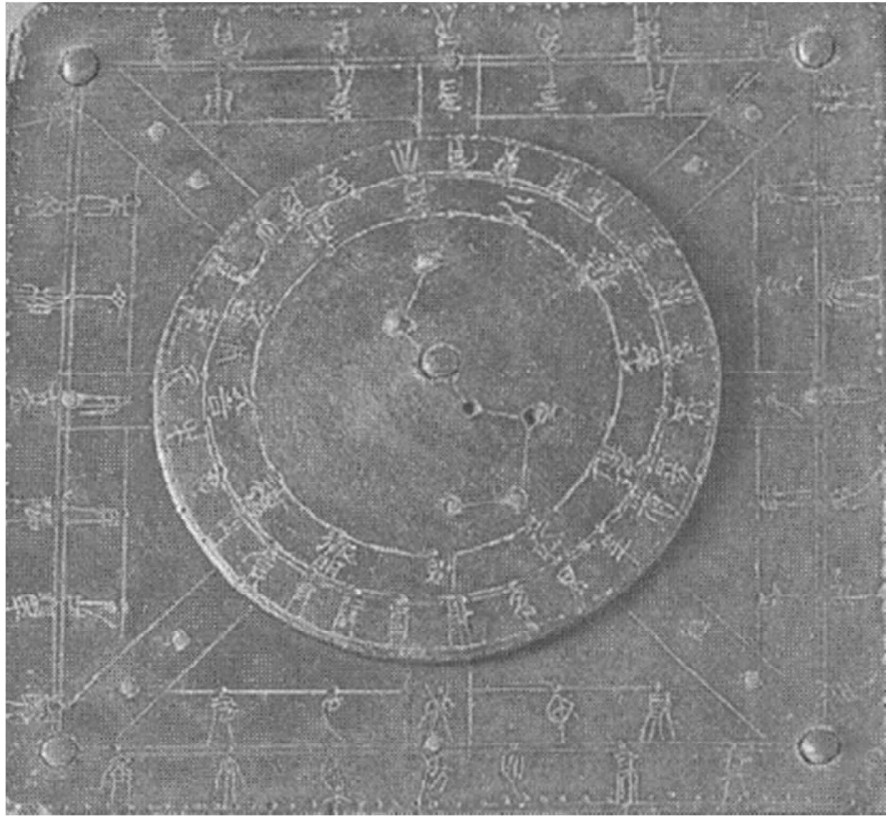


Fig. 1.1 *Shi* 式 board discovered at Mozuizi (Wuwei, Gansu Province), late Western Han period, lacquered wood, 9 × 9 cm, Gansu Provincial Museum. After Marc Kalinowski, “The Notion of “Shi” 式 and Some Related Terms in Qin-Han Calendrical Astrology,” *Early China* 35/36 (2012-2013), Figure 2.



Fig. 1.2. The Celestial Thearch from the Wu Liang Shrine, Han dynasty, Jiexiang, Shandong, China. After Zheng Wenguang, *Zhongguo tianwenxue yuanliu*, p. 133.



**Fig. 1.3. Detail of Fig. 0.1.**



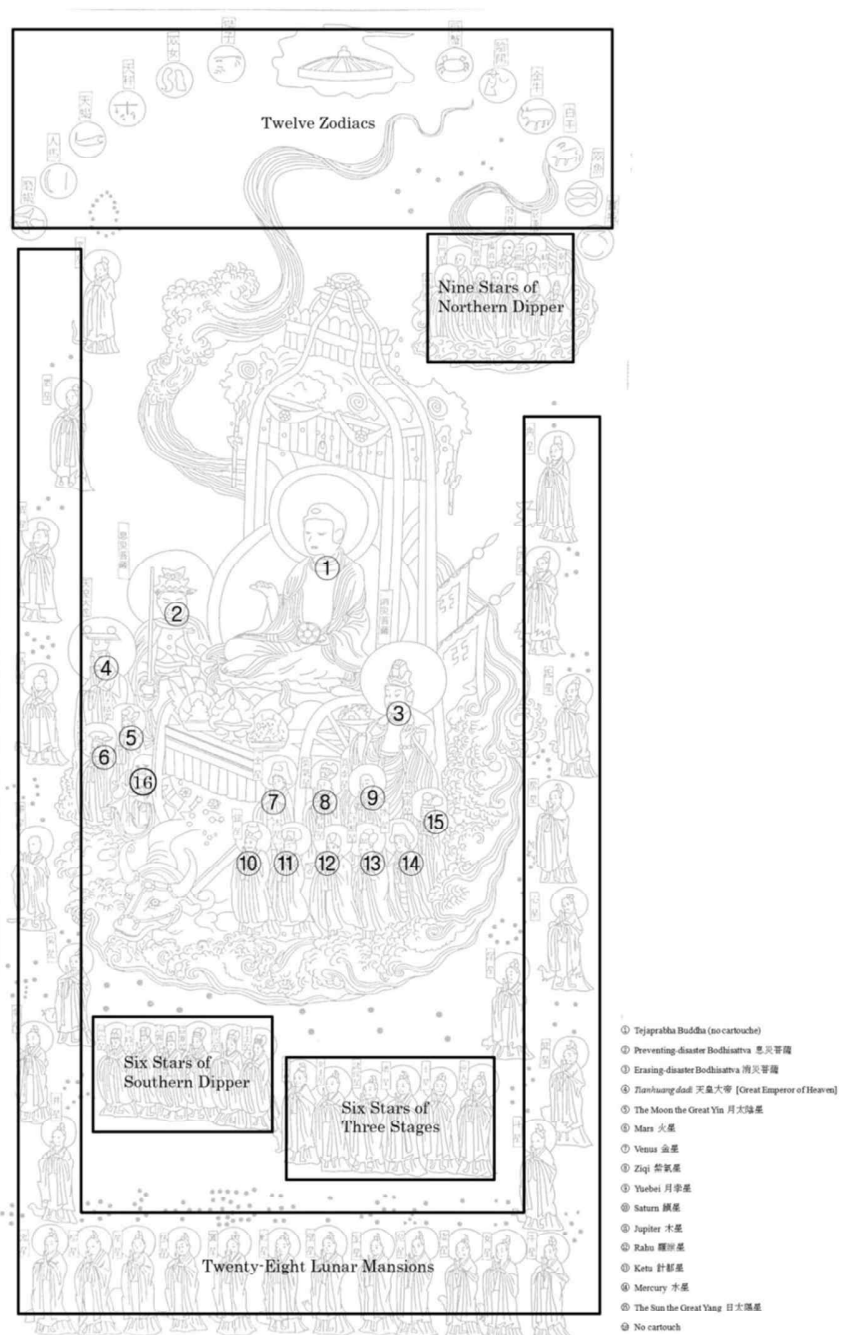


Fig. 1.4. Diagrammatic representation of Fig.0.1. Original drawing is from Kim Ilkwön, *Uri yöksa üi hanülgwa pyölchari* (Söul: Kojüwin, 2008), fig. 29.



**Fig. 1.5. Ch'önsang yöleh'a punyajido, 1395, 123.0×211.0×12.0cm, Stone, National Palace Museum of Korea**

唐步天歌

藝文志王希明丹元子步天歌一卷 中興書日步天歌一卷  
 日題右拾遺王希明撰圖二十八宿及太微紫微天市垣各總為  
 之歌 通志天文卷歷世天文志徒有其書無載象之義學者但  
 識星名不可以仰觀隋有丹元子繼者之流也不知名氏作步天  
 歌見者可以觀象馬王希明纂漢晉志以釋之句中有圖言下有  
 象又不言休祥是深知天者歌前亦有星形 晁氏志步天歌一  
 卷二十八合歌也三垣頌五星凌化賦附於後 或云唐王希明  
 自號丹元子

東方角

兩星南北正直著。中有平道上天田。總是黑星兩相  
 連。別有一鳥名進賢。平道右畔獨淵然。最上三星周  
 角形。角下天門左平星。毀雙橫於庠樓上。庠樓小星  
 屈曲明。樓中柱有十五星。三三相若如鳥形。其中四  
 星別名衛。南門樓外兩星橫。

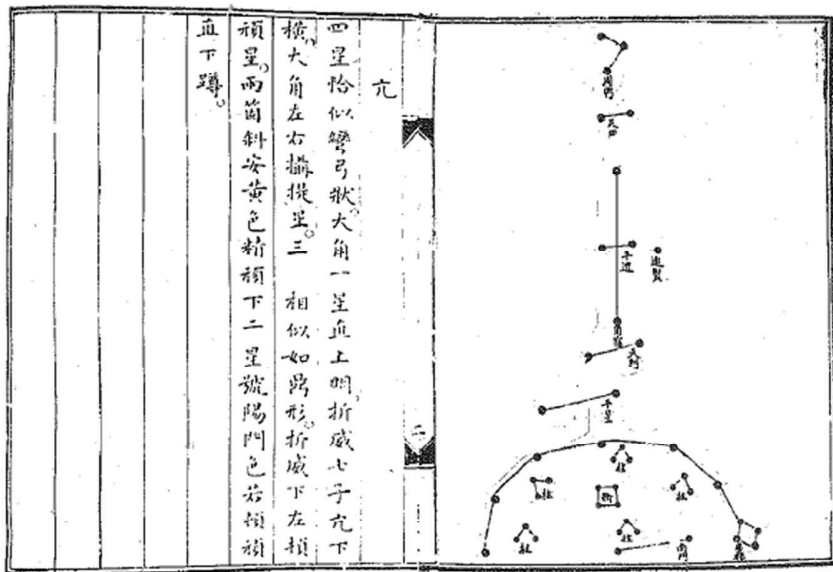


Fig. 1.6. Tang *Butiang*, Qing Kangxi 康熙 era (1654-1722), manuscript on paper. After *Zhongguo kexue jishu dianji tonghui tianwen juan* 中國科學技術典籍通彙 天文卷, ed. Bo Shuren 薄樹人 (Zhengzhou: Henan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996)

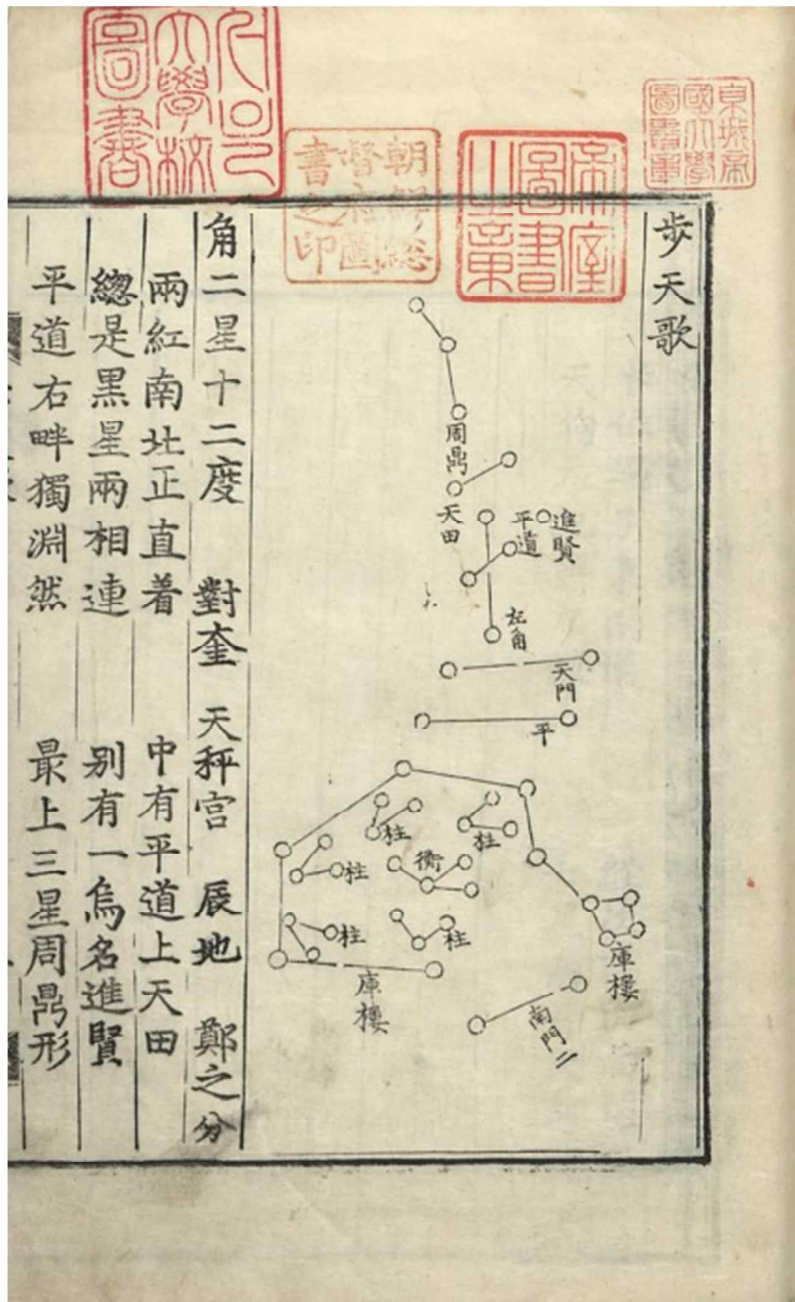


Fig. 1.7. Chosŏn *Butiange*, early Chosŏn dynasty, 35.7×24cm, woodblock print, Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Korea (奎中 1956).

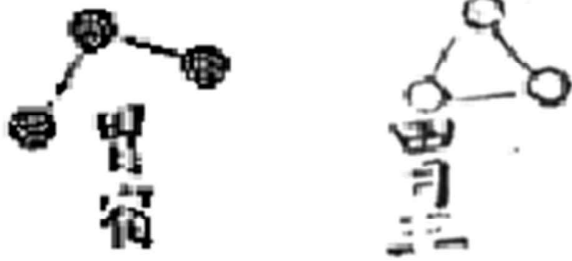


Fig. 1.8. Wei胃 of the West from (L) Tang *Butiange* and (R) Chosŏn *Butiange*

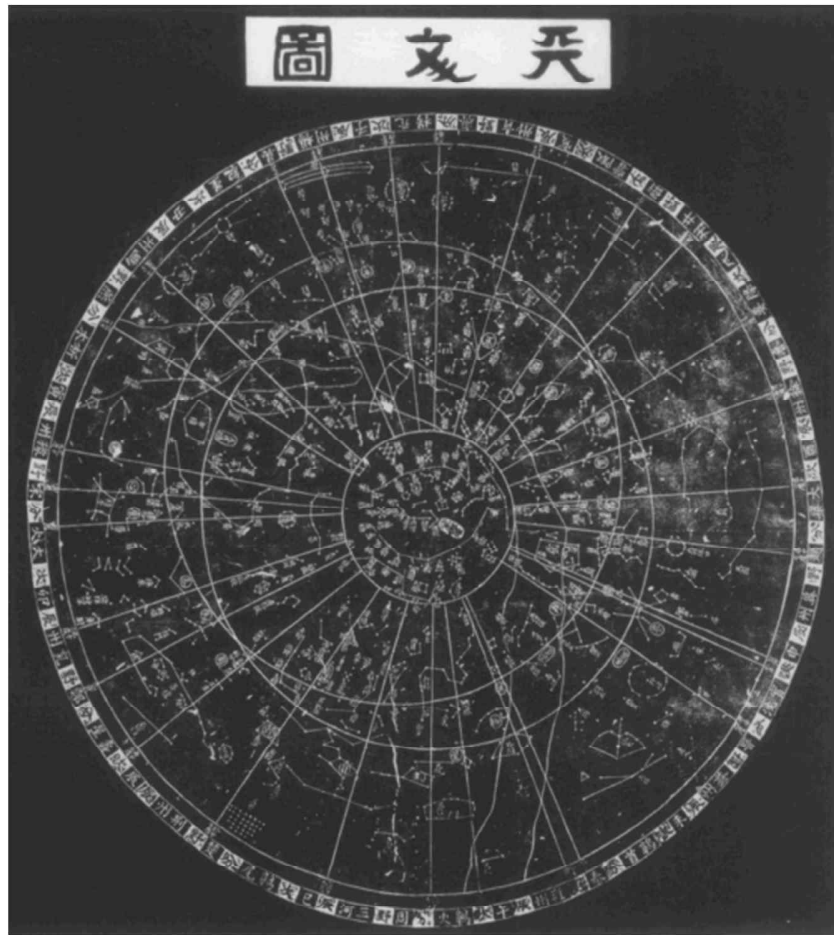


Fig. 1.9. Rubbing of the Suzhou Star Map. Suzhou Museum. After W. Carl Rufus and Tian Hsing-chih, *The Soochow Astronomical Chart* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1945), p.1A.



Xing 星 of South



Yi 翼 of the South

**Fig. 1.10. Two of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions from (L) Suzhou star map and (R) Chosŏn star map**



**Fig.1.11. Detail of Fig.0. 1. (L) Wei 危 of the North and (R) Lou 樓 of the West**



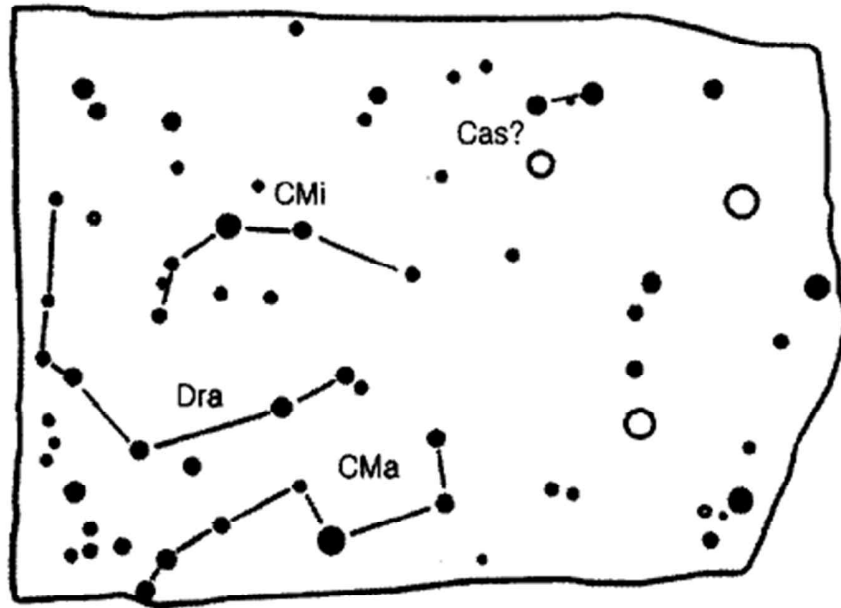


Fig.1.12. Drawing of stone plate discovered at 'Adūgi dolmen.' After Pak Ch'angbōm at al., "Ch'angwōn Adūgi Koindol Yujōgesō," fig.4.

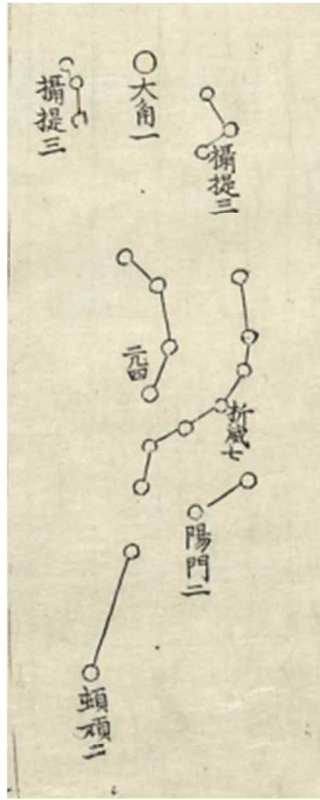


Fig. 1.13. *Kang* 亢 of the East and its neighbor asterisms from Chosŏn *Butiange*



**Fig. 1.14. Yi 翼 of the South, Detail of Fig.0.1.**



**Fig. 1.15. Six Stars of Three Stages, Detail of Fig. 0.1.**

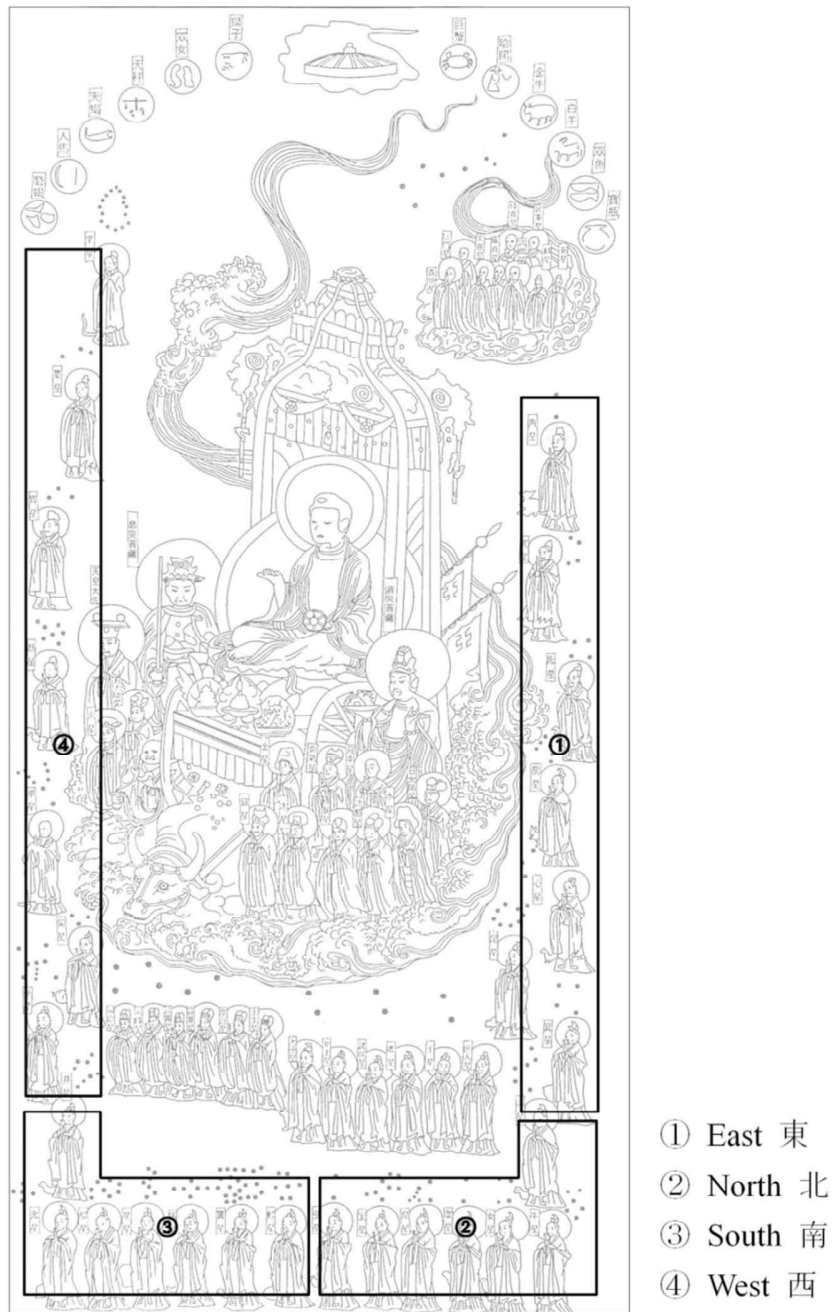
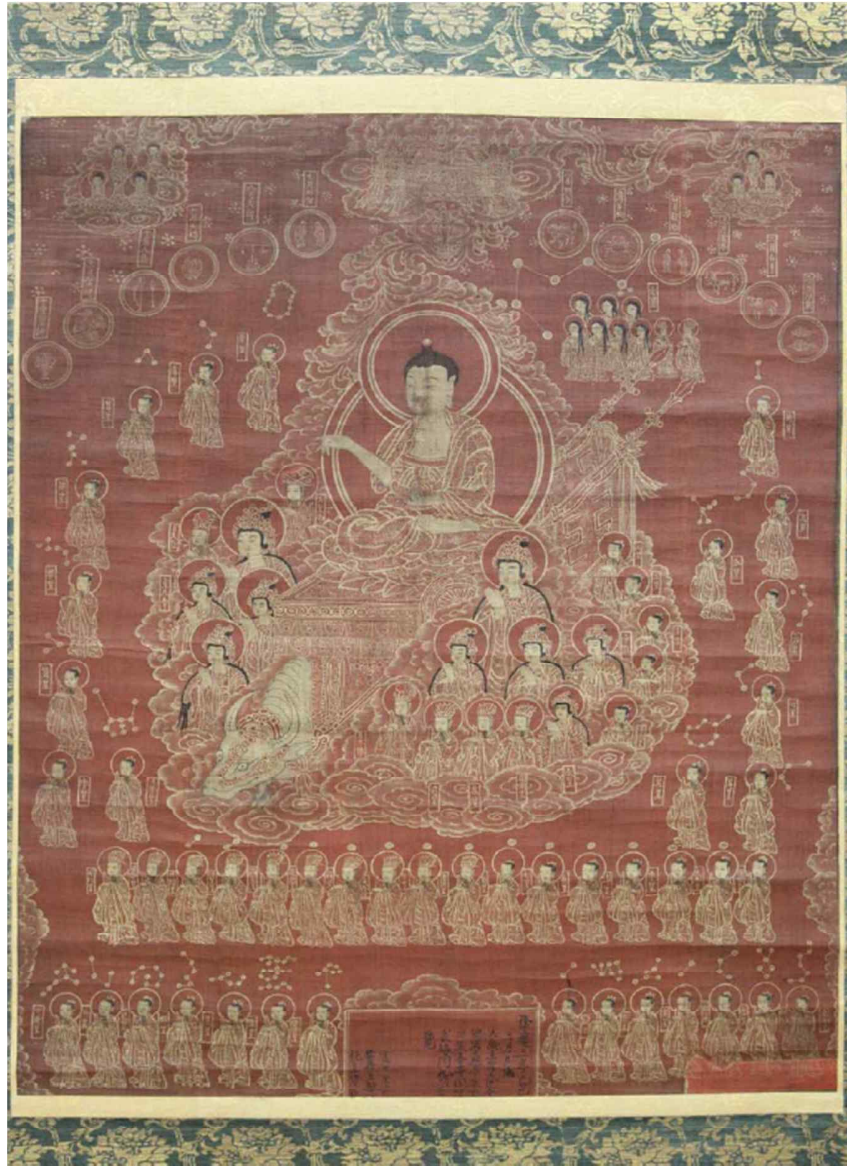


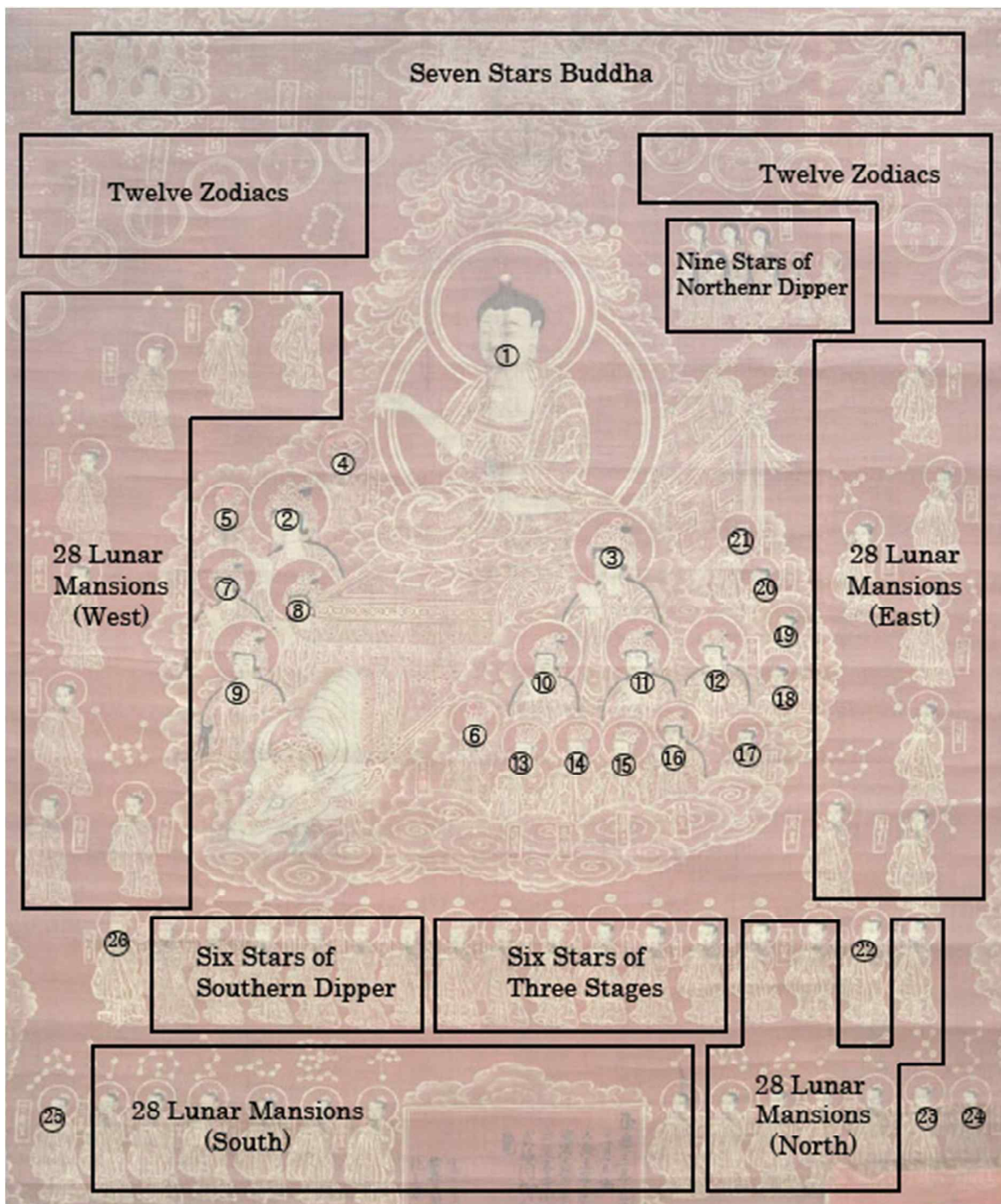
Fig. 1.16. The Arrangement of Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions



**Fig. 1.17. The Descent of Tejaprabhā Buddha, 1569, gold on hemp, 84.8×66.2cm, Kōrai bijutuskan, Kyoto,**

**Japan. After Kim Hyōnjōng, 2013, fig 1.**





① Tejaprabhā Buddha (no cartouche)

② No cartouche

- ③ No cartouche
- ④ *Yuhuang di* 玉皇帝 [Emperor of Jade]
- ⑤ The Moon the Great Yin 月太陰
- ⑥ The Sun the Great Yang 日太陽
- ⑦ *Yuhuang dadi* 玉皇大帝 [Great Emperor of Jade]
- ⑧ No cartouche
- ⑨ No cartouche
- ⑩ No cartouche
- ⑪ No cartouche
- ⑫ Indra 帝釋
- ⑬ 司星 (Unknown)
- ⑭ Jupiter 木星
- ⑮ Rahu 羅候星
- ⑯ Mercury 水星
- ⑰ *Ziwei xing* 紫微星 [Star of Purple Subtlety (Pole Star)] (or miswrite of 紫氣星?)
- ⑱ *Zitan xing* 紫貪星 [Star of Purple Subtlety and Greedy Wolf Star (of Northern Dipper)]
- ⑲ Venus 金星
- ⑳ Saturn 土星



- ㉑ Mars 火星
- ㉒ Crown Prince Star 太子星
- ㉓ Vega 織女星 [Star of Female Weaver]
- ㉔ Altair 牽牛星 [Star of Cow Herder]
- ㉕ 可危星 (Unknown, or miswrite of 司危星 included in *Xu* 虛宿?)
- ㉖ 司非星 (included in *Xu* 虛宿)

**Fig. 1.18. Diagrammic representation of Fig. 1.17.**



**Fig. 1.19. Detail of Fig. 0.2.**



**Fig. 2.1. Dunhuang Mogao Cave 61, corridor, south wall, Five dynasties, restored in Yuan dynasty, wall painting**



**Fig. 2.2. *Sojaehoe*, south side of the third story in the ten story stupa from the Kyŏngch'ŏn Monastery site, 1348, 67.7×58.6cm, National Museum of Korea**



Fig. 2.3. Detail of *Hōnen shōnin eden*, Kamakura period, Chion-in, Japan



Fig. 2.4. Six Buddhist Reams, 13th century, color on silk, 104.0×47.0cm each, Shin-Chion-in monastery, Japan





Fig. 2.5. Astral Deities, 13h century, color on silk, 103.5×45.7 each, Zuisen-ji monastery, Japan



Fig. 2.6. *Foshuo jnlun foding dawei de chishengguang rulai tuoluoni jing*, 1462, woodblock print, 34.5cmx90cm, Zhihuasi monastery, Beijing

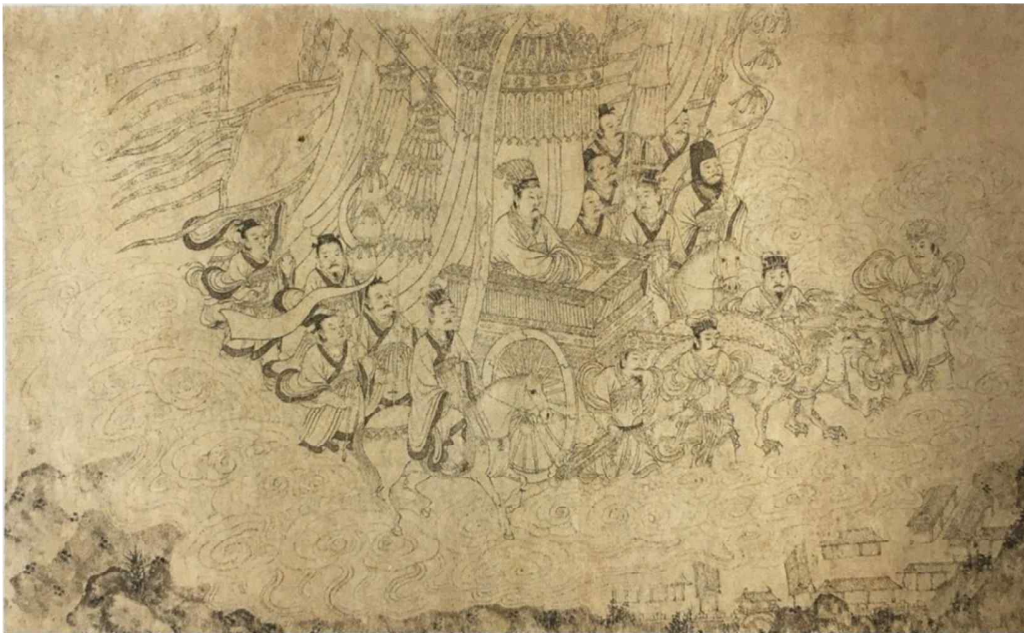


Fig. 2.7. Attributed to Li Gonglin, detail of *The Nine Songs*, Southern Song period, ink on paper, 33.0×31.8cm (After Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the True Form : Daoist Visual Culture in Traditional China* (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), fig.6.18



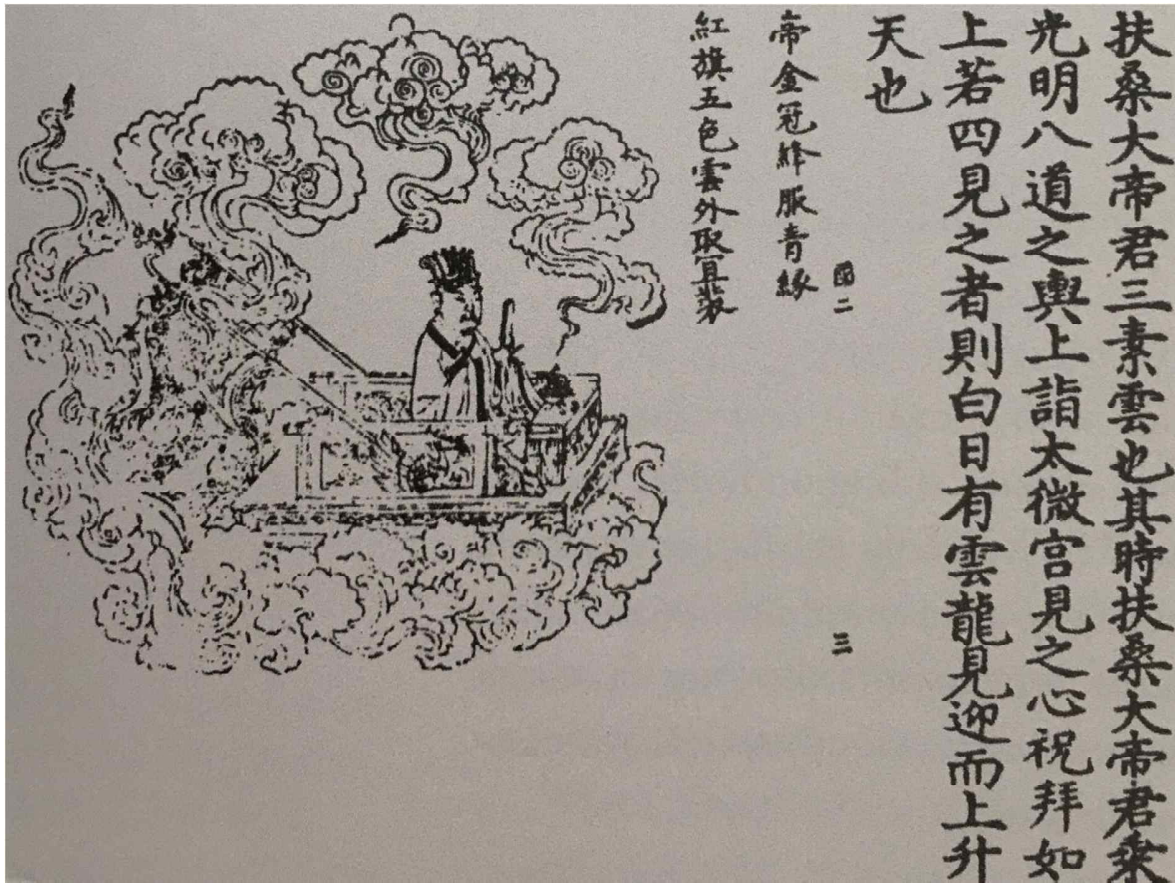
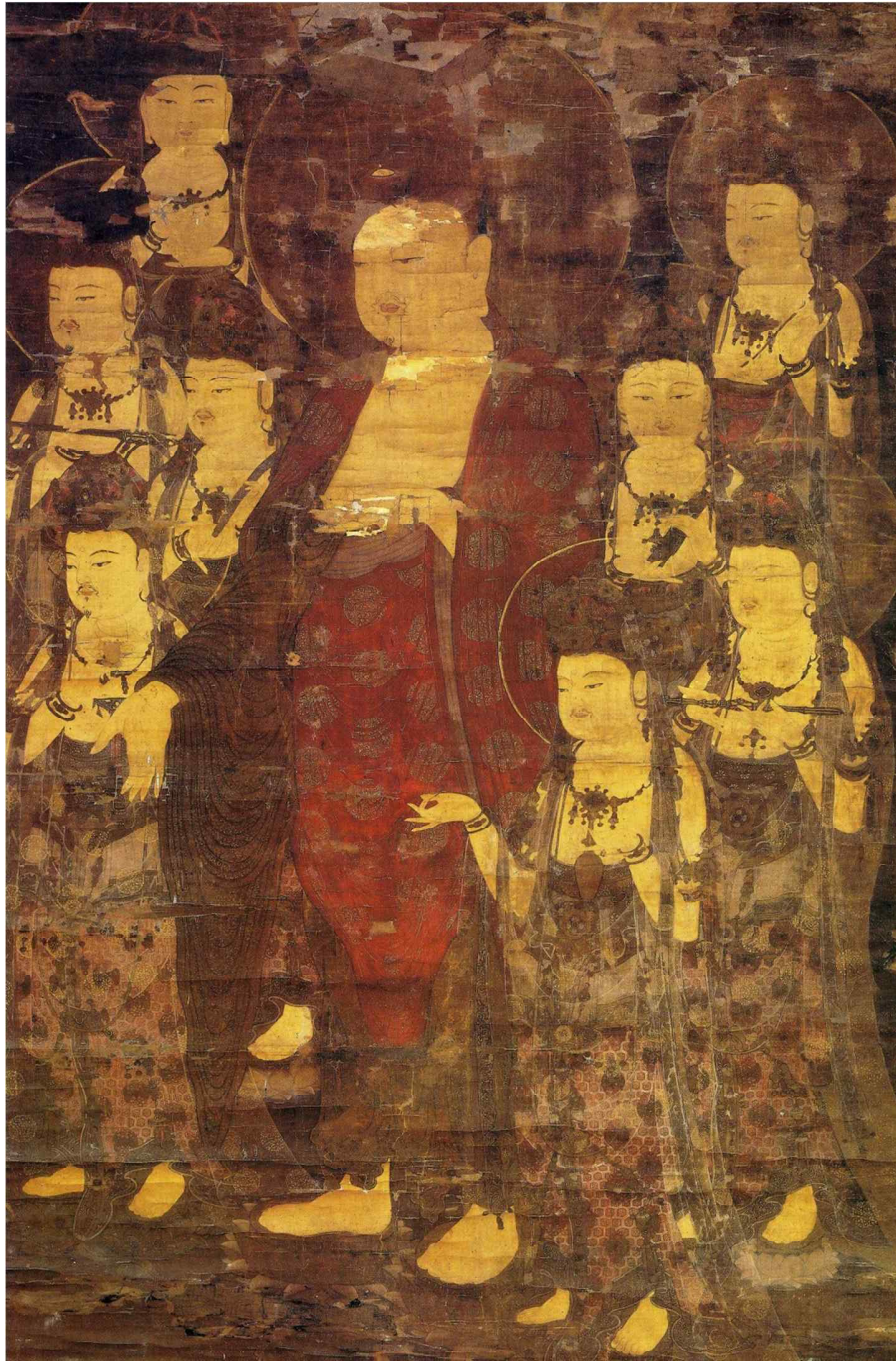


Fig. 2.8. Detail of the *Illustrated Secrets of the Eight Ways of Highest Clarity*, 1445, woodblock print, ink on paper, (After Shih-shan Susan Huang, *Picturing the true form : Daoist visual culture in traditional China* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Asia Center, 2012), fig.6.17)





**Fig. 2.9. Amitābha Buddha, late Koryō period, color on silk, 190.0×87.2cm, Shobo-ji monastery, Japan**



**Fig. 2.10. Amitābha Buddha with Eight Great Bodhisattvas, late Koryō, color on silk, 135.0×86.0cm, Keigan-ji, Japan**





**Fig. 2.11. Amitābha Triad, late Koryŏ, color on silk, 110.0×51.0 cm, Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art**



**Fig. 2.12. Amitābha Triad, Western Xia, 13th century, color on cotton, 142.5×94.0 cm, The State Hermitage Museum**



**Fig. 3.1. Zhonggong ziwei beiji dadi [the Great Emperor of the Central Palace Pole Star of the Purple Subtlety] and his attendants, 1368, on the east side of northern wall in the Sanqing Hall, Yongle Palace, Shanxi province, China (After Jin Weinuo 金維諾 ed., *Yongle gong bihua qunji* 永樂宮壁畫全集 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2007), fig. 19)**





Fig. 3.2. Gouchen xinggong tianhuang dadi [Great Emperor of Heaven in the stellar palace of Gouchen] and his attendants, 1368, on the west side of northern wall in the Sanqing Hall, Yongle Palace, Shanxi province, China (After Jin Weinuo ed., *Yongle gong bihua qunji* (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin meishu chubanshe, 2007), fig. 20)



Fig. 3.3. Details of Fig. 3.1. Mercury, Venus, Mars, Ziqi, Yuebei, Rahu and Ketu





**Fig. 3.4. Detail of Fig. 0.1**





Fig. 3.5. Nine Stars of Northern Dipper, Southern Song Dynasty, 13<sup>th</sup> century, 112.7×54.3cm, hanging scroll,

Chikubushima Hogon-ji, Japan



**Fig. 3.6.** Disc stones, about 12th century, near Unjusa monastery, Hwasun. (Chönnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan and Hwasun-gun, *Unjusa chonghap haksul chosa*, fig.114)

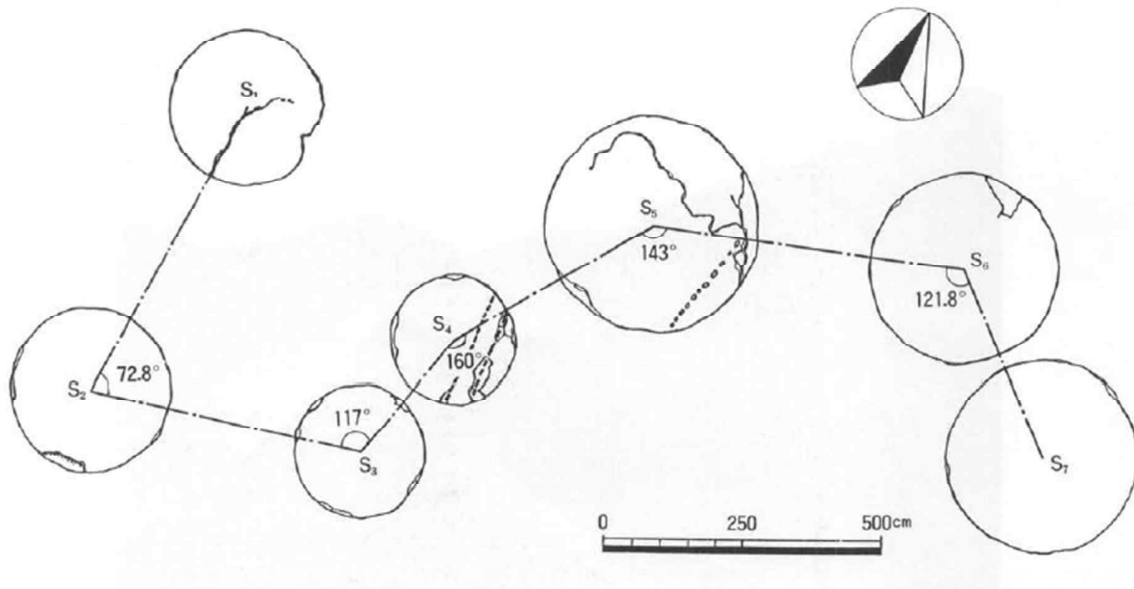


Fig. 3.7. Diagram of Disc stones, about 12th century, near Unjusa monastery, Hwasun. (Chönnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan and Hwasun-gun, *Unjusa chonghap haksul chosa*, fig.102)



**Fig. 3.8. Buddha triad, about 12th century, near Unjusa monastery, Hwasun. (Chönnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan, Hwasun-gun *Unjusa chonghap haksul chosa*, fig.3)**



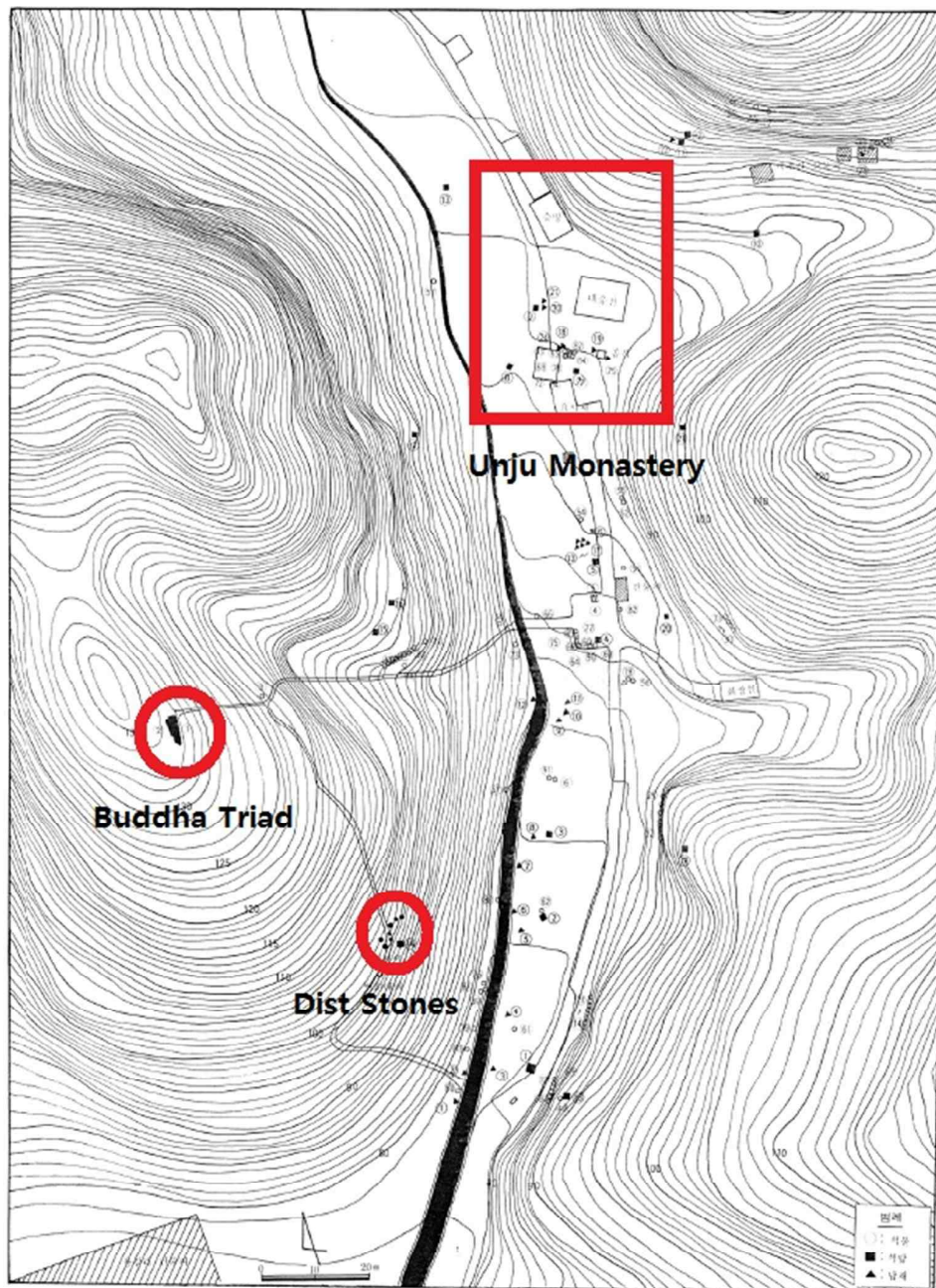


Fig. 3.9. Map of Unju Monastery Area (Chönnam taehakkyo pangmulgwan, Hwasun-gun *Unjusa chonghap haksul chosa*, map 3)



**Fig. 3.10. Detail of Fig. 0.1.**



**Fig. 3.11. Decorative banner of an official ceremonial flag of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea, late 19<sup>th</sup>-early 20<sup>th</sup> century, 39.5×16.5cm, embroidery on silk, National Palace Museum of Korea**

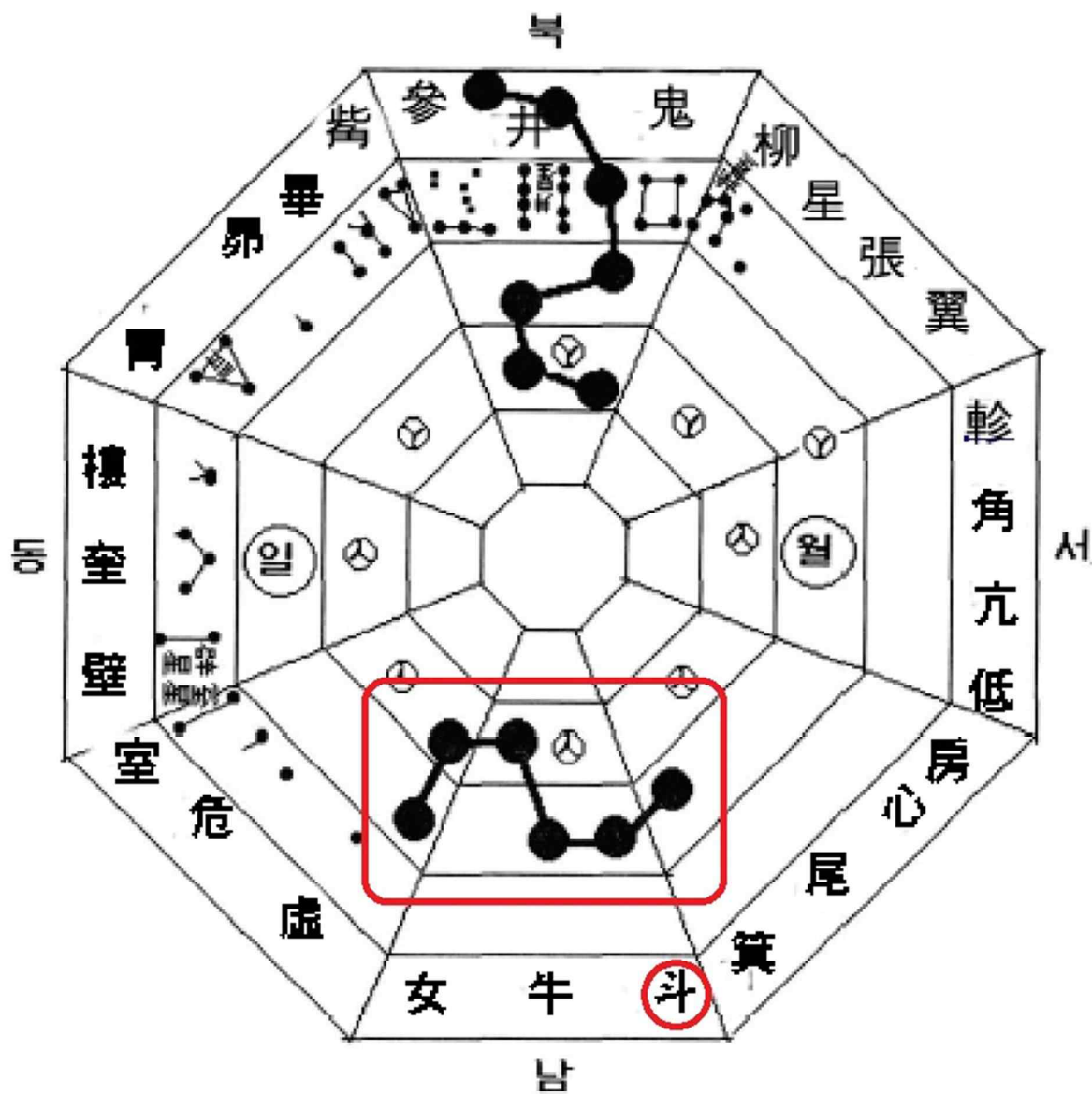


Fig. 3.12. The ceiling of Tōkhwa-ri tomb no.2, late 5th century, (Kim Ilkwon, “Koguryō kobun pyōkhwa üi pyōlchari kojōng,” fig.18 with modification), Tōkhwa-ri, Taedong-gun P'yōngan namdo (Southern Dipper and *dou* are marked in red)





**Fig. 4.1. Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions in Fig. 0.1.**



**Fig. 4.2. Amitābha Buddha with Eight Great Bodhisattvas, late Koryŏ, color on silk, 143.0×87.0cm, Tokugawa**

**Art Museum**



Fig. 4.3. *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* sheet, woodblock print, ink on paper, 1005, 25.0×21.2 cm, Suzhou Museum





Fig. 4.4. Detail of Fig. 2.1.



Fig. 4.5. *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheet, woodblock print, ink on paper, 1184, 33.6×34.6cm, Cha'unsu monastery, Kwangju, Korea





Fig. 4.6. *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheet, woodblock print, ink on paper, 13<sup>th</sup> century, r. 24.4cm, 32.3×34.8cm,

Pogwangsa Monastery, Andong, Korea

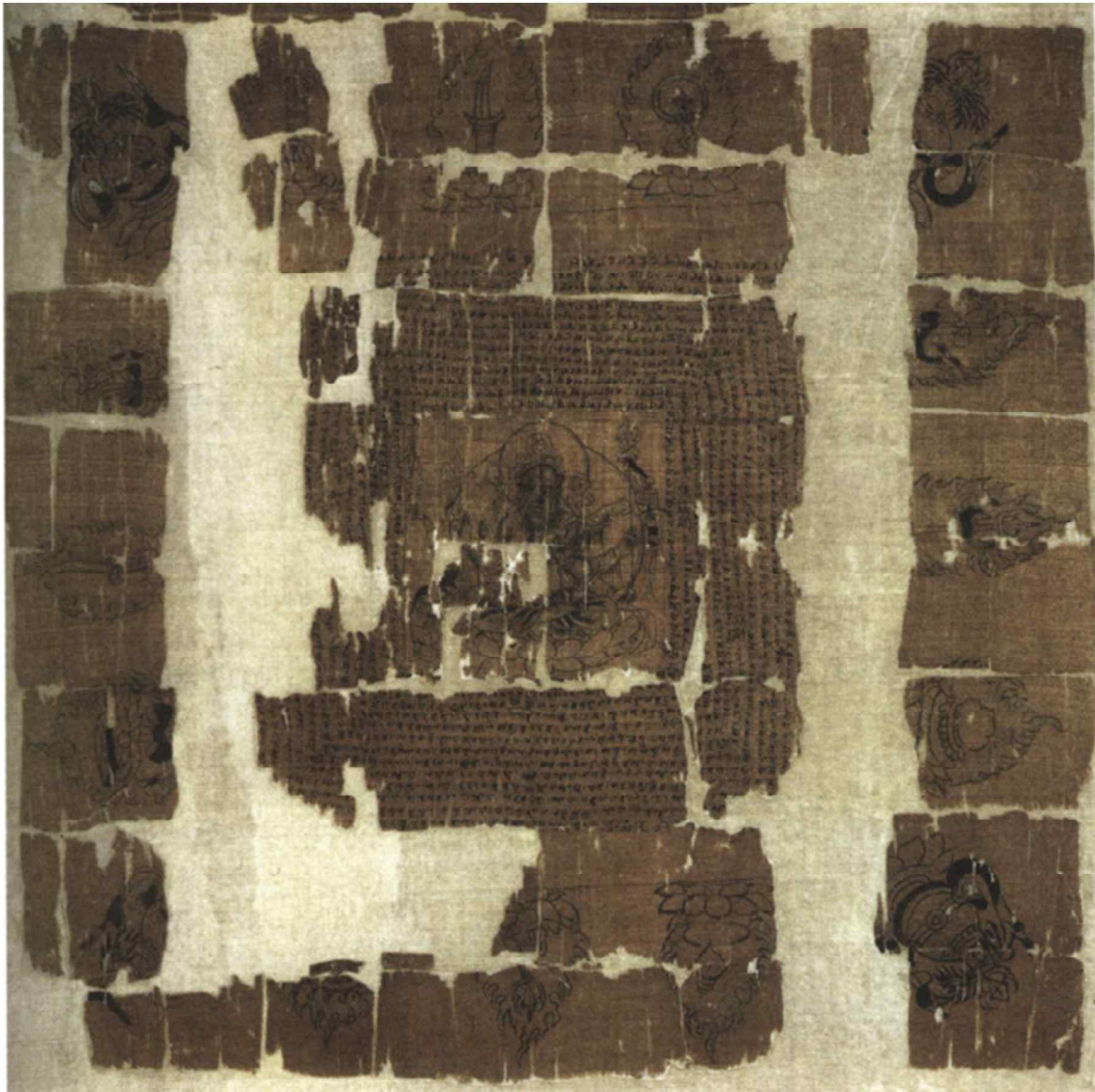


Fig. 4.7. *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheet, painted on silk, Tang dynasty, discovered at Xian, 26.5×26.5cm, Shaanxi

Provincial Museum



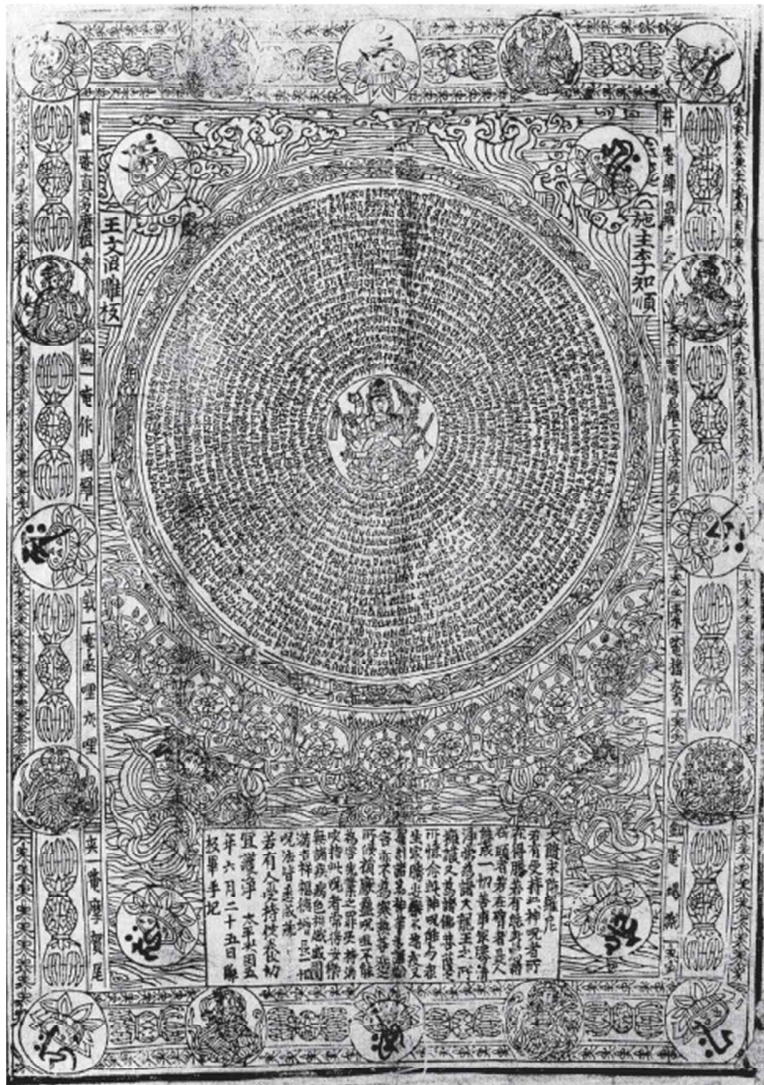


Fig. 4.8. *Dasuiqiu dhāraṇī* sheet, woodblock print, ink on paper, 980, 45.7×31.75cm, British Museum





Fig. 4.9. *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheet, discovered in Luoyang, woodblock print, ink on paper, 926-927, 38×29.5cm, From Jean-Pierre Drège “Les premières impressions des dhāraṇī de Mahāpratisarā.” *Cahiers d'Extreme-Asie*, 11, 1999, fig.9.

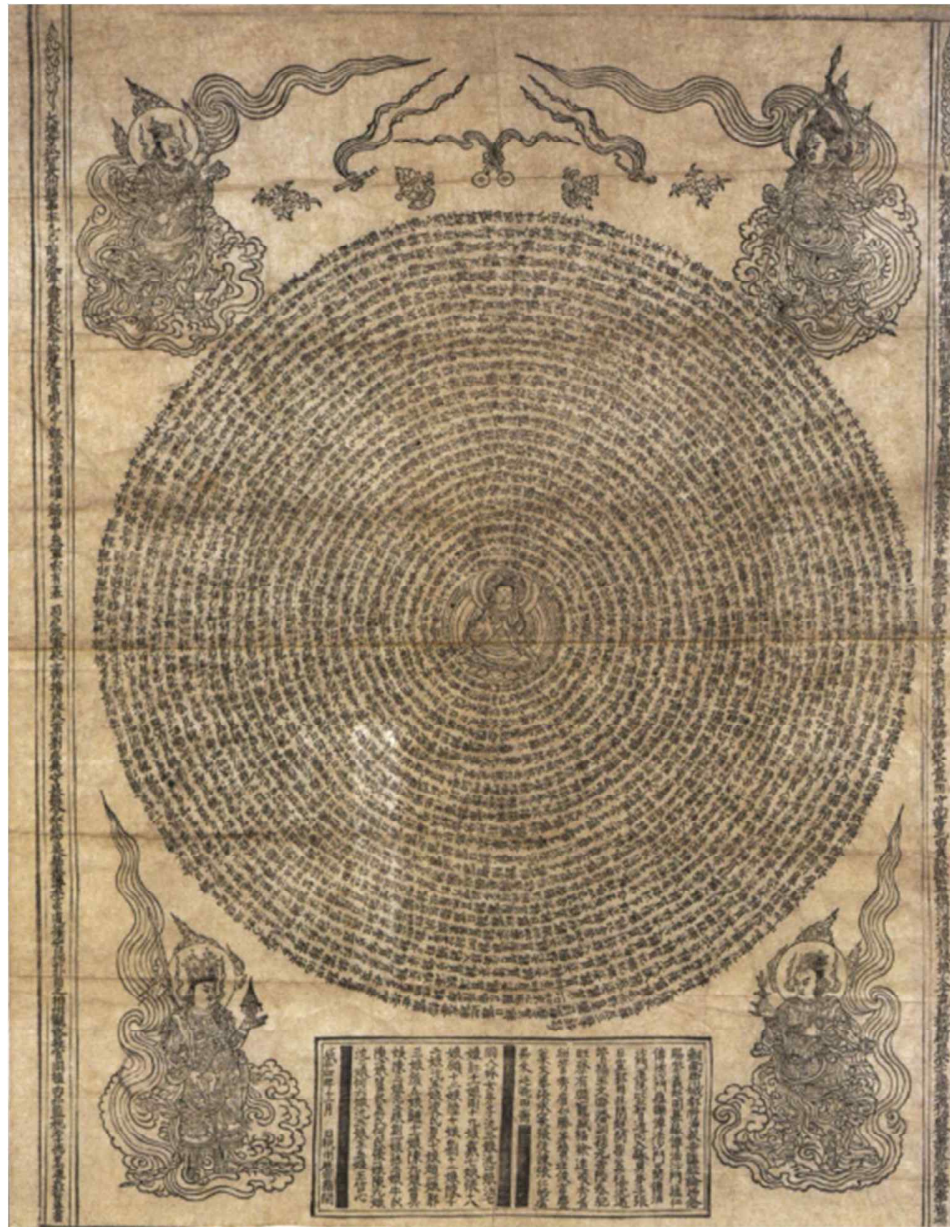


Fig. 4.10. *Dasuiqiu* dhāraṇī sheet, 1001, woodblock print, ink on paper, 1001, 44.5×36.1cm, Suzhou Museum





**Fig. 4.11. Illustration of the Visualization Sutra, Koryō dynasty, 1323, color on silk, 224.2×139.1 cm, Chion-in, Kyoto, Japan**



**Fig. 5.1. The Descent of Tejabrahmā Buddha, 1644, color on silk, 128.9×119.4cm, Private collection. After**

**Chōng Chinhūi, 2017, Pl.63**

## APPENDIX

[1] T1516 聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論

咩字具熾盛光 於其光中出現大火熾盛光焰

[2] *Huainanzi* 淮南子, “Tianwen xun” 天文訓

人主之情 上通於天 故誅暴則多飄風 枉法令則多蟲螟 殺不辜則國赤地 令不收則多淫雨 四時者 天之吏也 日月者 天之使也 星辰者 天之期也 虹霓 彗星者 天之忌也

[3] *Yijing* 易經, “Xi Ci Shang” 繫辭上

天垂象 見吉凶 聖人象之

[4] *Shiji* 史記, “Tianguan Shu” 天官書

斗爲帝車 運于中央 臨制四鄉 分陰陽 建四時 均五行 移節度 定諸紀 皆係北斗

[5] CWS, 28th day, 7th month, First Year of Reign of T’aejo (1392)

書雲觀 掌天文 災祥 曆日 推擇等事

[6] CWS, 28th day, 7th month, First Year of Reign of T'aejo (1392)

是夕 京城西北方紫氣漫空 影皆南 書雲觀言猛將之氣

[7] CWS, ch'ongsŏ 總序, 47th article

書雲觀啓曰 月犯心星 宥流貶人等

[8] CWS, 11th day, 8th month, Third Year of Reign of T'aejo (1394)

上至母岳 相定都之地 判書雲觀事尹莘達 書雲副正劉旱雨等進曰 以地理之法觀之 此地不可爲都

[9] *Dongmunsŏn* 東文選 卷105, “Chŏnmundo chi” 天文圖誌

右天文圖石本 舊在平壤城 因兵亂 沉于江而失之 歲月既久 其印本之存者 亦絕無矣 惟我殿下受命之初 有以一本投進者 殿下寶重之 命書雲觀 重刻于石 ... 臣近竊惟 自古帝王奉天之政 莫不以曆象授時爲先務 堯命羲和而秩四時 舜在璣衡而齊七政 誠以敬天勤民 爲不可緩也 恭惟殿下 聖武仁明 以禪讓而有國 中外晏然 躋于大平 卽堯舜之德也 首察

天文 以正中星 卽堯舜之政也 然求堯舜所以觀象制器之心 其本只在乎欽而已 恭惟殿下  
亦以欽存諸心 上以奉天時 下以勤民事 則神功茂烈 亦當與二帝並隆矣 况此圖勒貞珉 永  
爲子孫萬世之寶也 信矣哉

[10] CWS, 15<sup>th</sup> day, 4<sup>th</sup> month, 19th Year of Reign of Sejong (1437)

漢 唐以降 代各有器 或得或失 未易遽數 唯元之郭守敬所制簡儀 仰儀 圭表等器  
可謂精巧矣 唯吾東方制作未聞 天開景運 文教方興 恭惟我殿下以聖神之資 欽敬之心  
萬機之暇 念曆象之未精而使之考定 慮測驗之未備而使之制器 雖堯 舜之用心 何以加此  
其制器也 非獨一二 至於若干 以備參考 其規模也 非惟師古 悉裁聖心 皆極精妙  
雖元之郭守敬 亦無以施其巧矣

於戲 既校授時之曆 又制觀天之器 上以奉天時 下以勤民事 我殿下開物成務之至仁  
務農重本之至意 實吾東方未有之盛事 而將與高臺竝傳於無期矣

[11] *Dongmunsŏn* 東文選 卷105, “chŏnmundo chi,” 天文圖誌

本觀上言 此圖歲久 星度已差 宜更推步 以定今四仲昏曉之中 勒成新圖 以示于後 ... 舊  
圖 立春昴中於昏 而今則爲胃 二十四氣以次而差 於是 因舊圖改中星 鐫石甫訖

[12] *Butiange* 步天歌 (Chosŏn edition)

四紅却似彎弓狀 大角一紅直上明

折威七黑亢下橫 大角左右攝提星

三三赤立如鼎形 折威下左頓頑星

兩箇斜安黃色精 頑下二星號陽門

色若頓頑直下蹲

[13] T.963 *Foshuo chishengguang da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing* 佛說熾盛光大威德消  
災吉祥陀羅尼經

若太白火星入於南斗 於國於家及分野處作諸障難者 於一忿怒像前 畫彼設都嚕形

[14] Yi Kyubo 李奎報, “Sŏngbyŏn sojae toryangso,” 星變消災道場疏 in *Tongguk yisangg  
ukchip* 東國李相國集 卷40, sŏkto sojeh'uk 釋道疏祭祝

如來旋教令之輪 身現怒像 神呪熾光明之焰 威服群魔

[15] *Koryŏsa* 高麗史, sŏmun 序文, “Koryŏ segye” 高麗 世系.



俄有一老翁 拜曰 我是西海龍王 每日晡 有老狐 作熾盛光如來像 從空而下 羅列日月星辰於雲霧間 吹螺擊鼓 奏樂而來 坐此巖 讀臃腫經 則我頭痛甚 聞郎君善射 願除吾害 ... 聞空中樂聲 果有從西北來者 作帝建 疑是真佛 不敢射 翁復來曰 正是老狐 願勿復疑 作帝建 撫弓撚箭候而射之 應弦而墜 果老狐也

[16] *Koryōsa* 高麗史, 卷1, *sega* 世家 卷1, T'aejo ch'ongsō 太祖叢書.

貞明四年 三月 唐商客王昌瑾 忽於市中 見一人 狀貌瓌偉 鬚髮皓白 頭戴古冠 被居士服 左手持三隻椀 右手擎一面古鏡方一尺許 謂昌瑾曰 能買我鏡乎 昌瑾以二斗米買之 鏡主將米沿路 散與乞兒而去 疾如旋風 昌瑾懸其鏡於市壁 日光斜映 隱隱有細字可讀 其文曰 三水中四維下 上帝降子於辰馬 先操雞後搏鴨 此謂運滿一三甲 暗登天 明理地 遇子年中 興大事 混蹤跡沌名姓 混沌誰知真與聖 振法雷揮神電 於巳年中二龍見 一則藏身青木中 一則現形黑金東 智者見愚者盲 興雲注雨與人征 或見盛或視衰 盛衰爲滅惡塵滓 此一龍子三四 遞代相承六甲子 此四維定滅丑 越海來降須待酉 此文若見於明王 國泰人安帝永昌 吾之記 凡一百四十七字 昌瑾初不知有文 及見之 謂非常 獻于裔 裔令昌瑾物色求其人 彌月竟不能得 唯東州勃颯寺熾盛光如來像前 有填星古像 如其狀 左右亦持椀鏡 昌瑾喜 具以狀白 裔歎異之 令文人宋含弘白卓許原等 解之 含弘等曰 三水中四維下 上宰降子於辰馬者 辰韓馬韓也 巳年中二龍見 一則藏身青木中 一則現形黑金東者 青木松也 謂松嶽郡人 以龍爲名者之子孫 可以爲君主也. 王侍中 有王侯之相 豈謂是歟 黑金鐵也 今所都鐵圓之謂也 今主初盛於此 殆終滅於此乎 先操雞 後搏鴨者 王侍中御國之後 先得鷄

林 後收鴨綠之意也 三人相謂曰 王猜忌嗜殺 若告以實 王侍中必遇害 吾輩亦且不免矣  
乃詭辭告之

[17] Xu Jing 徐兢, *Xuanhe fengshi Gaoli tujing* 宣和奉使高麗圖經, 卷17, ciyu 祠宇,  
“Wangcheng neiwai zhusi” 王城內外諸寺.

兩壁有畫 王顯嘗語 崇寧使者劉達等云 此文王謂徽也 遣使告神宗皇帝 模得相國寺本 國  
人得以瞻仰 上感皇恩 故至今寶惜也

[18] Yi Kyubo 李奎報, “Puktu hagang ch’oryemun” 北斗下降醮禮文, in *Tongguk  
isanggukchip* 東國李相國集 卷39, ch’oso 醮疏.

天清而上 鼓一氣於混元 斗轉于中 括萬生於下界 厥監不遠 有信可羞 顧惟沖眇之軀 叨  
荷艱難之寄 神所勞矣 雖非愷悌之資 命不易哉 常畏高明之鑑 況彼冷然之馭 適于降止之  
辰 宜罄禱悰 仰徼玄福 按沖科於仙籙 嚴法事於靈壇...

[19] Yi Kyubo 李奎報, “Noinsöng ch’oryemun” 老人星醮禮文, in *Tongguk yisanggukchip*  
東國李相國集 卷40, sökto sojech’uk 釋道疏祭祝.

...伏念臣以寡昧之資 據崇高之勢 深思遠慮 雖勤制御之謀 久視長生 須荷照臨之助 載占  
旦見彌罄心齋 肅陳酌彼之儀 佇枉冷然之馭...

[20] CWS, 12<sup>th</sup> day, 1<sup>st</sup> month, 5th Year of Reign of Sejong,

忠州住船軍李龍爲妖言云 吾常念阿彌陀佛 一日行至陰城地 迦葉寺洞 高聲念佛 忽聞空中有聲 立而審聽 有以微聲謂予曰 汝有何願 如此念佛而行 仰視黃白黑三色雲中有圓孔 其間三佛共坐 皆白色

[21] *Tongzhi* 通志 卷 68, *yiwen lue* 藝文略 第 6,

都利聿斯經二卷 本梵書五卷 唐貞元初 有都利術士李彌乾 將至京師 推十一星行歷 知人命貴賤

[22] *Yuanying ji* 淵穎集 卷12, *Wangshi fanwei yaojue houxu* 王氏範圍要訣後序.

貞元初 李彌乾又推十一星行曆 後傳終南山人鮑該 曹士蔭 世肄之星曆所謂十一星者 日月五星四餘是也. ... 今其說一本之都利聿斯經 都利蓋都賴也 西域康居城 當都賴水上 則今所謂聿斯經者 婆羅門術也 李彌乾實婆羅門伎士

[23] *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元 卷 63, *Yushu zhankan wulei qidao dafa* 玉樞斬勘五雷祈禱大法

納音符十二宿位

東：角木蛟 亢金龍 氏土貉 尾火虎 箕水豹

西：奎木狼 婁金狗 胃土雉 觜火猴 參水猿

南：井水犴<sup>291</sup> 鬼金羊 柳土獐 翼火蛇 軫水蚓

北：斗木獬 牛金牛 女土鼠 室火猪 壁水璣

中：係四方氣合成

[24] *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, *jixia ji* 季夏紀, *yinlü* 音律.

天地之氣 合而生風 日至則月鐘其風 以生十二律 仲冬日短至 則生黃鐘 季冬生大呂 孟  
春生太簇 仲春生夾鐘 季春生姑洗 孟夏生仲呂 ... 天地之風氣正 則十二律定矣

[25] *Baopuzi* 抱朴子, *neipian* 內篇, *xianyao* 仙藥.

或問曰 人服藥以養性 雲有所宜 有諸乎 抱朴子答曰 按玉策記及開明經 皆以五音六屬  
知人年命之所在 子午屬庚 卯酉屬己 寅申屬戊 丑未屬辛 辰戌屬丙 巳亥屬丁 一言得之  
者 宮與土也 三言得之者 徵與火也 五言得之者 羽與水也 七言得之者 商與金也 九言得  
之者 角與木也 若本命 屬土 不宜服青色藥 屬金 不宜服赤色藥 屬木 不宜服白色藥 屬

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<sup>291</sup> 井水犴 seems to be an error of 井木犴

水 不宜服黃色藥 屬火 不宜服黑色藥 以五行之義 木克土 土克水 水克火 火克金 金克木故也 若金丹大藥 不復論宜與不宜也

[26] *Guolao xingzong* 果老星宗 卷4.

凡納音星 照命剋命 不爲忌也 四日度皆然 星房昴虛四日度也 ... 四日度坐命 星日馬 房日兔 昴日雞 虛日鼠 四日度也 以日爲主 晝生忌火羅 火羅與日爭光 火爲羊刃 掌刃愈凶 羅爲岐鋒 併鋒尤惡 ... 四月度坐命 張月鹿 危月燕 心月狐 畢月烏 四月度也 以月爲主 夜生怕土計 土計卻能掩月 土計是羊刃殺

[27] *Jinshu* 晉書, 卷11, zhi 志1, tianwen zhi 天文志.

鉤陳口中一星曰天皇大帝 其神曰耀魄寶 主禦群靈 執萬神圖。

[28] *Chuxueji* 初學記 卷1, tianwen 天文.

五經通義云 天神之大者曰昊天上帝 即耀魄寶也 亦曰天皇大帝 亦曰太一

[29] *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤 卷24, reyue xingchen bu 日月星辰部 2.

北斗九星七見二隱 ... 內輔一星在北斗第三星 不可得見 見之長生 成神聖也 外輔一星在  
北斗第六星下 相去一寸許 若驚恐厭魅 起視之吉

[30] *Xingjing* 星經, 卷下

斗宿 南斗六星 主天子壽命 亦雲宰相爵祿之位

[31] *Jinshu* 晉書 卷11, *zhi* 志1, *tianwen zhi* 天文志.

北方 南斗六星 天廟也 丞相太宰之位 主褒賢進士 稟授爵祿 又主兵 一曰天機

[32] *Jinshu* 晉書 卷11, *zhi* 志1, *tianwen zhi* 天文志.

三台六星 兩兩而居 起文昌 列抵太微 ... 西近文昌二星曰上台 爲司命 主壽 次二星曰中  
台 爲司中 主宗室 東二星曰下台 爲司祿 主兵 所以昭德塞違也 又曰三台爲天階太一躡  
以上下 一曰泰階 上階 上星爲天子 下星爲女主 中階 上星爲諸侯三公 下星爲卿大夫 下  
階 上星爲士 下星爲庶人 所以和陰陽而理萬物也

[33] *Taoshang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真  
經註 卷3

三台虛精六淳曲生 生我養我護我身形

[34] *Koryŏsa* 高麗史, 卷2, *sega* 世家2, 4th month, 26th years of Reign of T'aejo (943).

其五曰：朕賴三韓山川陰佑以成大業 西京水德調順 爲我國地脈之根本 大業萬代之地宜  
當四仲巡駐 留過百日 以致安寧

其六曰：朕所至願 在於燃燈 八關 燃燈所以事佛 八關所以事天靈及五嶽名山 大川龍神  
也 ...

[35] *Koryŏsa* 高麗史, 卷2, *sega* 世家2, 4th month, 26th years of Reign of T'aejo (943).

其四曰：惟我東方 舊慕唐風 文物禮樂 悉遵其製 殊方異土 人性各異 不必苟同 契丹是  
禽獸之國 風俗不同 言語亦異 衣冠制度 慎勿效焉

[36] *Koryŏsa* 高麗史, 卷93, *yŏljŏn* 列傳 6, Ch'oe Sŭngno chŏn 崔承老傳.

我朝宗廟 社稷之祀 尚多未如法者 其山嶽之祭 星宿之醮 煩瀆過度 所謂 祭不欲數 數則  
煩 煩則不敬

[37] Yi Kyubo 李奎報, “Chǒngdanhaeng Ch’ōnhwang ch’oryemun” 正旦行天皇醮禮文, in *Tongguk isanggukchip* 東國李相國集 卷38, toryangje ch’o so chemun 道場齊醮疏祭文.

正旦行天皇醮禮文

云云 福物之至 屬歲月日之元 兵家所先 得天地人之助 伏念某等 恭承嚴命 出討頑民彼  
所行罪惡之原 宜不保須臾之命 夫何偷幸 尙爾逋誅 閱歲律之已周 雖慙無效 及年華之纔  
動 庶克有成 益罄丹悰 仰塵玄鑑 敢覬無私之道 默迴助順之威 致令順斗柄之指寅 東摧  
賊壘 向宸居之負坎 北奏捷書 云云

[38] Py’ōn Kyeryang 卞季良, “Sogyōkchōn haenggiwu kyōm yusōng kiyang Taiyil ch’orye  
samhōn ch’ōngsa” 昭格殿 行祈雨兼流星祈禳 太一醮禮三獻青詞, in *Tongmunsōn* 東文選  
卷11.

... 流星失度 厥徵于何不臧 旱魃爲災 有粟吾得而食 ... 瞻天望雲 其乃杲杲之出日寔深  
兢惕 庸切禳祈 冀賜歆容 優加扶佑 ... 既優既渥 年登國阜 兵戢時康

[39] CWS, 27th day, 1st month, 16th Year of Reign of T’aejong (1416).

上曰 太清觀何因而設 古書有曰 天文稱號 大是誣妄 今稱某君某帝而祀者甚衆 竊以爲謬



予所目接敬拜者 北斗而已

[40] *Koryōsa* 高麗史, 卷53, chi 志 7, ohaeng 五行 1,

高宗四年三月壬午 九曜堂十一曜藏內 有聲如奏樂

[41] *Koryōsa* 高麗史, 卷17, Sega 世家17, 6th month, 6th years of Reign of Ŭijong (1152).

醮七十二星於明仁殿又醮天皇大帝太一及十六神以禳疾疫

[42] *Koryōsa* 高麗史, 卷19, sega 世家19, 23th years of Reign of Ŭijong (1169).

醮十一曜南北斗二十八宿十二宮神於修文殿 ... 辛酉 醮太一十一曜南北斗十二宮神於內殿

[43] *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事, 卷3, t'apsang 塔像, Taesan oman chinsin 臺山五萬眞身.

寶川常汲服其靈洞之水 故晚年肉身飛空 到流沙江外 蔚珍國掌千窟停止 誦隨求陀羅尼  
日夕爲課 窟神現身白云 我爲窟神已二千年 今日始聞隨求真詮 請受菩薩戒 既受已. 翌  
日窟亦無形 寶川驚異

[44] *Koryōsa* 高麗史, 卷28, sega 世家 28, 11th month, First Year of the Reign of King

Ch'ungryōl (1275)

乙亥 畫浮屠 觀世音菩薩十二軀 設法席于宮中 爲帝祝釐

[45] *Koryōsa* 高麗史, 卷22, *sega* 世家 22, 12th month, Second Year of the Reign of King

Ch'ungsōn (1310)

贊成事襄挺, 以王旨如元, 獻畫佛

[46] Kwōn Kūn 權近, “Pōwangsa chosadang ki,” 法王寺祖師堂記” in *Yangch'onjip*.

...不數月 又往觀之則煥然而丹牘矣 及三往觀之則中揭毗盧 文殊 普賢會圖 新繪者也左  
右分掛華嚴諸祖遺像 修舊者也 ...

[47] Inscription from *Amitābha Buddha* (1306) housed in Nezu museum, Japan.

伏爲

皇帝萬年 三殿行李速還本國之願新畫成

彌陀一幀

施主 權 福壽

法界生生兼及己身 超生安養同願道人戒文同願朴孝眞

大德十年

[48] Inscription from Ruiguangsi dhāraṇī print (1005)

普遍光明焰鬘無垢清淨熾盛思惟如意寶印心無能勝摠持大明王大隨求陀羅尼 此陀羅尼者  
九十九億菟伽沙如來共同宣說 若有人志心誦念 戴持頸臂者 得十方諸佛菩薩[?]龍鬼神親  
自護持 身中 無量劫來 一切罪業 悉皆消滅 度一切災難 若有書寫此陀羅尼 安於幢刹 能  
息一切惡風雹雨 非時寒熱 雷電霹靂. 能息一切諸天鬪諍言頌[訟] 能息[除]一切蚊蚋[虻]  
蝗虫及諸餘類食苗稼者 悉能退散 說不盡功

伏願 皇帝萬歲 重目千秋 万民安泰 入淨眞言 唵引阿蜜哩(二合)帝吽發吒 入觸眞言 唵  
引骨嚕(二合)馱曩吽弱 傳大教梵學沙門秀璋書 所將雕板印施功德 伏願 亡過父母早生人  
天 然願闔家大小平安 男孟[繼?]升[次?]男[繼?]朗 孫男仁宣仁悅 黑頭兒耿大戶 新婦平氏  
張氏孫男新婦張氏張氏王氏重孫女伴姑相兒更惜 景德二年八月日記

[49] T. 1153 *Pubian guangming qingjing chicheng ruyibao yinxin wunengsheng damingwang  
dasuiqiu tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經 卷2

若是念誦人 應畫自本尊

若日月熒惑 辰星及歲星

太白與鎮星 彗及羅睺曜

如是等九執 凌逼本命宿

所作諸災禍 悉皆得解脫

或有石女人 扇婁半婁迦

如是之人類 由帶大隨求

尚能有子息 若此類帶者

應畫九執曜 二十八宿天

中畫彼人形 所求悉如意

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### Abbreviations

C.	Chinese
CWS	<i>Chosŏn wangjo sillok</i>
DZ	<i>Zhengtong Daozang</i> 正統道藏, no. 1220. Beijing: Wenwu; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian: and Tianjin: Guji chubanshe, 1988.
J.	Japanese
K.	Korean
P.	Pelliot chinois collection, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
Skt.	Sanskrit
T.	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daoizōkyō</i> 大正新修大藏經, 85.vols. Tokyō: Taisho issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-32.
奎, 奎中	Kyujanggak Institute for Korean studies collection

### Buddhist and Daoist canonical works

DZ 29. *Yuanshi Tianzun shuo shiyi yao da xiaozai shenzhou jing* 元始天尊說十一曜大消災神  
呪經

DZ 752. *Taoshang xuanling beidou benming yansheng zhenjing zhu* 太上玄靈北斗本命延生真

經註

DZ 198. *Shangqing shiyi dayao dengyi* 上清十一大曜燈儀

DZ 1032. *Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤

DZ 1168. *Laozi zhongjing* 老子中經

DZ 1220. *Daofa huiyuan* 道法會元

T.366. *Foshuo Amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經

T.963 *Foshuo Chishengguang da weide xiaozai jiyang tuoluoni jing* 佛說熾盛光大威德消災吉

祥陀羅尼經

T. 964 *Foshuo da weide jinlun foding Chishengguang rulai xiaochu yiqie zainan tuoluoni jing*佛

說大威德金輪佛頂熾盛光如來消災一切災難陀羅尼經

T. 965 *Da miao jingang da ganlu jun na li yan man Chisheng foding jing* 大妙金剛大甘露軍拏

利焰鬘熾盛佛頂經

T. 966 *Da sheng Miao jixiang pusa shuo chuzai jiaoling falun* 大聖妙吉祥菩薩說除災教令法

輪

T.1153 *Pubian guangming qingjing chicheng ruyibao yinxin wunengsheng damingwang dasuiqiu*

*tuoluoni jing* 普遍光明燄鬘清淨熾盛如意寶印心無能勝大明王大隨求陀羅尼經.

T.1154 *Foshuo suiqiu jide dazizai tuoluoni shenzhou jing* 佛說隨求即得大自在陀羅尼神呪經

T. 1299 *Wenshushili pusa ji zhuxian suoshuojixiong shiri shan 'e suyao jing*

文殊師利菩薩及諸仙所說吉凶時日善惡宿曜經

T 1301 *Shetoujian taizi ershibaxiu jing* 舍頭諫晉日太子二十八宿經

T 1308 *Qiyao rangzai jue* 七曜攘災決

T. 1310 *Beidou qi xing huma fa* 北斗七星護摩法

T. 1304 *Xiyao yigui* 宿曜儀軌

T. 1311 *Fatian huoluo jiuyao* 七曜攘災決

T. 1516 *Sheng fomu bore boluomiduo jiusong jing yi lun* 聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論

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