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BRONZE MIRRORS OF THE GORYEO DYNASTY (918-1392 CE) How Their Iconography Reflects Their Role in Society

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BRONZE MIRRORS OF THE GORYEO DYNASTY (918-1392 CE):

How Their Iconography Reflects Their Role in Society



Bronze mirror with phoenix and flower decoration, diam. 16.5cm. The MET, New York, 22.141.1.

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ABSTRACT

Bronze mirror production was at its peak during the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392 CE) of Korea. This resulted in an unprecedented range of sizes, shapes and motifs. A mirror's purpose is, by definition, to reproduce the image placed in front of it. Interestingly, Goryeo bronze mirrors have been recovered from graves and Buddhist temple complexes, indicating that they also served ritual functions. Considering 508 mirrors from ten museums, this study investigates the relation of mirror iconography to mirror use, answering the research question: to what extent did the iconographic attributes of Goryeo bronze mirrors reflect their meaning and role in society?

This research found that a number of recognisable motifs could point to a mirror's use in a particular context. As grave gifts, bronze mirrors were valuable objects, associated with high status and wealth. This inherent auspicious meaning was reinforced by the symbolism in the interred mirrors' iconography, denoting values such as longevity, beauty and love. The bronze mirrors used in Buddhist rituals display religious symbolism in their designs, such as bells, images of deities and scenes from scriptures. A comprehensive analysis of the exact role played by these religious mirrors is beyond the scope of this thesis, but could be researched further through the examination of scriptures and other primary literature. As secular items used for personal grooming, bronze mirrors were luxury items indicative of their owners' social standing. Increasing the value of mirrors as status symbols even further was the appropriation of Chinese motifs, as this signified an appreciation of Chinese culture in agreeance with the education that was expected of those with high social standing.

In this way, identifying a bronze mirror's iconographic theme can help clarify the context in which it was once used. However, Goryeo bronze mirrors' functions were not mutually exclusive, and the presence of religious and secular mirrors in funerary contexts suggests that they could play various roles throughout their use-life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Notes.....	p. 5
List of Figures.....	p. 6
List of Tables.....	p. 8
CHAPTER 1 Introduction.....	p. 9
1.1 Current State of the Field.....	p. 11
1.2 Research Question.....	p. 13
1.3 Theory and Methodology.....	p. 14
1.4 Thesis Outline.....	p. 17
1.5 Historical Context: Goryeo Mirror Production.....	p. 17
CHAPTER 2 Iconographic Attributes of Mirrors Used in Burial Contexts	p. 19
2.1 Mirror Use in Goryeo Burial Rites.....	p. 19
2.2 The Iconography of Interred Mirrors.....	p. 21
2.3 Recurring Design: Auspicious Flowers and Birds.....	p. 23
2.4 Conclusion.....	p. 27
CHAPTER 3 Iconographic Attributes of Mirrors Used in Religious Contexts	p. 29
3.1 Mirror Use in Goryeo Buddhist Rituals.....	p. 29
3.2 The Iconography of Religious Mirrors.....	p. 30
3.3 Recurring Design: ‘Glorious As the Shining Heavens’.....	p. 34
3.4 Conclusion.....	p. 40
CHAPTER 4 Iconographic Attributes of Mirrors Used in Secular Contexts	p. 41
4.1 Mirror Use in the Goryeo Societal Framework.....	p. 41
4.2 The Iconography of Secular Mirrors.....	p. 44
4.3 Recurring Design: Lunar Palace.....	p. 48
4.4 Conclusion.....	p. 52

CHAPTER 5	Conclusions	p. 54
	Bibliography.....	p. 58
	Appendix.....	p. 62

NOTES

The romanisation of Korean terms in this thesis is in line with the Revised Romanization of Korean, which is the system currently preferred by the South Korean government. However, some of the works cited in this text contain Korean terms that are romanised according to the McCune-Reischauer system, in which case I will maintain the spelling of the original work.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Title page: 'Mirror with phoenix and flower decoration,' 1100-1150 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 16.5cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 22.141.1. Accessed on August 16, 2021 at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/50445>.
- Figure 1: 'Mirror with floral scroll pattern,' left: reverse side, right: front side, 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 14.3cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 17.175.20. Accessed on August 29, 2021 at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/57474>.
- Figure 2: 'Mirror with *'bosang'* flower design,' 1100-1150 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 21.6cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 11.48.3. Accessed on September 12, 2021 at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/40405>.
- Figure 3: 'Mirror with chrysanthemum florets design,' 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 11.7cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Accession number: 신수 50699. Accessed on September 12, 2021 at <https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=35837591#>.
- Figure 4: 'Mirror with flower and twin bird design,' 1100-1150 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 16.5cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 22.141.1. Accessed on September 12, 2021 at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/50445>.
- Figure 5: 'Mirror with flower and twin bird design,' 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 11.1cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Accession number: 신수 44757. Accessed on September 12, 2021 at <https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=68924>.
- Figure 6: 'Mirror with flower and twin bird design,' 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 11.5cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Accession number: 중 5126. Accessed on September 12, 2021 at <https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=47955>.
- Figure 7: 'Undecorated mirror,' 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 13.3cm. Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm. Accession number: XLIX:II:A.01. Accessed on September 24, 2021 at <http://emuseumplus.lsh.se/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=14934&viewType=detailView>.

- Figure 8: ‘Bell-shaped mirror,’ 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, h. 15.6cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. Accession number: 1917.679. Accessed on September 24, 2021 at <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1917.679>.
- Figure 9: ‘Mirror with incised bodhisattva design,’ 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, h. 9.7cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Accession number: 덕수 3349. Accessed on September 24, 2021 at <https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=1262>.
- Figure 10: ‘Mirror with ‘*hwangbichangcheon*’ design,’ 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 17cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Accession number: ㄱ 2198. Accessed on September 24, 2021 at <https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=7884>.
- Figure 11: Mirror with ‘*hwangbichangcheon*’ design,’ 1100-1300 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 24cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Accession number: 0.16-1984. Image taken from Pak 2006, 225.
- Figure 12: ‘Mirror stand with peony and scroll design,’ 918-1392 CE, Korea. Wood and gilt silver, h. 55.2cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul: Accession number: 덕수 5704. Accessed on October 22, 2021 at <https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=1435>.
- Figure 13: ‘Mirror with four nipples and animals design,’ 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 8.2cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. Accession number: 1917.680. Accessed on October 16, 2021 at <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1917.680>.
- Figure 14: ‘Mirror with animal and grapevine design,’ 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 14.2cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul. Accession number: 증 5311. Accessed on October 16, 2021 at <https://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/relic/search/view?relicId=122409>.
- Figure 15: ‘Mirror with Eight Trigrams and Chinese zodiac design,’ 1100-1300 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 18cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Accession number: O.19-1984. Accessed on October 16, 2021 at <https://collection.beta.fitz.ms/id/object/16566>.
- Figure 16: ‘Mirror with bridge, tree and pavilion design,’ 1000-1200 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 21.5cm. The Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington, D.C. Accession number: F1917.301. Accessed on October 16, 2021 at <https://asia.si.edu/object/F1917.301/>.
- Figure 17: ‘Mirror with bridge, tree and pavilion design,’ 918-1392 CE, Korea. Bronze, diam. 17.8cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Accession number: 25.219.4. Accessed on October 16, 2021 at <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/50444>.

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1: List of museums that were consulted for this research, and the number of Goryeo bronze mirrors in their respective Korean art collections.
- Table 2: List of museum collections that feature mirrors with the *seobmassanggeum* motif, and the number of mirrors per collection.
- Table 3: List of museum collections that feature mirrors with the *hwangbichangcheon* motif, and the number of mirrors per collection.
- Table 4: List of museum collections that feature mirrors with the lunar palace motif, and the number of mirrors per collection

CHAPTER 1 **Introduction**

This thesis comprises a study into the relation between the decoration and function of bronze mirrors during the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392 CE) of the Korean peninsula. I first began my research on the topic because of an upcoming exhibition at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, which will feature masterpieces of the many bronze traditions of Asia. I was asked, along with a number of fellow students, to help look for suitable objects for this exhibition. One of the curators from the Rijksmuseum made it known that, at this time of preparations, the exhibition was lacking Korean objects. Wanting to contribute, I began browsing the collections of various museums for Korean bronze objects. After some time, I noticed that one commonly utilised feature of bronze in Korea is the reflectiveness of the material: bronze mirrors are a part of most Korean art collections in museums across the globe (Asian Art Museum, n.d.; Hallwylska Museet, n.d.; National Museum of Korea, n.d.; New South Wales Art Gallery, n.d.; The British Museum, n.d.; The Cleveland Museum of Art, n.d.; The Fitzwilliam Museum, n.d.; The Freer and Sackler Galleries, n.d.; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.; Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.). It seemed to me that bronze mirrors must have been a popular commodity on the Korean peninsula, which made me want to learn more about them.

The bronze mirrors from pre-modern Korea are decidedly different from the glass ones many of us have hanging on our walls today. Firstly, they are made of bronze, which is an alloy traditionally consisting of copper and tin. The bronze mirrors are generally round, sometimes with a lobed edge, and they often have a diameter of approximately ten to twenty centimetres. Their smooth face can be polished to a reflective sheen, whereas the reverse side is ornately decorated with a wide range of designs (fig. 1). Additionally, the mirrors usually have a central knob on the back, through which a silk tassel or handle can be inserted with which the mirror could be held up. Aside from their appearance being different, the way in which these bronze mirrors were put to use is also quite unlike modern glass mirrors. By definition, a mirror's main



Fig. 1 *Mirror with floral scroll pattern (left = reverse, right = face), diam. 14.3cm. The MET, New York, 17.175.20.*

purpose is to reflect the image that is placed in front of it. Accordingly, it is typically used as a tool for personal grooming. Indeed, archaeological evidence shows that Korean bronze mirrors were used domestically in this manner by the early tenth century CE at the latest. However, finds from depositions dating back to as early as the Bronze Age (1000-300 BCE) suggest that bronze mirrors might have played a role in funerary and religious practices even before they did so in a domestic setting. Evidently, bronze mirrors were multifaceted commodities that fulfilled varying functions throughout Korean history. Bronze mirrors' multitude of uses persisted throughout the Goryeo period of the tenth to fourteenth century. As I consider the various contexts in which Goryeo bronze mirrors were used, I hope to gain insight into the differences in iconography in relation to the diverse roles these artifacts played.

This research was set up in order to contribute to the preparations for the upcoming Rijksmuseum exhibition. Nonetheless, a study into Goryeo arts and culture benefits the academic knowledge on medieval Asia in general. My educational background in archaeology (BA) will be put to use as I examine the primary material consisting of bronze mirrors and related artifacts of the tenth to fourteenth century. In my analysis of the material, I will also be consulting literary

sources to strengthen my argumentation. However, although I can read some basic Korean (*hangul*), I unfortunately cannot read *hanmun*, the writing system that was in use during the Goryeo period consisting of classical Chinese characters. Therefore, I am forced to rely on translations of primary literature and other secondary literature while conducting my research.

1.1 Current State of the Field

In order to comprehensively explain the objective of this study, I will first present the existing literature and the current state of the research regarding Korean art history and archaeology. Today, the western academic knowledge on these topics is unfortunately still quite lacking. The primary reason for this shortage of knowledge is the relatively late arrival of international scholarship on Korean visual and material culture (Horlyck 2005, 18; Park, Jungmann & Rhi 2020, xiii). This delayed development of foreign interest in Korea can be traced back to Korea's own troubled history of scholarly investigation throughout the 20th century. The earliest serious efforts to study the country's history took place during the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula (1910-1945 CE) by predominantly Japanese archaeologists and (art) historians (Horlyck 2005, 18). After regaining independence however, strong anti-Japanese sentiments during the decade following 1945 drove Korean scholars to ignore much of the pioneering work carried out by the Japanese (Horlyck 2005, 18). The peninsula's division into North and South Korea in 1953 further complicated things, as studies on Korean history diverged between the two countries with practically no collaboration (Horlyck 2005, 18). Consequently, for much of the 20th century, those studying Korean art history and archaeology were either Japanese or Korean (Horlyck 2005, 18). Furthermore, western researchers of Korean history and culture have generally been considerably outnumbered by those studying Chinese and Japanese material (Horlyck 2005, 18).

It was not until the early 2000s that this changed, as more articles on Korean visual and material culture started being published and it became apparent that a gap in the western knowledge on East Asian culture needed to be filled (Park, Jungmann & Rhi 2020, xiv). Though

Korean culture and history are now progressively attracting attention across academia, there is not much up-to-date academic material on these topics (Park, Jungmann & Rhi 2020, xiv). Indeed, many of the available English texts on Korean art and its history are outdated, either because they do not reflect the latest Korean publications, or because they do not engage with questions of theoretical frameworks currently employed in the west (Park, Jungmann & Rhi 2020, xiv). The Wiley Blackwell *Companion to Korean Art*, which was published just last year, even states that it is “the first professionally researched academic anthology on the history of Korean art in English” (Park, Jungmann & Rhi 2020, xiv). This statement testifies to the belated scholarly interest in Korean visual and material culture in the west.

Keeping in line with the delayed development of western interest in Korean art and archaeology, the study of Korean bronze mirrors is significantly less developed than its Chinese and Japanese counterparts (Horlyck 2005, 17). Consequently, and perhaps unsurprisingly, there is a limited number of sources on the topic. Certainly, Korean bronze mirrors have been featured in numerous exhibition catalogues (Lee 2019; McKillop 1992; Moes 1987; Pak 2006), but they have not been the subject of many specialised research projects. A small number of academic articles briefly address bronze mirrors when discussing other aspects of Korean art history and archaeology (Hammer 2001; Horlyck 2014a; Horlyck 2014b; Horlyck 2020), but do not go into much detail.

One study that does research Korean bronze mirrors extensively is Charlotte Horlyck’s 2005 dissertation “Mirrors in Koryŏ society: their history, use and meanings.” In her work, Horlyck challenges the one-dimensional perception of bronze mirrors as toiletry items, arguing that they were “meaningful commodities that operate in complex social, political and religious settings” (2005, 2). She begins her study by giving an extensive overview of the history of mirror use on the Korean peninsula, explaining how bronze mirrors fulfilled varying roles in burial, religious and secular contexts throughout the centuries leading up to the Goryeo period (Horlyck 2005, 45-97). This is followed by the main portion of Horlyck’s research: an analysis of 304

Goryeo graves from 19 South Korean sites, dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. The results of this analysis can be summarised as follows: the sampled graves comprised three different types, namely earthen pit graves, stone-lined pit graves and lime-coffin pit graves (Horlyck 2005, 143). Additionally, there does not seem to be any correlation between the different grave constructions and the type or number of grave gifts within them (Horlyck 2005, 143). Regarding bronze mirrors, they appeared in all three grave types, but were more prevalent in well-furnished graves (Horlyck 2005, 157). This suggests that, whereas there was no correlation between the use of bronze mirrors as burial goods and a particular type of grave construction, there does seem to be a link to social standing (Horlyck 2005, 157). Horlyck also addresses the interment of Goryeo bronze mirrors in relic deposits, citing three Buddhist pagodas from this period (2005, 152-156). Next, the author discusses a number of popular mirror designs, examining the development of certain motifs (Horlyck 2005, 170-203). Finally, Horlyck deduces that the multifaceted meaning of bronze mirrors was “enriched by the continuation of pre-existing traditions and by the new realities that emerged in the Koryŏ period” (2005, 208). The continuation, on the one hand, is apparent in the ritual use of mirrors in burial and religious rites (Horlyck 2005, 211). The new realities, on the other hand, comprise the secular contexts in which Goryeo mirrors functioned, playing roles as collectibles and luxury items in the aristocratic domestic sphere (Horlyck 2005, 211). While she addresses mirror iconography and provides some explanations of a selection of designs, Horlyck does not explicitly link this to her comprehensive analysis of the various uses of Korean bronze mirrors. This relation of mirror iconography to mirror use is what I will be investigating further in this thesis.

1.2 Research Question

As I look into the connection between the various designs and uses of bronze mirrors, I will be working toward an answer to the following research question: To what extent did the iconographic attributes of Goryeo bronze mirrors reflect their meaning and role in society? In

order to arrive at an answer as complete as possible, I have formulated three sub-questions in addition to the main research question, which will be addressed in chapters 2, 3, and 4 respectively. The sub-questions are:

- What are the iconographical attributes of mirrors used in burial contexts?
- What are the iconographical attributes of mirrors used in religious contexts?
- What are the iconographical attributes of mirrors used in secular contexts?

By answering the above research questions in this thesis, I aim to contribute to the academic field of Korean art and archaeology in the west. Moreover, a better understanding of Korean visual and material culture will benefit not only historians of Korean art, but those of Chinese and Japanese art as well. Due in part to its geographic location, Korea was a profoundly important player in the cultural exchange within East Asia for centuries (Park, Jungmann & Rhi 2020, xv). As it received inspiration from the diverse cultures of its neighbouring countries, Korea in turn exported its own regional styles and techniques to Japan and China (Park, Jungmann & Rhi 2020, xv). Therefore, this study into the arts and archaeology of Korea will provide a more complete comprehension of East Asian history and culture as a whole, further filling the gap in the western knowledge on this topic.

1.3 Theory and Methodology

This thesis takes its departure from cognitive archaeology, which is explained by Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn in their book *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice* as “the study of past ways of thought from material remains” (2016, 391). Its main theory centres around the assumption that the artifacts we encounter are “the products of human thoughts and intentions” (Renfrew & Bahn 2016, 392). However, these artifacts, consisting of objects and depictions, do not reveal their meanings to us directly, and it is up to the researcher to provide the interpretation (Renfrew & Bahn 2016, 392). It has been argued that it is very difficult, or even impossible, to recover past ways of thought from the archaeological record, because one cannot ever verify what is “between

someone's ears" (Johnson 2010, 90). Nonetheless, archaeologists of the cognitive school believe that this theory is a valid one. Matthew Johnson (2010) states his view on the matter in his book *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*, and I am inclined to agree:

[...] there are clearly immense difficulties in recovering thoughts. Behavioural psychologists argue that we can never 'know' what someone else is thinking in the present, we can only record their behaviour, which can be externally measured and observed. How much more difficult to recover the minds of women and men not just long dead, but members of an extinct culture, with an utterly different view of the world! [...] Why, then, should we be trying to get at past thoughts and beliefs? In my view, to argue about whether or not it is *difficult* to do so is to miss the point. It is simply *necessary*. (Johnson 2010, 91)

Indeed, all of us tend to make assumptions about past intentions and meanings whether we are aware of it or not. For instance, when archaeologists create a simple typology of pots based on a certain type of decoration, they usually do so on the premise that a shared design must have indicated a shared meaning for the producers and consumers of those pots (Johnson 2010, 91).

One area of study that offers a glimpse into the mental processes of past civilizations is iconography. Art is a rich source of cognitive information, and the choice of certain symbols and motifs in decoration can tell us something about the associations people of the past had with an artifact. Explaining his theory of decorum, Ernst Gombrich (1909-2001) points out that symbols in art "are not just fortuitous identification marks which could be exchanged at will" (1965, 35). In other words, certain design choices are expressly made in order to signify a specific meaning. The selection of a certain depiction on an object, then, might very well indicate a connotation in terms of function that was quite obvious in the past, but less so in our eyes today. According to Gombrich, only through studying the iconography of these depictions can we "recapture the meaning of certain symbols and understand their import" (1965, 43). Therefore, I shall be analysing the primary material, consisting of Korean bronze mirrors from the tenth to fourteenth century, in an attempt to understand the thought process behind the association of certain designs with a particular way of using a bronze mirror.

Like Horlyck (2005), I have chosen to limit my research to bronze mirrors from the Goryeo dynasty, because throughout this period Korean mirror manufacture was at its peak. This is evidenced by a notable increase in production and a multitude of new shapes and patterns (Horlyck 2005, 11). Additionally, a considerable portion of the Korean bronze mirrors that have survived until today are reported to have been produced during this time. As far as I could determine, no imitations from a later date were among these Goryeo mirrors. In order to give a representative overview of the iconography of Goryeo bronze mirrors, I will consider mirrors from the Korean art collections of ten museums around the world (table 1). A complete list of the mirrors, their present location, decorative theme and context can be found in the appendix (see Appendix 1, p. 62). Based on this assemblage of material, I will highlight and interpret three recurring mirror designs, two of which were not discussed in Horlyck's (2005) synopsis of motifs and their meanings.

Museum collection	# of Goryeo bronze mirrors
National Museum of Korea, Seoul	412
British Museum, London	32
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	29
Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	12
Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	8
Victoria and Albert Museum, London	5
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	4
Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington	3
Asian Art Museum, San Francisco	2
New South Wales Art Gallery, Sydney	1
Total	508

Table 1 *List of museums that were consulted for this research, and the number of Goryeo bronze mirrors in their respective Korean art collections.*

Regarding the meaning and role of bronze mirrors in Goryeo society, I will base my research primarily on archaeological evidence as presented in Horlyck's (2005) paper, as well as

exhibition catalogues and articles on Korean mirrors (Jung 2015; Lee 2019; McKillop 1992; Moes 1987; Pak 1998; Pak 2006). Furthermore, I will be consulting sources on bronze mirror use in other cultures, primarily those from the Chinese mainland (Brashier 1995; Chou 2000; Finnane 2016; Lai 2011; Wang 2005; Zhang 2017), to make up for the lack of context in museum documentation and the limited number of sources on Korean traditions.

1.4 Thesis Outline

This thesis comprises five chapters in total. This first and introductory chapter covers the existing literature on the topic of Korean bronze mirrors, as well as the theory and methodology I will be adhering to in my research. Additionally, this chapter addresses the historical context with regards to bronze mirror production during the Goryeo period. Chapter 2 discusses how bronze mirrors functioned in burial contexts before considering common elements in the iconography of these mirrors. Next, I analyse one recurring design in further detail, exploring how this design might be linked to the use of mirrors in funerary practices. The following chapters follow the same structure, but discuss mirrors used in religious contexts (Chapter 3) and mirrors used in secular contexts (Chapter 4). Finally, Chapter 5 recapitulates the arguments and conclusions from the preceding chapters, in addition to answering the main research question and offering recommendations for future study.

1.5 Historical Context: Goryeo Mirror Production

Before examining mirror iconography and use in the Goryeo dynasty, I will briefly look into mirror production in order to provide some context. The Goryeo mirrors housed in museums across the globe show a wide range of shapes, sizes and decorations. Indeed, bronze mirrors seem to have been a remarkably popular commodity among the people of the Goryeo dynasty, with craftsmen producing varying designs in order to meet their every client's tastes. This apparent popularity is substantiated by the fact that the manufacture of bronze mirrors was, at

least in part, overseen by the government (Horlyck 2020, 250; Lee 2019, 103). The *Goryeosa* 高麗史, or ‘History of Goryeo’, details how numerous workshops, called *so*, were established during the Goryeo period (Horlyck 2020, 241). Each of these *so* was assigned the production of a specific material or commodity, including paper, textiles, coal and salt, as well as ceramics and metalwork (Deuchler 2006, 5; Horlyck 2020, 241). The most skilled craftsmen were employed by the government workshops that supplied the court with the finest and most elaborate goods (Horlyck 2020, 240). Additionally, similar units in the provinces, which were also supervised by government officials, employed lower-ranking artisans (Deuchler 2006, 5; Horlyck 2020, 241). A portion of the products made in the workshops was reserved for government use, whereas the remaining wares were sold to local buyers (Horlyck 2020, 241). This diversity in clientele is reflected in the large variety of designs, which will be studied in further detail in the next chapters of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2 **Iconographical Attributes of Mirrors Used in Burial Contexts**

The previous chapter addressed the government's position with regard to the production of mirrors in the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392 CE). With the support of the Goryeo court, mirror manufacture increased considerably across the peninsula, resulting in a wide variety of innovative shapes and novel motifs. Some of those were decidedly more in demand than others, as evidenced by the prevalence of certain designs among the mirrors we know of today. The popularity of a design can provide us with some insight into the type of symbolism that was preferred by Goryeo patrons and consumers. This in turn might help us understand which symbolism was deemed suitable for the role that bronze mirrors played in, for instance, a burial context. As this chapter discusses the custom of interring bronze mirrors alongside the dead, it will focus on the relationship between the iconography of the mirrors and their meaning in burial contexts. Lastly, through an analysis of the motif known as *seobmassanggeum*, I argue that the mirrors carrying this design functioned as grave gifts exchanged between spouses.

2.1 Mirror Use in Goryeo Burial Rites

Little is known about Goryeo burial customs, as textual evidence on the subject is scarce. Though the *Goryeosa* ('History of Goryeo') contains a chapter on funerary rites, it mainly addresses mourning and consolation rites as opposed to burial practices (Horlyck 2005, 109). Therefore, researchers are compelled to rely on material evidence from archaeological excavations of Goryeo graves. This material evidence tells us that four types of grave construction were in use at this time: stone chamber tombs, earthen pit graves, stone-lined pit graves, and lime-coffin pit graves (Deuchler 1992, 77; Horlyck 2005, 111). Of these different burial constructions, the stone chamber tomb is the largest, measuring 2.5m to 4m in length, 2.5m to 3m in width, and approximately 2m in height (Horlyck 2014b, 94). Tombs of this type were built with slabs of

stone and covered with an earth mound. It is generally agreed upon that they were reserved for members of the royal family and a select number of elite members of society, as suggested by epitaphs and the tombs' vicinity to the Goryeo capital of Kaesong (Deuchler 1992, 77; Horlyck 2014b, 93-94). Other members of Goryeo society were buried in one of the three abovementioned types of pit graves, as evidenced by their modest size and widespread use (Horlyck 2014b, 99). Earthen pit graves average approximately 1.9m in length and 0.65m in width, which is a suitable size for a body in extended position (Horlyck 2014b, 99-100). Stone-lined graves similarly consist of a rectangular pit, but the walls of the pit are lined with roughly cut stones. In the case of lime-coffin graves, the pit is lined with a layer of lime-based cement.

Whereas there is a clearly visible difference between the types of graves used by commoners and aristocrats, there is no such dissimilarity between the types of grave gifts, except in terms of their medium and quality (Horlyck 2014b, 101). Bronze mirrors, too, are reported to have been found in all aforementioned grave types. However, it should be noted that mirrors are most often found in well-furnished graves alongside other goods, including ceramic wares, spoons, scissors, jewellery and combs (Horlyck 2014a, 163-164). The archaeological record demonstrates that burials with mirrors usually contained a larger number and wider variety of grave goods, indicating that the deceased were of a higher social standing (Horlyck 2005, 150-151). There did not seem to be any regulations regarding mortuary practices and burial objects, as there is no distinguishable pattern in terms of the pairing and placement of the various types of grave goods inside a grave (Horlyck 2014a, 158-159). Bronze mirrors have been found indiscriminately with their reflective side facing upward or downward, as well as in the centre or at the head or foot end of a grave, suggesting that their exact placement was of little importance (Horlyck 2005, 150). Unfortunately, extensive graverobbing throughout the Korean peninsula during the nineteenth and early twentieth century resulted in the loss of much archaeological data, as many burial sites were seriously damaged and are incomplete as a consequence (Horlyck

2014a, 158). Had these data been available to us today, perhaps we might have been able to say more about the Goryeo customs concerning burial goods.

Though we may not be certain how exactly Goryeo bronze mirrors were put to use in funerary contexts, we can speculate about why the objects in question were deemed suitable as grave furnishings. The interment of Goryeo bronze mirrors alongside the deceased is thought to have been because of their auspicious value (Horlyck 2014a, 170). Since they were associated with high social status, bronze mirrors constituted a favourable addition to the funerary setting (Horlyck 2014a, 170). Through the offering of valuable objects, such as bronze mirrors, the descendants of the deceased firmly established their relation to the departed. Therefore, this act of bestowing grave goods upon one's predecessors "served to cement and eternalise the link between the dead and the living" (Horlyck 2014b, 101).

2.2 The Iconography of Interred Mirrors

This desire for a favourable connection to the departed is also apparent in the symbolism that is used in mirror decoration. Some common elements in the iconography of mirrors from burial settings are mythical animals, such as dragons and phoenixes (McKillop 1992, 104; Pak 2006, 320). Additionally, motifs with scrolls of clouds, vines or flowers are a prevalent feature (Pak 1998, 420). These observations from museum catalogues are in accordance with a large portion of the mirrors that were sampled for this study. One plant pattern that appears to have been particularly popular is the fantastical *bosanghwa*, or 'treasure flower' (fig. 2), which carries a mythical and auspicious significance, being considered the ultimate example of floral beauty (Horlyck 2005, 187; Pak 1998, 422). Other popular patterns include crane birds or chrysanthemums (fig. 3), both of which symbolize longevity and immortality (Horlyck 2005, 189; McKillop 1992, 104).

I suggest that the recurrent use of symbols of auspiciousness and longevity in the ornamentation of interred bronze mirrors are particularly suitable to their use as grave gifts. In



Fig. 2 *Mirror with 'bosang' flower design, diam. 21.6cm. The MET, New York, 11.48.3.*

his study on the role of mirrors in Han burials, Ken Brashier notes that longevity might not exclusively refer to one's "lengthened years of life" (1995, 214). He cites several ancient Chinese texts that make use of the term 'longevity' when alluding to the preservation of the deceased's soul, reputation and memory (Brashier 1995, 214-215). Whereas physical life may end with death, a person's name will live on because "remembrance is the key to afterlife existence" (Brashier 1995, 215). Considering the influence China had on many of the cultures inhabiting the Korean peninsula, I believe it is possible that similar sentiments about longevity may have prevailed throughout the Goryeo dynasty.



Fig. 3 Round mirror with chrysanthemum florets design, diam. 11.7cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 신수 50699.

2.3 Recurring Design: Auspicious Flowers and Birds

When considering all of the bronze mirrors in my sample, I noticed one particular auspicious design that appears to have been highly favoured throughout the Goryeo dynasty. This popular design is known as the *seohwassanggeum* 서화쌍금, literally ‘auspicious-flower-twin-bird,’ motif (National Museum of Korea, n.d.). Mirrors with this motif are featured in six out of the ten museum collections I consulted for this study and constitute close to a quarter of my total sample of 508 bronze mirrors (table 2), making it the most prevalent design. For this reason, I have chosen to discuss these mirrors in further detail.

Museum collection	# of mirrors with sehwassanggeum motif
National Museum of Korea, Seoul	99
British Museum, London	8
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	4
Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	3
Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	1
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	1
Total	116

Table 2 List of museum collections that feature mirrors with the sehwassanggeum motif, and the number of mirrors per collection.



Fig. 4 Pointed eight-lobed mirror with flower and twin bird design, diam. 16.5cm. The MET, New York, 22.141.1.

Among the mirrors with the *seobmassanggeum* motif there is little to no variation in design, apart from the shape of the mirror's rim. Within my sample, this motif appears on pointed eight-lobed mirrors (fig. 4), as well as five-lobed flower shaped mirrors (fig. 5) and even simple round mirrors (fig. 6). The motif itself consists of a round central knob that is encompassed by one or more rows of small petals. Encircling the knob and petals is the main design, comprising two birds with spreading wings surrounded by scrolls of stylised flowers. This design is separated from the mirror's rim by a raised border and more floral scrolls.

When focusing on each of the various elements that make up the motif, the auspicious connotations of *seobmassanggeum* mirrors become apparent. The floral components resemble



Fig. 5 *Five-lobed mirror with flower and twin bird design, diam. 11.1 cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 신수 44757.*



Fig. 6 Round mirror flower and twin bird design, diam. 11.5cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 국립중앙박물관 5126.

stylised lotus flowers, which symbolise purity (Horlyck 2005, 185; Smith 1998, 126). While the lotus is a prominent feature of Buddhist iconography, the flower had become a common motif in the predominantly Buddhist society of Goryeo and appeared on non-religious objects as well (Horlyck 2005, 198). The pair of birds is typically identified as phoenixes, or the phoenix-like birds called *bonghwang* 봉황 in Korean, or *fenghuang* 鳳凰 in Chinese (Strassberg 2002, 193; The British Museum, n.d.; The Cleveland Museum of Art, n.d.; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.). According to the Han classic *Shanhaijing* 山海经 (“Guideways through Mountains and Seas”), these birds symbolise peace (Strassberg 2002, 193). Additionally, *bonghwang* signify the union of *yin*

(the female) and *yang* (the male), denoting marital harmony (Strassberg 2002, 194). In some depictions of the *seobwassanggeum* motif, the birds have shorter necks and rounder bodies, resembling doves or ducks. Doves are monogamous creatures, and pairs of males and females always fly together (Horlyck 2005, 185-186). Similarly, mandarin ducks are believed to take only one mate and, when separated from their mate, are thought to despair and eventually die (Horlyck 2005, 186). Regardless of species, all aforementioned birds signify unity, fidelity and marital love. Moreover, I argue that the birds in this motif being depicted as a pair embodies love and harmony in and of itself. Taking into account all of the auspicious symbolism in the iconography of the *seobwassanggeum* motif, mirrors with this design were suitable gifts exchanged between loved ones or spouses. Since mirrors of this type have been found in graves, I propose they might have been presented as grave goods for the deceased by a loving husband or wife.

2.4 Conclusion

Although certain aspects of Goryeo mortuary practices are not known due to the lack of historical records, the archaeological record gives an impression of the different ways in which the dead were put to rest in Goryeo society. It testifies to the varying treatment of the departed in terms of burial construction, depending on their social standing and wealth. Interestingly, the custom of bestowing the dead with grave gifts appears to have been practised regardless of status. The furnishings of stone chamber tombs and pit graves exhibit a striking similarity in terms of the types of burial goods, containing artifacts such as ceramics, jewellery and metal wares. Bronze mirrors, as grave gifts, were considered valuable objects that were associated with a high social status and prosperity. This meant that the mirrors carried an inherent auspicious meaning, making them a popular addition to the grave furnishings of anyone who could afford them. The iconographical attributes of the mirrors that were used in these burial contexts are varied, but tend to make use of auspicious symbolism. Much of the symbolism in the iconography of Goryeo bronze mirrors, denoting values such as longevity, beauty and love, makes the mirrors

appropriate for gifting to the departed. In doing so, the deceased's loved ones truly established and commemorated their relationship with the departed, assuring a favourable connection between the dead and the living. Finally, the felicitous *seobwassanggeum* motif seems to have been one of, if not the most popular among all mirror designs. Considering its symbolism signifying marital harmony and fidelity, I argue that mirrors with this design in particular likely served as burial gifts between loved ones.

CHAPTER 3 **Iconographical Attributes of Mirrors Used in Religious Contexts**

The previous chapter examined the use and iconography of interred bronze mirrors of the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392 CE), concluding that their auspicious motifs made the mirrors suitable grave gifts. This next chapter will explore bronze mirrors that played a part in Buddhist contexts, as well as those that carry a Buddhist meaning, be it implicit or explicit. I will be considering mirrors whose provenance is known, specifically those that were recovered from relic deposits, as well as mirrors with unknown origins housed in museum collections. Regarding the latter, there is no way to verify whether or not these bronze mirrors were in fact used in Goryeo Buddhist rituals. Nonetheless, I argue, through an analysis of the so-called *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors, that their iconography as well as literature from this time period suggest the mirrors served a Buddhist ceremonial purpose.

3.1 Mirror Use in Goryeo Buddhist Rituals

Buddhism was the state religion during the Goryeo period, and its practice throughout the dynasty was characterised by a myriad of rituals (Vermeersch 2008, 313-314). The *Goryeosa* ('History of Goryeo') reports over ninety different Buddhist rituals, which were performed approximately one thousand times throughout the tenth to fourteenth century (Kim 1994, 53-56). Unfortunately, many of these rituals were only mentioned briefly in the *Goryeosa* without much further detail (Vermeersch 2008, 313). Nonetheless, we know that bronze mirrors played a part in certain Buddhist rituals. This is evidenced by the discovery of bronze mirrors at numerous Buddhist temple sites across the peninsula.

One ritual involved the placement of bronze mirrors inside relic chambers in the pagodas of Buddhist temple sites (Horlyck 2005, 152; Pak 1998, 419). This custom is most likely tied to a ceremony that was held in order to consecrate the temple grounds and the pagoda itself, known

as *chijin* ('suppressing earth spirits') (Pak 1998, 419). What this ceremony entailed exactly is unknown, but the archaeological record attests to the deposition of a selection of objects inside relic chambers (Horlyck 2005, 155; Pak 1998, 419). This selection included bronze or silver bowls and vessels, beads, jewellery and, of course, bronze mirrors (Horlyck 2005, 153). The positioning of the mirrors in relation to the relics in the various deposits suggests that the mirrors served an apotropaic purpose (Horlyck 2005, 156; Pak 1998, 419). For instance, the relic chamber of the Gwangju western five-storey stone pagoda contained a silver bowl with a relic on top of a lotus shaped stand, against which a bronze mirror stood propped up (Horlyck 2005, 153). Additionally, in the relic chamber of the nine-storey stone pagoda at Woljeongsa temple, a bronze bowl containing relics was surrounded by four bronze mirrors (Horlyck 2005, 153-154). Based on the placement of the bronze mirrors inside these relic chambers, they could have served to ward off evil and protect the relic from malevolent spirits (Pak 1998, 419). Furthermore, the incorporation of bronze mirrors in other Goryeo Buddhist rituals might have influenced the iconography of those mirrors, as will be argued below.

3.2 The Iconography of Religious Mirrors

The vast majority of bronze mirrors found in Goryeo relic deposits is devoid of decoration (Horlyck 2005, 155). Similarly, a significant portion of the bronze mirrors sampled in this study are undecorated. These undecorated mirrors (fig. 7) embody the Buddhist notions of emptiness, clarity and purity. These concepts were particularly significant in the *Seon* 선 branch of Buddhism that was popular throughout the Goryeo period (Jorgensen 2015, 2-3). *Seon* is the Korean name for Zen Buddhism, which emphasises meditation as the way toward enlightenment (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). The *Seongagwigmam* 선가귀감 ('Models for Seon Practitioners'), a guide studied in Korean monasteries to this day, states the following:



Fig. 7 *Undecorated round mirror, diam. 13.3cm. Hallhyska Museet, Stockholm, XLIX:II:A.01.*

While the nature [of the mind] itself is pristine, if you give rise to a mind that is attached to that purity and on the contrary falsely produce [attachment to] purity, the falsity has no location. Attachment is the falsity, so if you do not produce a mind that activates thought, then naturally there is no falsity. (*Seonggwigam* 14, in Buswell 2015, 87).

This passage stresses the intrinsic purity of the human mind, but encourages practitioners to keep their head empty of thoughts in order to prevent the mind from being clouded by falsities. One can safely assume that the monks who participated in the consecration ceremonies of pagodas were well aware of Buddhist convictions like these, and therefore understood the implicit symbolism of undecorated mirrors.

In other instances, the Buddhist connotations of bronze mirrors are more explicit. Mirrors in the shape of bells (fig. 8) are reminiscent of the numerous Buddhist temple bells that were being produced throughout the Unified Silla (668-935 CE) and Goryeo periods. The few



Fig. 8 *Bell-shaped mirror, h. 15.6cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1917.679.*



Fig. 9 Rectangular mirror with incised bodhisattva design, h. 9.7cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 덕수 3349.

sources that mention these bell-shaped mirrors suggest that they played a role in Buddhist rituals, although they do not specify which (Horlyck 2005, 198; Pak 2006, 320). Additionally, various decorated mirrors found in museums make use of certain elements of Buddhist iconography. These elements include lotus flowers, as well as swastika and Sanskrit characters.

Moreover, depictions of Buddhist deities appear on a type of bronze mirror called *gyeongsang* 鏡像 (literally ‘mirror with image’) (Lai 2011, 184; Woo 2010, 37). Whereas Goryeo mirrors usually carry their ornamentations on their back, this particular type of mirror is incised on its reflective side. *Gyeongsang* have been recovered across the Korean peninsula, as well as the Chinese mainland and the Japanese islands (Lai 2011, 193). The finely carved lines generally depict images of the Buddha or of bodhisattvas, such as Avalokitesvara (fig. 9). In his article, Juok Woo postulates that *gyeongsang* were used in various ceremonies, with different deities being called upon for different purposes (2010, 38). Elaborating on this, he suggests that *gyeongsang* with images of Avalokitesvara and Amitaba were used in rituals for the deceased, whereas those with images of Vaisravana and Manjusri played a part in ceremonies for protecting the nation against (natural) disasters (Woo 2010, 38). A comprehensive study of the iconography of *gyeongsang* and the relation between their imagery and their use in religious rituals throughout East Asia is beyond the scope of this thesis, but would make a fascinating topic for further research.

3.3 Recurring Design: ‘Glorious As the Shining Heavens’

Regarding bronze mirrors with decorated backs, one design stood out to me as it was present in numerous museum collections. This design is characterised by a narrative scene paired with an inscription that reads as *hwangbichangcheon* 惶丕昌天, meaning ‘glorious as the shining heavens’ (Pak 2006, 320). Out of the ten museum collections I consulted for this research, six feature at least one *hwangbichangcheon* mirror (table 3). Totalling 16 mirrors, this design is the most prevalent among the decorated religious mirrors in my sample. Moreover, Horlyck (2005) does not mention the *hwangbichangcheon* design in her discussion of Goryeo bronze mirror motifs. For these

Museum collection	# of mirrors with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> motif
National Museum of Korea, Seoul	9
British Museum, London	2
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	2
Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	1
Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	1
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	1
Total	16

Table 3 *List of museum collections that feature mirrors with the hwangbichangcheon motif, and the number of mirrors per collection.*

reasons, paired with the fact that they depict such a dynamic scene, I have chosen to study the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors in more detail.

Within my sample, I recognised two variations of the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors. The first variation of this type of mirror is the pointed eight-lobed mirror depicting a vessel sailing through a stormy sea (fig. 10), constituting fourteen of the sampled mirrors. Aboard the ship eight human figures can be distinguished; three standing at the stern of the ship and five smaller figures near the bow. A number of creatures emerge from amid the waves, including mythical fish, sea serpents, and, to the left, a large dragon surrounded by clouds. Above the scene is the *hwangbichangcheon* inscription in four seal script characters. The second variation of this type of mirror is round and depicts largely the same scene (fig. 11), comprising two mirrors from my sample. Again, there is a ship sailing through rough waters that contain various sea monsters, as well as a dragon enshrouded in clouds. The inscription sits at the top of the mirror, this time more clearly separated from the scene by a raised border. What further distinguishes this second variation from the first, is the addition of a sun with three-legged crow to the left of the inscription, and a moon with cassia tree to the right.

Scholars have suggested several different readings of the scene that is portrayed on the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors. Interpretations range from associations with certain concepts to specific scenes of ancient legends. Robert Moes (1987, 68) suggests the mirrors depict the theme



Fig. 10 *Pointed eight-lobed mirror with hwangbichangcheon design, diam. 17cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 7 2198.*

of souls being ferried across to the spirit world. He asserts that the dragon, being a benevolent creature in the Far East, is guiding and protecting the ship and the spirits aboard it (Moes 1987, 68). Additionally, Moes (1987, 68) offers an alternative reading of the mirrors; namely that, as there appear to be eight figures aboard the ship, they may refer to the Daoist Eight Immortals. He offers very little to no explanation for the presence of the sea creatures, nor the inscription and its relevance to the scene (Moes 1987, 68). As a result, I do not find Moes' interpretations to be sufficiently convincing.



Fig. 11 Round mirror with *hwangbichangcheon* design, diam. 24cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, O.16-1984.

Ju-hsi Chou (2000, 85) presents another interpretation of a *hwangbichangcheon* mirror in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art. It should be noted that this is the interpretation that the Cleveland Museum of Art as well as the British Museum adhere to. Chou (2000, 85) reads the scene as depicting the legend of Ci Fei as it is told in the Han work *Huainanzi* 淮南子 ('Writings of the Huainan Masters'). He translates and summarises the story as follows: "A fearless hero, Ci Fei ventured forth and obtained a fine sword, and on his return journey was aboard a ship being attacked by two *jiao* dragons. Realising that the ship and all of its passengers were doomed, Ci Fei leaped into the water and used the sword to kill the creatures" (Chou 2000, 85). Chou (2000, 85)

reads the inscription as *hwangbichangtian*, or ‘great and resplendent is the heaven,’ which he argues “obviously refers to Ci Fei as a saviour figure and appeals to the grace of the heavens.” Whereas this interpretation provides an explanation for certain details of the mirror, such as the sword that one of the figures on the ship is holding, it does not match the scene perfectly. My primary issue with this interpretation is that the legend explicitly mentions two dragons, whereas both variations of the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors only depict one. Furthermore, Chou (2000, 85) does not explain the presence of the various other sea monsters on the mirror. Therefore, I am inclined to disagree with this interpretation.

Youngsook Pak (2006, 328) and Soo-hee Jung (2015) offer two different Buddhist readings of the scene portrayed on the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors, which I think are particularly interesting. Pak (2006, 328) associates the scene with the legend of the Silla monk Uisang, who travelled to Tang dynasty (618-907 CE) China to study Buddhism. While there, Uisang was offered lodging at the home of a follower (Oh n.d.). The follower’s daughter Seonmyo fell for Uisang, but, being a monk and thus celibate, he could not accept her love (Oh n.d.). After completing his studies, Uisang hired a ship to return to Silla (Oh n.d.). Hearing of this, Seonmyo rushed after him to the harbour and, as she realised the ship had already set sail, jumped into the sea (Oh n.d.). Then, she miraculously transformed into a dragon and followed Uisang’s ship in order to assure her beloved’s safe return (Oh n.d.; Pak 2006, 328). In this context, the dragon on the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors would be protecting the ship from the various monsters lurking among the waves. Pak (2006, 328) goes on to suggest that the mirrors were made in order to keep sea travellers safe, which would certainly complement the scene depicted on them.

Jung (2015, 85) argues that *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors were produced for the same purpose, but relates the scene to another Buddhist story. She proposes that the mirrors depict the tale of a merchant who set sail in search of treasure, as recounted in the *Mahapratissaradharani* (Jung 2015, 85). While out at sea, the merchant and his crew encounter numerous dangerous creatures, such as *timingila* (monstrous fish) and *naga* (sea serpents) who attack their ship (Hidas 2012, 222; Jung

2015, 84). To make matters worse, the dragon king of the sea brings on a thunderstorm with his great roaring, causing tidal waves to form on the sea and hail to fall from the sky (Jung 2015, 71). Terrified, the crew pray to venerable deities but none would protect them (Hidas 2012, 223). When they turn to the merchant to voice their distress, he tells them not to worry as he knows how to save them from the perils of the sea (Hidas 2012, 223). The merchant proceeds to write down the *Mahapratisaradharani* and affixes it to the top of the ship's flagstaff (Hidas 2012, 223). As he does so, the sea monsters burst into flames and melt away, while the dragon king becomes benevolent and halts the storm (Hidas 2012, 223; Jung 2015, 71). Afterward, the benign dragon king guides the ship to great treasures (Hidas 2012, 223; Jung 2015, 71). Jung (2015, 84-85) points out that the scene depicted on the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors matches the story very closely, as the various creatures mentioned in the text appear on the mirrors. Furthermore, she suggests that the inscription "represent[s] the moment when all the calamities disappear as the [*Mahapratisaradharani*] hangs high above the mast and sheds light around the world" (Jung 2015, 85).

I argue that the Buddhist readings of the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors are the most conclusive, since they correspond with virtually all of the elements of the depicted scene, with the exception of the sword from the first variation, and the sun and the moon from the second variation. Additionally, Jung (2015, 75-76) cites various sources from the ninth to twelfth century confirming that simple Buddhist ceremonies were held to ensure safe voyages. After all, the Goryeo period was a time of extensive maritime activity, such as trade and diplomatic missions (Jung 2015, 85). Moreover, a ritual is described in Ennin's *The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law* 入唐求法巡禮行記 (in Jung 2015, 77), which involved throwing Buddhist scriptures and mirrors into the sea. By doing so, one would appeal to the Buddha as well as the sea god, again ensuring safe travels (Jung 2015, 85). Jung (2015, 85) asserts that the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors could have been used in similar rituals and ceremonies, throwing them into the sea or hanging them on a mast (similar to the *Mahapratisaradharani* story). Indeed, the

iconography of the mirrors would befit their use in such a ritual. Interestingly, mirrors of this type have also been recovered from Korean tombs (Pak 2006, 328). Perhaps these were the graves of merchants, diplomats or other such sea travellers that found the mirror protected them from harm while at sea. As such, they might have wished for the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors to accompany them on their voyage to the afterlife.

3.4 Conclusion

Archaeological evidence indicates that Goryeo bronze mirrors played a role in Buddhist contexts, such as rituals concerning relic worship and ceremonies for the consecration of temples. This evidence consists of mirrors that were recovered from the relic chambers of pagodas. The mirrors in question are generally undecorated, however, through their lack of ornamentation, they exhibit Buddhist connotations. That is, the undecorated mirrors symbolise the notions of emptiness, clarity and purity, that were highly valued in Goryeo Buddhism. Other mirrors from museum collections around the world also carry clear Buddhist implications, such as those in the shape of bells or those decorated with Sanskrit text. The *gyeongsang* in particular reveal their Buddhist significance through their iconography, with imagery of various Buddhist deities. Mirrors of this type have been found throughout East Asia and likely served a ceremonial purpose in Korean, as well as Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. The use of these varying types of bronze mirrors in Buddhist rituals could not be explored further in this thesis, but could be subjects for future research. Lastly, I argued for a Buddhist reading of the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors and their function in ceremonies ensuring safe sailing. While these mirrors may have served a protective purpose for seafarers as amulets, they have also been found in tombs as grave gifts. This might indicate that the *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors fulfilled different roles throughout their, and their owners', lives.

CHAPTER 4 **Iconographical Attributes of Mirrors Used in Secular Contexts**

The last chapter presented arguments in support of the notion that a mirror's purpose influences its decoration by examining Goryeo bronze mirrors used in religious contexts. In this chapter, I set out to do the same for mirrors used in secular contexts. Regrettably, few historical records on Goryeo society and domestic life remain today. Moreover, the small number of excavated settlements further hampers efforts of reconstructing everyday life in the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392 CE). Nonetheless, it seems reasonable to assume that bronze mirrors were used as tools for personal grooming, as will be discussed below. Additionally, other secular roles played by bronze mirrors will be explored, such as their use as diplomatic gifts as well as status symbols. Finally, through an analysis of Goryeo imitations of Chinese mirror designs, I argue that mirrors with this type of iconography might have fulfilled a secular purpose.

4.1 Mirror Use in the Goryeo Societal Framework

The historical literature on Goryeo society is scarce, since most works written during the dynasty no longer exist as a result of foreign invasions (Deuchler 1992, 30-31). The remaining sources consist of sporadic funerary inscriptions, census fragments, and the *Goryeosa* ('History of Goryeo') and *Goryeosa jeoryo* ('Condensed History of Goryeo') (Deuchler 1992, 30). The last two works were compiled in the Joseon period (1392-1910 CE), a number of decades after the fall of the Goryeo dynasty (Deuchler 1992, 31). While these official histories of Goryeo contain much information about major historical events, they were composed and edited by a group of Neo-Confucianist scholars who did not care for the social environment of the Buddhist Goryeo dynasty (Deuchler 1992, 31). They felt the period was much too decadent and occasionally admitted to not understanding certain aspects of Goryeo society, particularly those regarding marriage and the household, opting instead not to discuss them further (Deuchler 1992, 31). Certainly, this

shortage of information has made it very difficult for present-day historians and archaeologists to form a comprehensive understanding of Goryeo society and domestic life.

In addition to this lack of literary material, very few Goryeo settlements have been found and excavated (Horlyck 2005, 99). Understandably, this has contributed to the difficulty of reconstructing the Goryeo domestic environment and everyday life. The limited number of settlements from this time that have been recovered did not yield any bronze mirrors (Horlyck 2005, 99). Nonetheless, we know from contemporary material evidence that mirrors had been used as toiletry items. An example of such evidence is a lavishly decorated mirror stand, currently in the collection of the National Museum of Korea in Seoul (fig. 12). The stand consists of a wooden frame covered in gilt silver plating, which is incised with an elaborate floral scroll and peony design. Whereas the provenance of this mirror stand is unknown, it can be assumed from its valuable material and expert manufacture that it was made for an aristocratic family.

Aside from the material evidence indicating the use of mirrors in domestic contexts, there are historical records that suggest other secular uses of bronze mirrors. Since well before the onset of the Goryeo period, the peoples of the Korean peninsula had been paying tribute to the major dynasties of the Chinese mainland (Horlyck 2005, 58). These tributary relations, which primarily served to secure borders and maintain commercial interests, carried on throughout the Goryeo dynasty (Horlyck 2005, 171; Lee 2016, 49-50). This entailed that, from the tenth to the fourteenth century, Goryeo exchanged ambassadorial envoys on a (semi-)regular basis with the Liao (916-1125 CE), Song (960-1279 CE), Jin (1115-1234 CE) and Yuan (1279-1368 CE) dynasties (Chou 2000, ix; Horlyck 2005, 171). An important feature of the envoys was the official gift exchange that took place during each diplomatic mission. The gifts generally comprised the very best of locally manufactured products, as well as art objects and requested items (Breuker 2010, 235; Horlyck 2020, 244). Chinese emperors had long been using mirrors as diplomatic gifts, as evidenced by records dating back to the third century CE detailing how the Wei emperor presented more than one hundred mirrors to queen Himiko of Yamatai (Chou 2000, 8). Whereas



Fig. 12 *Mirror stand with peony and scroll design, h. 55.5cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 덕수 5704.*

similar records dating to the Goryeo period do not exist, it cannot be ruled out that Chinese bronze mirrors were among the gifts received by the Goryeo court.

As a result of diplomatic and trade relations, Chinese mirrors had entered the homes of the Goryeo elite. The previous chapters already established that bronze mirrors were valuable items that were produced for members of the royal family and other wealthy patrons. Moreover, from the limited historical literature on Goryeo society, it is clear that the dynasty's population was decidedly stratified (Deuchler 1992, 32). In order to maintain their reputation, the aristocratic class were expected to fulfil certain conditions, such as economic wealth and attaining a position in the country's central bureaucracy (Deuchler 2006, 3). Particularly the latter condition meant that the aristocrats required proper education. In the case of the Goryeo scholar-officials, this consisted of a knowledge of the Chinese classics and a mastery of Chinese poetry (Deuchler 2006, 4; McKillop 1992, 21). Certainly, possessing a finely manufactured bronze mirror was a sign of affluence in the Goryeo dynasty. In addition to signifying wealth, owning a Chinese bronze mirror implied an appreciation of Chinese culture in agreeance with the education that was expected of those with high social standing. Consequently, Chinese bronze mirrors and imitations of them became collectors' items and sought-after commodities. According to Horlyck (2005, 175), the demand for Chinese merchandise drove Korean craftspeople to produce copies of imported mirrors, facilitating the procurement of such mirrors for "those who for financial or other reasons were unable to obtain the foreign goods themselves."

4.2 The Iconography of Secular Mirrors

Evidently, the secular uses of mirrors include a domestic, a diplomatic, and a 'social' use. Since we do not know of any mirrors that have been recovered from Goryeo domestic contexts, I cannot say with certainty what the mirrors used in those secular contexts would have looked like. Nonetheless, considering the many Goryeo mirrors in museum collections with unknown origins, it cannot be excluded that a number of them played a secular role during their use-life. In light of the social significance of Chinese bronze mirrors and their copied Goryeo counterparts, I argue that they were owned by aristocrats and other affluent individuals who wished to substantiate

their wealth and intelligence. In other words, the Goryeo mirrors with Chinese motifs may have been used in secular contexts.

While considering my sample of Goryeo bronze mirrors, I noticed that a large number of them is decorated with copies of Chinese designs. Particularly, imitations of popular designs from past Chinese dynasties seem to have been in demand. One such design is the mirror with four nipples (fig. 13), which was originally prominent during the Western Han dynasty (206 BC – 8 CE) (Chou 2000, 32-40). Like the original Han mirrors, the Goryeo copies of this type are relatively small, measuring under ten centimetres in diameter. What distinguishes the Goryeo imitation from the Han original is its rim. The majority of Western Han mirrors has a wide, flat,



Fig. 13 Round mirror with Han imitation design, diam. 8.2cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1917.680.

undecorated rim, which the Goryeo copies generally do not. Another example of a historical Chinese design that was imitated extensively during the Goryeo period is the ‘animal-and-grape’ pattern mirror (fig. 14). This distinctively Tang (618-907 CE) design consists of a central knob in the shape of a crouching animal, which is surrounded by other prowling animals and scrolls of grapevines (Chou 2000, 64-66; Finnane 2016, 394). Mirrors of this type from the Tang dynasty are cast in decidedly deep relief, making the animal-figures that much more animated. The Goryeo copies, on the other hand, are generally more thinly cast and the animals and vines are less clearly outlined.



Fig. 14 Round mirror with Tang imitation design, diam. 14.2cm. The National Museum of Korea, Seoul, 국립중앙박물관 5311.

In addition to the faithful recreations of Chinese bronze mirror designs, Goryeo craftspeople composed local designs that incorporated various Chinese motifs. The ‘Eight Trigrams and zodiac’ pattern (fig. 15), for instance, consists of elements taken from Daoism and Chinese cosmology. These elements include the Four Guardians of the cardinal points, the ten Heavenly Stems and twelve Earthly Branches of the Chinese lunar calendar, thirty-six creatures of the Chinese zodiac, and the twenty-four solar terms of Chinese astronomy (McKillop 1992, 104; Pak 2006, 327). Whereas this design might not appear on Chinese antiquities, like those emulated by the replicas discussed above, I propose that it nonetheless would have had similar connotations of a knowledge of Chinese culture.



Fig. 15 Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design, diam. 18cm. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, O.19-1984.

4.3 Recurring Design: Lunar Palace

Among the Goryeo replicas of Chinese mirrors, one design depicting a narrative scene from Daoist mythology is particularly notable. This scene featuring the moon goddess Chang-o's lunar palace can be found on mirrors from the Song (960-1279 CE) and Jin (1115-1234 CE) dynasties (Chou 2000, 87; Horlyck 2005, 193). Goryeo mirror smiths widely reproduced, and occasionally altered, the design in order to meet their patrons' demands (Horlyck 2005, 193-194; Pak 1998, 421). Within my sample, thirteen mirrors across five museum collections carry the lunar palace design (table 4), making it one of the most prevalent designs among secular mirrors. Moreover, Horlyck (2005) only very briefly mentions the motif in question in her synopsis of mirror designs. On top of that, the lunar palace mirrors in my sample exhibit two variations of the motif, as I will address below. For these reasons, I have chosen to discuss this design in further detail.

Museum collection	# of mirrors with lunar palace motif
National Museum of Korea, Seoul	6
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	3
British Museum, London	2
Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	1
Freer & Sackler Galleries, Washington, D.C.	1
Total	13

Table 4 *List of museum collections that feature mirrors with the lunar palace motif, and the number of mirrors per collection.*

Among the thirteen lunar palace mirrors, I have recognised two variations of the design. The first variation, represented by eleven of the sampled mirrors, is a round mirror bearing a faithful recreation of the scene as seen on the Song and Jin mirrors (fig. 16). Below the central knob, two human figures are seen crossing a bridge who appear to be accompanied by a dragon. Atop the bridge stand a toad and a rabbit, the latter of which seems to be holding something in its paws. To the left of the animal pair are three cloud-borne figures. Above these figures, on the left side of the central knob, a pavilion is enveloped in more clouds. The pavilion's half-open



Fig. 16 Round mirror with bridge, tree and pavilion design, diam. 21.5cm. The Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington, D.C., F1917.301.

doors reveal a figure standing inside the structure. On the opposite side of the mirror, to the right of the central knob, a tree stands tall and follows the circular mirror's curve.

The scene that is depicted here is reminiscent of a dream by the Tang dynasty emperor Xuanzong, in which he visited the moon and was entertained by celestial fairies (Chou 2000, 87; Lee 2019, 105; Zhang 2017, 124). The dream is recounted in the tenth century work *Taiping Guangji* 太平廣記 ('Extensive Records of the Taiping Era'), translated by Eugene Wang (2005, 61) as follows:

As Xuanzong was savouring the moon in the inner palace, Gongyuan asked: “Does Your Majesty wish to go into the moon to take a look?” He then tossed his staff into the sky, which morphed into a big silvery bridge. [Luo Gongyuan] invited Xuanzong to ascend. Having travelled for about ten leagues, they were dazzled by some luminance and greeted by a chill. They found themselves in front of the gate of a big city. “This,” said Gongyuan, “is the Moon Palace.” They saw fairy ladies in the hundreds, all clad in white loose-fitting silk dress, dancing in a spacious court. “What is this tune?” asked Xuanzong. “It is the “Rainbow Skirts, Feathered Coats”,” came the reply.

Going by this dream encounter, the individual elements of the mirror design can be interpreted as a coherent scene. The two human figures crossing the bridge are the Daoist master Luo Gongyuan, followed by emperor Xuanzong, on their journey to the moon. The accompanying dragon, which appears to be flying over a body of water, might be a nod to a popular mirror motif from the Tang dynasty (Wang 2005, 67). This ‘dragon-and-pond’ motif appeared on mirrors that depicted another journey to the moon, making the motif’s appearance on the lunar palace mirror quite suitable (Wang 2005, 51-52, 67). The belief that a toad and a rabbit lived on the moon can be traced back to before the common era, and was an explanation for the dark markings, or ‘shadows,’ on the surface of the moon (Schafer 1976, 32; Yang, An & Turner 2005, 88). The rabbit in this scene is likely holding a mortar and pestle, which, according to ancient myth, he would use to produce the elixir of immortality (Yang, An & Turner 2005, 88-89). Next, the three figures and pavilion enshrouded by clouds pertain to the fairies dancing in front of the lunar palace. The figure standing in the doorway of the pavilion might be Chang-o herself, overseeing the scene. The use of clouds to depict dream visions had become an established custom by the Tang dynasty, and certainly suits the dream sequence portrayed in this scene (Zhang 2017, 23). Finally, the tree is another mythological fixture in the lunar context, affirming once again the location of this scene (Schafer 1976, 33; Yang, An & Turner 2005, 89).

The second variation of the lunar palace design, comprising two of the sampled mirrors, is a pointed eight-lobed mirror with mostly similar, but some differing elements to the first type (fig. 17). Once again there is a bridge below the central knob, but the figures crossing the bridge appear to have been altered somewhat. The left-most figure is identifiable by his hat as a



Fig. 17 Pointed eight-lobed mirror with bridge, tree and pavilion design, diam. 17.8cm. The MET, New York, 25.219.4.

government official and the figure leading him across the bridge has been interpreted as a monk, due to his shaven head and his staff resembling a Buddhist *seokjang* 석장 (Hammer 2001, 85; Pak 1998, 420). Moreover, the dragon accompanying the figures as well as the moon rabbit and toad are no longer included in the scene. The three female figures, on the other hand, are still there, welcoming the visitors at the other side of the bridge. Above them, to the right of the central knob, the lunar palace appears, again with a figure, possibly Chang-o, standing at the half-opened doors. Reaffirming that this scene is set on the moon is the tree, this time to the left of the central knob. In this design, the lobed edge of the mirror is decorated with stylised clouds, telling

us this entire scene takes place in a dream. Interestingly, this version of the design depicting the dream encounter on the moon is exclusively found on Goryeo mirrors, suggesting that it is a Goryeo variation of an established Chinese theme (National Museum of Korea, n.d.; Pak 1998, 420).

Certainly, only affluent and intelligent individuals could have acknowledged the value of either type of lunar palace mirror. The ability to afford a luxury item paired with the knowledge of a classic Tang tale would have signified one's high social standing, even if they did not have access to an original Song or Jin mirror with the same design. Notably, while the origins of the mirrors highlighted in this chapter are unknown, some of my sources mention mirrors with Chinese-influenced designs that have been recovered from Goryeo tombs (McKillop 1992, 104; Pak 1998, 420). Possibly, these mirrors fulfilled their purpose as social status symbols throughout their owners' lives and were subsequently buried alongside them as treasured belongings.

4.4 Conclusion

Due to limited literary and material resources, not much is known about Goryeo domestic life. Considering evidence such as mirror stands however, we can safely assume that bronze mirrors were used in the homes of Goryeo elite. Furthermore, records indicate that in the stratified Goryeo society, aristocrats were supposed to meet certain expectations. In addition to financial assets, government employment was one of the conditions for maintaining one's reputation. In order to achieve this, appropriate education, including a mastery of Chinese poetry and literature, was required. For many aristocrats, their knowledge of the Chinese classics manifested in an appreciation of all aspects of Chinese culture. Consequently, the demand for Chinese collectibles rose exponentially, leading to Goryeo imitations of antiquities, such as bronze mirrors. Goryeo mirror manufacturers produced numerous copies of designs from former and concurrent Chinese dynasties, including the Han, Tang, Song and Jin. Among Goryeo mirrors in museum collections today, the appropriation and adaptation of Chinese themes is fairly prevalent. The vast

majority of those mirrors is of unknown provenance, making it impossible to reconstruct their original purpose at this time. However, taking into account the social significance of Chinese merchandise, and skilfully cast Goryeo imitations, I suggest that mirrors with Chinese-inspired designs played a secular role as status symbols. Additionally, such mirrors might have been entombed with their owners, solidifying their social standing in both life and death.

CHAPTER 5 **Conclusions**

The previous chapters explored the different contexts in which bronze mirrors were used during the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392 CE). As I discussed the roles played by Goryeo bronze mirrors in burial, religious and secular contexts, I concurrently considered their iconography. Each chapter addressed common elements in the mirrors' designs, presenting an overview of the primary material I consulted for this research. Additionally, each chapter highlighted one recurring design for each of the aforementioned contexts respectively, which allowed for a more in-depth analysis of the relation between iconography and bronze mirror use. With this approach, I set out to answer the following research question: To what extent did the iconographic attributes of Goryeo bronze mirrors reflect their meaning and role in society?

In order to reach a comprehensive answer, I divided my research into three sections, each of which would consider the mirrors in a particular type of context. First, I looked into the Goryeo bronze mirrors used in burial contexts. Despite a lack of literary sources on Goryeo mortuary rites, archaeological evidence provides some information on the burial customs of the time. Excavations have uncovered four different types of grave construction that were in use during the tenth to fourteenth century. The stone chamber tomb type was meant for the very upper layers of Goryeo society, whereas the three types of pit graves were used by the majority of the dynasty's population. While their occupants appear to have belonged to varying social classes, all four grave types have yielded similar finds of burial goods. These goods consist of artifacts such as ceramics, jewellery and metal wares, including bronze mirrors. The latter have predominantly been recovered from graves that contained a higher number and larger variety of gifts, suggesting that mirrors were valuable items interred only alongside those who could afford them. Notably, much of the symbolism in the iconography of interred mirrors denotes values such as beauty, longevity, love and fidelity, which I argued is appropriate in gifts for the departed.

Particularly, I suggested the popular *seohwassanggeum* mirrors would have made suitable grave goods, being presented to the deceased by a loving husband or wife.

Next, I examined the Goryeo bronze mirrors used in religious contexts. The archaeological record demonstrates that mirrors were used in a number of Buddhist rituals during the Goryeo dynasty. Some rituals that we know of include those to do with relic worship and the consecration of temple grounds. The bronze mirrors that were recovered from the relic chambers of various pagodas bear witness to the use of mirrors in the aforementioned rituals. Strikingly, the vast majority of these ritual mirrors is undecorated. Their lack of ornamentation however, carries an inherent Buddhist symbolism, signifying notions of emptiness, clarity and purity. These concepts were highly valued in the *Seon* branch of Buddhism that was popular during the Goryeo period. In addition to those recovered from religious contexts, numerous bronze mirrors in museum collections exhibit clear Buddhist implications in their designs. Notable examples are the mirrors with Sanskrit text and those in the shape of bells, as well as the *gyeongsang* mirrors. The latter type of mirror has been found across East Asia and was presumably used in Buddhist rituals throughout Korea, China and Japan. Furthermore, the *hwangbichangcheon* design was highlighted and analysed in further detail. In this analysis, I argued for a Buddhist reading of the mirror design, explaining that *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors might have been used in rituals wishing for safe sailing. In addition to their role as protective amulets for seafarers, a number of *hwangbichangcheon* mirrors were entombed as grave goods. Possibly, they were meant to accompany their owners on their final voyage to the afterlife, protecting them from harm on the way.

Finally, the Goryeo bronze mirrors used in secular contexts were explored. Despite a shortage of historical records on Goryeo domestic life as well as the absence of mirrors from Goryeo domestic sites, it is generally accepted that bronze mirrors were used as household instruments. This is supported by material evidence consisting of an elaborately decorated mirror stand, which is featured in the collection of the National Museum of Korea. Undoubtedly, stands

such as this were used in the homes of the Goryeo elite to hold up bronze mirrors, freeing the hands of whoever was getting ready. Indeed, bronze mirrors and their accompanying stands were luxury items, only available to those who could afford them. Nonetheless, one's affluence was not enough to ensure a high social standing in Goryeo society. Another condition aristocrats should meet in order to maintain their reputation was government employment. In order to attain a position in the country's central bureaucracy proper education was required, which included knowledge of Chinese literature and poetry. Most Goryeo scholar-officials demonstrated their mastery of the Chinese classics by exhibiting their appreciation of all aspects of Chinese culture. As a consequence, there was a rising demand for Chinese antiquities among the wealthy upper classes. This led Goryeo craftsmen to imitate collectibles, including bronze mirrors, from various Chinese dynasties. The appropriation of Chinese motifs is a prevailing theme among Goryeo mirrors in museum collections. Even though many of them are of unknown provenance, it cannot be excluded that these mirrors with Chinese-influenced designs, such as those with the lunar palace, played a secular role as status symbols. Moreover, some mirrors with Chinese themes have reportedly been recovered from Goryeo tombs. Perhaps the mirrors' owners wished to be buried alongside their cherished possessions, surrounding themselves with luxury items in death as they did in life.

Throughout this thesis, I have considered bronze mirrors, as artifacts, to be the products of human thoughts and intentions, adhering to the cognitive archaeological theory. My aim was to study bronze mirror iconography as a way to gain some insight into those thoughts and intentions of the Goryeo people who crafted and consumed these artifacts. Since symbols in art are often purposely selected in order to signify a specific meaning, the decorations on Goryeo bronze mirrors could indicate a connotation in terms of their function. This connotation might have been obvious to the people of tenth to fourteenth century Korea, but it is certainly less clear today. Nonetheless, this study into the varying iconographical attributes of Goryeo bronze

mirrors offers a glimpse into the thought process behind the association of certain designs with a particular way of using a mirror.

Certainly, a number of topics touched upon in this thesis allows for more research. While I aimed to present an overview of Goryeo bronze mirrors and their multitude of uses, in part because the existing literature is scarce, I could not explore all aspects of my topic in full detail due to time constraints and a lack of information. In general, future excavations of burial sites might help in comprehending Goryeo mortuary practices in more detail. Furthermore, as more settlements are being recovered, our understanding of Goryeo everyday life could vastly improve. More specifically, the use of bronze mirrors in Buddhist contexts could be studied further. The use and distribution of the *gyeongsang* mirrors might be explored by considering examples from China and Japan in addition to those from Korea. Moreover, an analysis of scriptures and similar primary literature could shed light on the Goryeo Buddhist rituals involving bronze mirrors, such as those of the *gyeongsang* type.

In sum, the research in this thesis demonstrates that Goryeo bronze mirror iconography is a significant source of information. Through studying the various mirror designs of the Goryeo dynasty, I have found that a number of recognisable motifs could point to a mirror's role in a particular context. In this way, identifying the decorative theme of a bronze mirror could aid in understanding the context in which it was once used. However, it appears that the numerous roles played by bronze mirrors, be it a grave gift, a ritual object, or a status symbol, were not necessarily mutually exclusive. The presence of religious or secular mirrors in a burial context implies that bronze mirrors could serve multiple purposes throughout their, and their owners', lives. All in all, this thesis has shown that an iconographic study of the available material can lead to new insights, or, in this case, a greater understanding of the meaning and role of bronze mirrors in the society of the Goryeo dynasty.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1: List of the Primary Material Consulted in This Thesis

No.	Accession #	Museum collection	Decorative theme	Context
1	1923,1012.1	British Museum, London	Round mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Han River, Ganghwa, South Korea
2	1936,1118.110	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
3	1973,0726.69	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
4	1973,0726.70	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
5	1973,0726.71	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
6	1992,0615.57	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
7	1992,0615.58	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
8	OA+.620	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
9	1921.660	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
10	O.17-2010	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
11	XLIX:II:A.04	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
12	XLIX:II:A.05	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
13	XLIX:II:A.06	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
14	17.118.100	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Five-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
15	17.175.22	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
16	17.175.28	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
17	22.141.1	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
18	중 5126	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
19	중 5127	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
20	중 5128	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
21	중 5129	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
22	중 5130	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*

101	증 5209	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
102	증 5210	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
103	증 5211	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
104	증 5212	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
105	증 5213	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
106	증 5214	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
107	증 5457	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
108	신수 2625(2)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
109	신수 2847(3)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
110	신수 2847(4)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
111	신수 2847(6)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
112	신수 3419	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
113	신수 8646	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
114	신수 31486	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Burial context*
115	신수 40787	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>seohwassanggeum</i> design	Anseong, South Korea
116	신수 44757	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Five-lobed mirror with <i>sehwassanggeum</i> design	Pyeongtaek, South Korea
117	11.48.3	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Eight-lobed mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
118	17.175.23	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Square mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
119	증 5395	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
120	증 5396	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
121	증 5397	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
122	증 5398	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
123	증 5399	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
124	증 5400	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
125	증 5401	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
126	증 5402	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*

127	증 5403	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Six-lobed mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
128	증 5404	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Eight-lobed mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
129	증 5467	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
130	증 5497	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
131	구 3671	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Eight-lobed mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
132	신수 20880	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>bosanghwa</i> design	Burial context*
133	증 5098	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
134	증 5099	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
135	증 5100	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
136	증 5101	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
137	증 5102	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
138	증 5103	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
139	증 5104	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
140	증 5105	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with chrysanthemum flower design	Burial context*
141	증 5106	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with chrysanthemum flower design	Burial context*
142	증 5107	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with chrysanthemum flower design	Burial context*
143	증 5108	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with chrysanthemum flower design	Burial context*
144	증 5456	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with chrysanthemum flower design	Burial context*
145	증 5458	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with chrysanthemum flower design	Burial context*
146	신수 2844	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
147	신수 2847(5)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
148	신수 4128	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
149	신수 8361	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with chrysanthemum flower design	Burial context*
150	신수 50699	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Hwaseong, South Korea
151	FE.229-1974	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
152	증 5477	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with very small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*

153	증 5461	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with very small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
154	증 5448	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with bands of small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
155	증 5449	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with bands of small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
156	증 5450	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with bands of small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
157	증 5451	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with bands of small, stylised chrysanthemum flowers	Burial context*
158	증 5111	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers inside grid pattern	Burial context*
159	증 5464	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with chrysanthemum flowers inside grid pattern	Burial context*
160	증 5465	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with chrysanthemum flowers inside grid pattern	Burial context*
161	증 5466	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers inside grid pattern	Burial context*
162	증 5504	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers inside grid pattern	Burial context*
163	증 5110	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers and Chinese characters	Burial context*
164	1936,1118.94	British Museum, London	Square mirror with chrysanthemum flowers and dragonflies	Burial context*
165	1926,0407.7	British Museum, London	Square mirror with chrysanthemum flowers and birds	Burial context*
166	증 5109	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers and butterflies	Burial context*
167	신수 1667	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Handled round mirror with stylised chrysanthemum flowers and crane birds	Burial context*
168	증 5425	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crane birds and cloud design	Burial context*
169	신수 2847(9)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crane birds and cloud design	Burial context*
170	증 5500	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with bands of crane birds and floral scrolls	Burial context*
171	22.141.16	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Seven-lobed mirror with crane birds design	Burial context*
172	증 5422	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Seven-lobed mirror with crane birds design	Burial context*
173	증 5423	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Seven-lobed mirror with crane birds design	Burial context*
174	증 5417	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with birds and clouds design	Burial context*
175	증 5418	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with birds and clouds design	Burial context*
176	증 5419	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with birds and clouds design	Burial context*
177	증 5421	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with flowers and stylised <i>bonghwang</i>	Burial context*

178	증 5415	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with Eight Trigrams and stylised <i>bonghwang</i>	Burial context*
179	17.175.27	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with clouds and twin <i>bonghwang</i> design	Burial context*
180	증 5420	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin <i>bonghwang</i> design	Burial context*
181	증 5431	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin <i>bonghwang</i> design	Burial context*
182	161.1999	New South Wales Art Gallery, Sydney	Round mirror with twin <i>bonghwang</i> design	Burial context*
183	증 5482	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>bonghwang</i> design	Burial context*
184	증 5492	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Eight-lobed mirror with <i>bonghwang</i> design	Burial context*
185	증 5479	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with dancing <i>bonghwang</i> design	Burial context*
186	증 5478	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with dragons and clouds design	Burial context*
187	1926,0407.6	British Museum, London	Square mirror with coiling dragon design	Burial context*
188	XLIX:II:A.07	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with coiling dragon design	Burial context*
189	증 5354	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Eight-lobed mirror with coiling dragon design	Burial context*
190	증 5355	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Eight-lobed mirror with coiling dragon design	Burial context*
191	OA+.7188	British Museum, London	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
192	1936,1118.95	British Museum, London	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
193	1936,1118.109	British Museum, London	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
194	0.17-1984	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	Square mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
195	11.48.1	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
196	17.175.24	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Square mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
197	17.175.29	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
198	22.141.10	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
199	1977.449.2	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed six-lobed mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
200	증 5367	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
201	증 5368	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
202	증 5369	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*
203	증 5370	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing a <i>yeouiju</i> jewel	Burial context*

204	증 5371	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
205	증 5372	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
206	증 5373	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with twin dragons design	Burial context*
207	증 5374	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with twin dragons design	Burial context*
208	증 5375	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with twin dragons design	Burial context*
209	신수 2571	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
210	신수 8284	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons chasing the <i>yeouiju</i> jewels	Burial context*
211	신수 20917	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons design	Burial context*
212	신수 44300	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin dragons design	Paju, South Korea
213	1926,0407.4	British Museum, London	Handled round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
214	XLIX:II:A.10	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
215	증 5358	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
216	증 5360	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
217	증 5361	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
218	증 5362	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
219	증 5363	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
220	증 5364	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
221	증 5365	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin fish (carp?) and turtle design	Burial context*
222	증 5366	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twin carp design	Burial context*
223	1926,0407.10	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
224	1936,1118.111	British Museum, London	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
225	1995.376	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
226	XLIX:II:A.08	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
227	17.175.26	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
228	22.141.9	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
229	증 5278	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*

230	증 5279	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
231	증 5280	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
232	증 5281	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
233	증 5282	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
234	증 5283	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
235	신수 3784	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
236	신수 6346	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
237	0.16-1984	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	Round mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Religious/burial context*
238	덕수 4927	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>hwangbichangcheon</i> design	Kaesong, North Korea
239	1936,1118.102	British Museum, London	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
240	F1915.62	Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
241	XLIX:II:A.01	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
242	증 5219	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
243	증 5220	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
244	증 5221	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
245	증 5222	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
246	증 5223	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
247	증 5224	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
248	증 5225	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
249	증 5226	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
250	증 5227	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
251	증 5228	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
252	증 5229	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
253	증 5231	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
254	증 5232	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
255	증 5233	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
256	증 5236	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*

257	증 5237	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
258	증 5323	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
259	증 5324	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
260	증 5325	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
261	증 6967	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
262	신수 1498	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
263	신수 4131	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror	Religious/burial context*
264	1926,0407.9	British Museum, London	Undecorated round mirror with short handle	Religious/burial context*
265	1936,1118.100	British Museum, London	Undecorated round mirror with short handle	Religious/burial context*
266	XLIX:II:A.12	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Undecorated round mirror with loop	Religious/burial context*
267	증 5245	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with short handle	Religious/burial context*
268	증 5246	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with loop	Religious/burial context*
269	증 5247	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with loop	Religious/burial context*
270	신수 50700	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with short handle	Hwaseong, South Korea
271	17.175.30	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Undecorated round mirror with long handle	Religious/burial context*
272	22.141.12	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Undecorated round mirror with long handle	Religious/burial context*
273	증 5248	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with long handle	Religious/burial context*
274	증 5249	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with long handle	Religious/burial context*
275	증 5250	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with long handle	Religious/burial context*
276	증 5350	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated round mirror with long handle	Religious/burial context*
277	증 5244	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated octagonal mirror	Religious/burial context*
278	F1915.63	Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
279	증 5238	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
280	증 5239	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
281	증 5240	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
282	증 5329	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*

283	증 5330	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
284	증 5331	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
285	증 5332	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
286	증 5333	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror	Religious/burial context*
287	M.87-1937	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Undecorated square mirror with pierced corners	Religious/burial context*
288	증 5334	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror with lobed corners	Religious/burial context*
289	증 5335	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror with lobed corners	Religious/burial context*
290	증 5336	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror with lobed corners	Religious/burial context*
291	신수 43832	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror with rounded corners	Hwaseong, South Korea
292	증 5241	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror with rounded corners	Religious/burial context*
293	증 5243	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated square mirror with rounded corners	Religious/burial context*
294	1926,0407.8	British Museum, London	Undecorated rectangular mirror with loop	Religious/burial context*
295	증 5242	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated rectangular mirror with loop	Religious/burial context*
296	M.86-1937	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Undecorated rectangular mirror with loop	Religious/burial context*
297	1936,1118.101	British Museum, London	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
298	1932.12	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
299	12.39.1	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
300	증 5257	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
301	증 5258	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
302	증 5259	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
303	증 5265	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
304	증 5267	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
305	증 5268	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
306	증 5269	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
307	증 5337	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated six-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
308	증 5338	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated six-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
309	증 5339	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated six-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*

310	증 5340	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated six-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
311	증 5342	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated six-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
312	증 5343	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
313	증 5344	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
314	신수 2847(8)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
315	신수 2906(1)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
316	신수 7861	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
317	신수 9130	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
318	신수 20876	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
319	신수 43612	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror	Pyeongtaek, South Korea
320	1917.678	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror with loop	Religious/burial context*
321	22.141.11	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Undecorated eight-lobed mirror with short handle	Religious/burial context*
322	증 5351	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated six-lobed mirror with long handle	Religious/burial context*
323	1926,0407.5	British Museum, London	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
324	1938,0524.687	British Museum, London	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
325	XLIX:II:A.03	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
326	22.141.8	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
327	22.141.15	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
328	증 5251	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
329	증 5252	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
330	증 5253	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
331	증 5254	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
332	증 5345	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
333	증 5346	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
334	증 5347	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
335	증 5348	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*
336	증 5349	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated pointed eight-lobed mirror	Religious/burial context*

337	증 5326	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated mirror in the shape of a peach	Religious/burial context*
338	증 5327	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated mirror in the shape of a peach	Religious/burial context*
339	증 5328	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Undecorated mirror in the shape of a peach	Religious/burial context*
340	1945,1017.239	British Museum, London	Bell-shaped mirror	Religious context*
341	1917.679	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Bell-shaped mirror	Religious context*
342	본관 2716	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Bell-shaped mirror with floral scroll design	Religious context*
343	덕수 3349	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Rectangular <i>gyeongsang</i> mirror with Avalokitesvara incision	Religious context*
344	덕수 800	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Rectangular <i>gyeongsang</i> mirror with Avalokitesvara incision	Religious context*
345	덕수 2353	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Triangular <i>gyeongsang</i> mirror with Avalokitesvara incision	Religious context*
346	신수 1357	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Triangular <i>gyeongsang</i> mirror with Avalokitesvara incision	Religious context*
347	신수 3218(1)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Sanskrit characters	Religious context/burial context*
348	신수 3218(2)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Sanskrit characters	Religious context/burial context*
349	신수 3218(3)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Sanskrit characters	Religious context/burial context*
350	신수 4124	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Sanskrit characters	Religious context/burial context*
351	신수 4125	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Sanskrit characters	Religious context/burial context*
352	신수 4126	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Sanskrit characters	Religious context/burial context*
353	신수 4127	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Sanskrit characters	Religious context/burial context*
354	신수 3006	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>swastika</i> symbol and short handle	Religious context/burial context*
355	1936,1118.108	British Museum, London	Round mirror with auspicious Buddhist symbolism	Religious context/burial context*
356	증 5113	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with lotus design	Religious context/burial context*
357	증 5472	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with lotus design	Religious context/burial context*
358	증 5473	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with lotus design	Religious context/burial context*
359	1936,1118.112	British Museum, London	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
360	1973,0726.72	British Museum, London	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
361	F1917.301	Freer and Sackler Galleries, Washington	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
362	XLIX:II:A.09	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
363	11.48.2	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
364	증 5284	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*

365	증 5285	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
366	신수 1358	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
367	신수 1930	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
368	신수 2133	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
369	신수 2752	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
370	17.175.33	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
371	25.219.4	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Pointed eight-lobed mirror with Lunar Palace design	Secular/burial context*
372	1917.680	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
373	1921.658	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
374	증 5286	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
375	증 5287	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
376	증 5288	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
377	증 5291	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
378	증 5295	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and deities design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
379	증 5296	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and deities design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
380	증 5376	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
381	증 5377	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
382	증 5378	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
383	증 5379	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
384	증 5380	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
385	증 5411	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
386	증 5483	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with twelve nipples and banded design	Secular/burial context*
387	증 5484	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and bird design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
388	증 5487	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and bird design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
389	신수 2625(1)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and animal design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
390	신수 2948	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*

391	신수 7842	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
392	신수 9132	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with four nipples and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
393	신수 4129	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with linked arcs design (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
394	신수 45634	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with linked arcs design and Chinese characters (Han imitation)	Secular/burial context*
395	증 5455	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grape vine design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
396	증 5459	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grape vine design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
397	증 5310	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grapes and animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
398	증 5311	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grapes and animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
399	증 5312	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grapes and animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
400	증 5313	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grapes and animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
401	XLIX:II:A.02	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
402	증 5298	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
403	증 5299	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
404	증 5301	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
405	증 5302	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
406	증 5303	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and Chinese characters (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
407	증 5305	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
408	신수 4130	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
409	신수 7862	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
410	증 5412	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
411	증 5413	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
412	증 5416	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
413	증 5444	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
414	증 5496	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed six-lobed handled mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
415	신수 1658	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*

416	신수 2847(10)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
417	신수 2906(2)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals and zodiac design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
418	고적 10863	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with crouching animals design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
419	17.175.32	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with sparrows and flowers design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
420	증 5495	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Handled round mirror with sparrows and flowers design (Tang imitation)	Secular/burial context*
421	1894,0727.38	British Museum, London	Eight-lobed mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
422	증 5270	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
423	증 5271	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
424	증 5272	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
425	증 5273	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
426	증 5274	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
427	증 5275	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
428	증 5276	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
429	증 5277	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
430	신수 1727	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
431	신수 3708	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
432	신수 6006	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
433	신수 8390	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Secular/burial context*
434	신수 44707	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with <i>chilbomun</i> design (Song imitation)	Anseong, South Korea
435	B60B585	Asian Art Museum, San Francisco	Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design	Secular/burial context*
436	1992,0615.55	British Museum, London	Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design	Secular/burial context*
437	0.19-1984	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design	Secular/burial context*
438	17.175.25	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design	Secular/burial context*
439	증 5321	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design	Secular/burial context*
440	증 5322	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design	Secular/burial context*
441	M.77-1937	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Round mirror with Eight Trigrams and zodiac design	Secular/burial context*

442	1968,1221.1	British Museum, London	Round mirror with Four Guardian animals and stylised Chinese characters	Secular/burial context*
443	XLIX:II:A.11	Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm	Round mirror with Four Guardian animals and stylised Chinese characters	Secular/burial context*
444	증 5475	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with rounded corners and Eight Trigrams design	Secular/burial context*
445	증 5470	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with decorative wave pattern	Secular/burial context*
446	증 5471	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with decorative wave pattern	Secular/burial context*
447	M.82-1937	Victoria and Albert Museum, London	Round mirror with decorative wave pattern	Secular/burial context*
448	신수 7886	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with hexagonal/'turtle shell' pattern	Secular/burial context*
449	증 5490	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Six-lobed mirror with geometric pattern	Secular/burial context*
450	17.175.19	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Five-lobed mirror with floral scroll and vine design	Secular/burial context*
451	증 5215	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Five-lobed mirror with floral scroll and vine design	Secular/burial context*
452	증 5216	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Five-lobed mirror with floral scroll and vine design	Secular/burial context*
453	증 5217	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Five-lobed mirror with floral scroll and vine design	Secular/burial context*
454	증 5218	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Five-lobed mirror with floral scroll and vine design	Secular/burial context*
455	증 5491	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Five-lobed mirror with floral scroll and vine design	Secular/burial context*
456	신수 2847(1)	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Five-lobed mirror with floral scroll and vine design	Secular/burial context*
457	1921.659	Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
458	17.175.20	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
459	증 5114	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
460	증 5115	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
461	증 5116	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
462	증 5117	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
463	증 5118	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
464	증 5119	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
465	증 5120	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
466	증 5121	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*

467	증 5122	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
468	증 5123	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
469	증 5124	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
470	증 5125	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
471	고적 10862	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
472	신수 3897	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Secular/burial context*
473	신수 43852	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with floral scroll design	Hwaseong, South Korea
474	증 5230	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
475	증 5452	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
476	증 5453	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
477	증 5454	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
478	증 5460	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
479	증 5468	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Six-lobed mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
480	증 5476	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
481	증 5463	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Square mirror with flower design	Secular/burial context*
482	증 5486	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grass design	Secular/burial context*
483	증 5489	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with grass design	Secular/burial context*
484	증 5480	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with pine tree design	Secular/burial context*
485	증 5501	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Oval mirror with willow and waterfowl design	Secular/burial context*
486	증 5485	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror depicting birds and a landscape	Secular/burial context*
487	증 5488	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror depicting birds and a landscape	Secular/burial context*
488	증 5499	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror depicting a landscape and turtle	Secular/burial context*
489	증 5341	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Six-lobed mirror depicting an abstract landscape with animals	Secular/burial context*
490	증 5494	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with long handle depicting a landscape	Secular/burial context*
491	1936,1118.106	British Museum, London	Round mirror depicting figures in a landscape	Secular/burial context*
492	증 5502	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Eight-lobed mirror depicting figures underneath a tree	Secular/burial context*

493	신수 3421	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror depicting figures underneath a tree	Secular/burial context*
494	증 5503	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with scene of human and animal figures	Secular/burial context*
495	증 5493	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Pointed eight-lobed mirror depicting a play and its viewers	Secular/burial context*
496	증 5390	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with butterfly and floral scrolls design	Secular/burial context*
497	증 5391	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with butterflies in a quatrefoil design	Secular/burial context*
498	증 5392	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with butterflies in a quatrefoil design	Secular/burial context*
499	증 5393	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with butterflies in a quatrefoil design	Secular/burial context*
500	증 5394	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with quatrefoil dotted design	Secular/burial context*
501	증 5390	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with quatrefoil design and Chinese characters	Secular/burial context*
502	B60B607	Asian Art Museum, San Francisco	Pointed four-lobed mirror with scene of a tiger hunt and Chinese characters	Secular/burial context*
503	증 5514	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with cloud scrolls and Chinese characters	Secular/burial context*
504	증 5513	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised Chinese seal characters	Secular/religious/burial context*
505	증 5512	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised Chinese characters	Secular/religious/burial context*
506	17.175.21	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	Round mirror with stylised Chinese characters	Secular/religious/burial context*
507	증 5510	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised Chinese characters and long handle	Secular/religious/burial context*
508	증 5511	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	Round mirror with stylised Chinese characters and long handle	Secular/religious/burial context*

* No context listed in museum documentation; proposed context based on results from the research as conducted in this thesis.