



GORYEO BUDDHIST PAINTING IN AN INTERREGIONAL CONTEXT

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Kim Wumun et al., *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, 1310, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 419.5 x 101.5 cm. Kagami Shrine, Karatsu City, Saga Prefecture, Japan.

Abstract

Because most Korean Buddhist paintings of the Goryeo period (918–1392) have survived only in the Japanese archipelago, research on them has been carried out primarily within isolated interpretive communities in Japan and Korea. This article surveys the study of Goryeo painted icons in Japan in an effort to identify how the unique reception history of this genre has conditioned its historiography. After considering the various historical factors that led to the movement of large numbers of early Korean Buddhist works to the archipelago, the article demonstrates how these largely anonymous scrolls came to bear attributions to Chinese professional painters of the Ningbo region. The modern Japanese historiography is then surveyed in terms of three successive stages (1932–1967, 1967–1981, 1981–present) characterized in general terms by cataloging projects, iconographic studies, and contextual analyses. A concluding section assesses the legacy of this historiography and future avenues of research that tie Goryeo Buddhist painting to larger questions concerning the nature of the East Asian Buddhist icon in general.

“GORYEO BUDDHIST PAINTING” designates a corpus of early Korean hanging scrolls, close to 160 in number, that has increasingly become the focus of international scholarly attention in recent years. Through symposia, research articles, and exhibitions, the visual and iconographic characteristics of painted Buddhist icons of the Goryeo period (918–1392) have gradually come into focus.¹ Goryeo Buddhist painting evokes a body of work characterized by its sophisticated representation of garment textures, meticulous attention to surface patterns, and abundance of Pure Land subjects with a special emphasis on two celebrated bodhisattvas of the Mahayana pantheon, Avalokiteśvara (K. Gwaneum) and Kṣitigarbha (K. Jijang). These characteristics can be witnessed in a work widely considered to be among the most impressive examples of the genre, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* from Kagami Shrine in Japan’s Saga prefecture (fig. 1). In its massive scale (4.2 meters in height), chromatic elegance, intricate textile patterns, and silky, gauze-like veil, almost hallucinatory in its diaphaneity, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* showcases the technical virtuosity of the painting workshops associated with the Goryeo court. The work’s sartorial celebration of its sitter neatly encapsulates the image of Goryeo Buddhist painting shared by most commentators.

Knowledge about early Korean Buddhist painting, however, is shaped by its subsequent exodus from the peninsula: most extant examples were transmitted early on to Japanese temples, where they were sheltered from the frequent foreign invasions, piracy, and internecine political tensions that resulted in the destruction of so many Korean Buddhist artifacts later on. In Japan the geographic ori-

gins of imported Goryeo Buddhist paintings were soon forgotten; within their exilic environments they were often thought to be the works of renowned Chinese masters until the twentieth century, when their peninsular origins were recognized. Since then, however, their expatriate status has caused research on Goryeo Buddhist painting to be carried out within somewhat isolated interpretive communities in both Japan and Korea. Furthermore, although scholarly exchange between these communities has developed rapidly in recent years, new observations and research trends have not always received a proper introduction in the English-language sphere. Because the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting provides so many insights into the nature of East Asian Buddhist art as a whole, its unfamiliarity to a larger international art-historical and Buddhological community is a matter of regret. As one modest effort to facilitate a more global conversation on Goryeo Buddhist painting, this article surveys its reception and study in the Japanese archipelago throughout the premodern and modern eras, including recent research trends and insights. The primary aim of this essay is historiographical, focusing for the most part on Japanese-language scholarship. By understanding the ways in which the archipelagic provenance of most extant examples has framed the Japanese study of early Korean painting, which in turn has shaped the entire field of Goryeo painting studies, it is hoped that certain interpretive prejudices can be recognized, while important vectors of future research are identified. An interregional approach to Goryeo Buddhist painting not only places in higher relief the pictorial qualities, representational habits, and iconographic contours of this refugee genre, but illuminates the fluid mobility and itinerant complexity of visual forms across the entire East Asian region.

Goryeo Painted Icons and Their Diaspora

When the Goryeo dynasty was established by Wang Geon 王建 (877–943) in 918, the Korean peninsula could already boast a long and distinguished tradition of royal Buddhist patronage among the peninsular kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche, Silla, and the Kaya states. Like its predecessor, the Unified Silla kingdom (668–935), the Goryeo government continued to entrust to Buddhism the task of protecting the nation against natural calamity and outside invasion.² The talismanic efficacy of state-sponsored Buddhist ritual was ensured through lavish aristocratic patronage of the sangha, or monastic community, which increasingly came to be populated with members of the Goryeo elite. Along with land grants to Buddhist institutions and ecclesiastical promotion, an official examination system for monks ensured that monasteries would function as centrifuges for significant intellectual developments of the period. From the ranks of the Buddhist ecclesia emerged scholiasts such as Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) and Jinul 知訥 (1158–1210),

who would author some of the most sophisticated exegetical writings in the history of East Asian Buddhism.³ It comes as no surprise, then, that the Goryeo court and its surrounding landscape of Buddhist institutions served as a rich matrix for the production of Buddhist icons and ritual implements. The degree to which Buddhist artifacts provided a formal language for the expression of Korean concerns about national security in particular can be gleaned from two major efforts undertaken by the Goryeo court to woodblock-print the entire Tripitaka, or Buddhist canon of sacred texts. The first effort, begun in 1011 but not completed until 1087, was spurred by invasions by the semi-nomadic Khitan Liao from the north. After the first Goryeo Tripitaka was destroyed by a Mongol invasion in 1232, the carving and printing of a second Tripitaka was initiated and completed by 1254. The xylographic reproduction of the entire scriptural canon was no small undertaking; the blocks from the second set, which still survive in Haiensa 海印寺 Temple, total 81,258 in number. The second Goryeo Tripitaka consists of some 1,516 texts in 6,815 volumes. Due to the high quality of its craftsmanship and redaction, this latter version became the most sought-after compilation of the Buddha's word in Northeast Asia.⁴

The abovementioned peninsular invasions by bellicose northern neighbors point to the transience of most artworks commissioned in this era. Although the Goryeo period represents a nearly five-hundred-year span of sustained elite Buddhist patronage, very little remains in Korea itself to document this legacy in material terms. The remarkable nonsurvival of peninsular Buddhist artifacts can be attributed to numerous historical factors, among which the most important are: 1) the ravages suffered by the Goryeo kingdom at the hands of warring northern peoples, most prominently the Mongols during the thirteenth century; 2) the predations of Japanese pirates; 3) the devastating military invasions by the Japanese warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598) in 1592 and 1597; and 4) the periodic suppressions of Buddhist institutions throughout the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910).⁵ Particularly vulnerable to these periodic waves of destruction were those works consisting of fragile materials such as silk and paper. As a result, most painted hanging scrolls and decorated sutras from the Goryeo period are found in the Japanese archipelago, where they were preserved throughout the premodern period. This Japanese archive represents a substantial repository of material with which to assess the Goryeo legacy of elite Buddhist patronage.

As a prelude to such an assessment, it is helpful to consider the reasons why the Japanese islands became the adoptive home for so many early Korean Buddhist paintings. Although little documentation remains to trace the specific contexts for the importation of paintings into the archipelago, it has long been assumed that the Hideyoshi campaigns of the 1590s were the major catalysts of dislodgement.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, after successfully unifying Japan and bringing to an end more than a century of continuous battle among regional warrior houses, Hideyoshi turned his attention overseas.⁶ In 1592 he launched a full-scale siege of the peninsula, partly because of Korean refusal to grant his armies free passage to China, the original target of his military ambitions. Hideyoshi's armies advanced as far north as the Yalu River before succumbing to a combined Sino-Korean counterattack, eventually retreating from the peninsula altogether by the seventh month of 1593. The warlord mounted a second, less spirited campaign in 1597 that only came to full closure with his death in the following year. Throughout these operations, widespread looting of temple treasures was accompanied by the forced relocation of Korean potters and other craftsmen to the Japanese island of Kyūshū.⁷ While the political, social, and cultural ramifications of Hideyoshi's Korea campaigns are too complex to consider here, suffice it to state that they were responsible for the widespread removal of Buddhist paintings and other artifacts to the archipelago. Scores of Korean paintings of the Joseon period currently found in Japanese temples were most likely deposited there as war booty from the 1592 and 1597 incursions.⁸ And although the importation of Goryeo painting due to these invasions cannot be documented, such a scenario was attached to the biographies of numerous scrolls during the Edo period. A fourteenth-century depiction of the Buddha's *nirvana* in Saikyōji Temple (Nagasaki prefecture), for example, bears an old box inscription stating that it was brought back from Korea as a spoil of war by Matsu'ura Shizunobu 松浦鎮信, the domainal lord of Hirado province and retainer to Hideyoshi.⁹

The spoliation of painted Buddhist icons dating from earlier periods, however, is more likely to have been due to the amphibious assaults of Japanese pirates. While the term "pirates" (J. *kaizoku* 海賊 or *wakō* 倭寇) often evokes the image of bands of rogue buccaneers, during the medieval period it could also refer to a broad range of local heads of littoral communities that controlled transportation arteries along Japanese coastal areas, especially in the Seto Inland Sea.¹⁰ Occasionally these communities would mobilize to mount raids of neighboring countries, and the *Goryeo sa* 高麗史, a chronicle of the Goryeo kingdom compiled in the fifteenth century, records piratical raids of the Korean peninsula as early as the 1220s.¹¹ Japanese freebooting became an especially acute concern to the Korean court from the mid-fourteenth to the early fifteenth centuries, and might even be credited with a defining role in international East Asian diplomatic relations during this period.¹² Whatever the larger ramifications of such piracy, its resulting plunder appears to have fed a small archipelagic market for Korean Buddhist artifacts by the fourteenth century. The Zen priest Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388), for example, records in his diary that he facilitated the procurement

of a Korean cast-iron bell for the Kamakura temple Hō'onji through a merchant he knew.¹³ An inscription on the Kagami Shrine *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* applied to its surface in 1391, when the painting was donated by a certain monk Ryōken 良賢 to the shrine, suggests that the scroll had been circulating on the market before settling there.¹⁴ As the archipelago decentralized over the course of the late fifteenth and earlier sixteenth centuries, however, pirates continued to be active as independent maritime authorities, until their sea-based suzerainty was weakened by, among other things, Hideyoshi's edict outlawing piracy in 1588.¹⁵ It has been suggested that the many Korean and Chinese paintings found in temples dotting the coasts and islands of the Seto Island Sea were donated by the Murakami family of buccaneers, who governed what amounted to a small-scale thalassocracy in the region and patronized many of its religious institutions.¹⁶

Although Japanese piracy and military aggression certainly unmoored numerous peninsular painted icons from their natal homes, peaceful maritime trade and international diplomacy were also significant engines for the circulation of objects in Northeast Asia. Official diplomatic exchanges between the Joseon kings and various elites in the Japanese archipelago, for example, were common from the late fourteenth through the mid-sixteenth centuries. As Kenneth R. Robinson has demonstrated, whereas East Asian international diplomacy during this period has typically been considered in terms of the Ming tally trade, the Joseon court conceptualized interregional diplomacy with itself at the center of a Confucian order.¹⁷ Its diplomatic transactions were carried out in an accordingly hierarchical manner, with Ryūkyū kings and Japanese shoguns treated as status equals, but local Japanese elites as lesser partners. The latter were interested in carrying on trade with the peninsula and securing the high-quality Buddhist artifacts for which Korea was renowned, including large cast-iron temple bells and printed copies of the Goryeo Tripitaka.¹⁸ The Buddhist canon of scriptures was of special importance and provides a key to understanding the nexus of motivations that lubricated interregionalism in this period.

Due to its craftsmanship and high quality of redaction the "Tripitaka Koreana" was sought after by elites all over Northeast Asia, both as an authoritative version of the Buddhist scriptural canon and as a form of political legitimation. Interested Ryūkyūan and Japanese parties frequently sent embassies to the Joseon court in the hopes of procuring complete sets of the Buddha's teachings; foremost among them were the Ashikaga, whose eagerness to possess copies of the Goryeo Tripitaka frequently took precedence over the observance of diplomatic niceties. On one occasion the fourth shogun, Ashikaga Yoshimochi 足利義持 (1386–1428), even insulted his counterparts by referring to his own embassy as a "Sutra Request Envoy" (J. *seikyōshi* 請經使), in contrast to the Joseon request for

a Reciprocal Envoy (K. *huilesa*, J. *kaireishi* 回礼使).¹⁹ The shogunate and regional warrior houses also procured sutras to offer to temples they sponsored. The late Goryeo and early Joseon courts were interested in stemming the tide of piracy that was plaguing its coastal borders, but established diplomatic ties with local elites in western Japan after quickly realizing that the Ashikaga were ineffectual in its prevention. Sutra grants were used as incentives for cooperation in keeping marauding mariners at bay. Once piracy subsided in the early fifteenth century, diplomatic exchanges were carried on more as a form of Confucian theater in which the strict maintenance of propriety was prioritized. Royal release appears to have been intimately tied to internal Joseon politics, deeply enmeshed in competing discourses of Confucian and Buddhist influence at court. The Korean rulers did not often release sutras and other items to parties other than Ryūkyūan or Japanese rulers and local warrior houses with whom the court had long-standing relations. Yet local elites such as the Ōuchi 大内, Ōtomo 大友, and Sō 宗 families in Kyūshū and western Japan were so desperate to enter the Tripitaka Trade that they even took on imposter identities, not only assuming the face of the shogunate on occasion, but also fabricating Ryūkyūan administrative titles or the names of regional Japanese temples on whose behalf they pretended to request sutra releases.²⁰ In this manner, Northeast Asian diplomacy during the early Joseon period took place within a heterogeneous landscape of varying diplomatic perspectives and radically dissimilar motivations for maritime exchange.

Most of the Korean Buddhist artifacts transferred to Japan through the Tripitaka Trade were sutras and large bells for monastic use. Based on an extensive survey of the numerous inscriptions on Goryeo- and early Joseon-period Korean sutras and cast-iron bells in Japanese collections, Kusui Takashi 楠井隆志 has demonstrated that these objects settled in their current locations as a result of the periodic Joseon release of Buddhist artifacts.²¹ Such artifacts are found primarily in western Japan, in temples and warrior families in Kyūshū and provinces such as Suō and Nagato on the western end of Japan's main island. Their provenance in daimyo families closely linked to Korean-Japanese maritime relations, such as the Ōuchi and Sō families, or in temples sponsored by such families, suggests that rather than stolen booty, they were the objects of official interaction, complicating received etiologies of Korean objects in Japanese collections. Likewise, it is possible that early Korean Buddhist paintings arrived in Japan on the coattails of the Tripitaka Trade, added to sutra requests by Joseon kings but not necessarily chronicled because they were not the main objects of exchange. In 1467, for example, the Joseon king Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–68) added a “Buddha” to a request by a Japanese woman for a copy of the *Lotus Sutra*.²² Whether this “Buddha” refers to a painting or sculpture is unclear, but it is of interest as an example of a gift that

could occasionally be appended to a royal release. Indeed, instances of such goodwill gestures can be found scattered throughout the documentary record. A 1422 sutra request by the shogunate includes grateful acknowledgement for a portrait of a Buddhist monk it had received sixteen years earlier.²³ In 1464, in addition to the requested *Golden Light Sutra*, an envoy for the Sō family received a painting of a Buddhist deity from the Joseon court.²⁴ It may be that devout kings such as Sejo were particularly generous in adding such bonus items to their sutra releases.²⁵ While only scattered evidence remains, these examples indicate at least some of the possible routes, other than pillage and plunder, by which early Korean painted icons found their way to Japan.

Archipelagic Afterlives

Once in Japan, memory of the geographic origins of Goryeo paintings appears to have faded quickly, in part because these paintings often bore no signatures or inscriptions. The few works that did include dedications, furthermore, employed Chinese era names from the Yuan period, adopted by the Goryeo kingdom late in its dynasty, further obfuscating for later commentators any links to a Korean production context. The earliest surviving attributions to these mostly anonymous works indicate that they were often thought to be by renowned Chinese masters of Buddhist painting; such misrecognitions were common until the twentieth century. Given the authority of Chinese cultural precedent in Japan, it is not surprising that most Korean works in Japanese collections were attributed from the seventeenth century onward to a small cluster of continental painters. Four proper names in particular appear with far more frequency than any others: Wu Daozi 吳道子, Zhang Sigong 張思恭, Xijin Chushi 西金居士, and Lu Xinzhong 陸信忠.²⁶ The process by which Goryeo icons came to be incorporated into the evolving Japanese canon of Chinese painting provides insight into the ways painting traditions were imagined in the premodern archipelago, and merits a brief excursus.

Candidates for Buddhist painting attributions were typically drawn from *Manual of the Shogunal Attendant* (J. *Kundaikan sōchōki* 君臺觀左右帳記, hereafter referred to as the *Kundaikan* manual), a connoisseurial guide to Chinese luxury objects and their display compiled by cultural advisors to the Ashikaga shogunate. Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, successive Ashikaga shoguns accumulated a variety of Chinese objects (J. *karamono* 唐物) used in elaborate display programs for shogunal guests.²⁷ Decorative arrangements of continental ceramics, lacquers, bronzes, and paintings allowed the shogunate to boast an alternative form of cultural refinement to that of the imperial court and aristocracy, while playing an important role in the gift economy of the medieval warrior elite. The collection was curated by three generations of cul-

tural advisors to the shogunate, the most famous of whom were Nōami 能阿弥 (1397–1471), his son Geiami 芸阿弥 (1431–1485), and his grandson Sōami 相阿弥 (d. 1525).²⁸ The Ami advisors initially compiled the *Kundaikan* manual as an internal reference for Ashikaga *chinoiserie* and display practices. In tandem with the decline of the shogunate and exodus of objects from its collection in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, however, the manual circulated widely as a codification of Ashikaga taste. Such was the aura of the Ashikaga cultural sphere that in later generations the *Kundaikan* would become the single most important model for interior display and connoisseurship of Chinese luxury imports among warrior and merchant tea circles.²⁹

Most relevant to the new identities accorded Goryeo Buddhist paintings is the portion of the *Kundaikan* known as the *Painter's List*, a brief compendium of the lives of Chinese painting masters throughout the ages. A typical entry from the *Kundaikan Painter's List* recorded the name of the Chinese painter followed by the subjects for which he was most well-known, thus oftentimes codifying a one-to-one correspondence between a given painter and subject. Although the *Painter's List* was based on Chinese painting texts, most prominently Xia Wenyan's 1365 *Precious Mirror of Painting* (C. *Tuhui baojian* 図繪寶鑑), it was augmented by shogunal advisors with names from signatures found on paintings in the shogunal collection or surrounding monasteries of Kyoto.³⁰ This manner of compilation led to the inclusion of Chinese painters otherwise forgotten on the continent, such as the heads of professional Buddhist painting studios from the Ningbo 寧波 region (present-day Zhejiang province). The port city of Ningbo was long an important waystation for foreign envoys and trade missions to China, as well as the seat of a flourishing Buddhist microculture. Its painting ateliers produced colorful multi-sectarian Buddhist subjects such as the Sixteen Arhats and Ten Hell Kings in large sets for local religious institutions, but these works were also taken back to the archipelago by pilgrim-monks and other Japanese visitors to the mainland.³¹ Ningbo Buddhist painters typically inscribed their names and even their studio addresses on their paintings, possibly as a form of advertisement.³² Not highly regarded according to normative literati aesthetic standards, these scrolls failed to be preserved or recorded by Chinese collectors. Because so many such works were imported to Japan from the twelfth to fourteenth century, however, it is only there that Ningbo painters and their craft have been remembered and appreciated. In all, the names of some thirteen painters from the region are known through inscription, and several found their way into the *Kundaikan Painter's List*, although misprisions could sometimes result in the creation of imaginary masters. In one case, that of Xijin Chushi 西金居士 (act. twelfth century), the names of two separate painters, Jin Dashu 金大受 and Jin Chushi 金處士, were mistak-

only assumed to refer to the same “Layman Jin” (Jin Chushi 金居士), a moniker derived from a misreading of the characters of the second name. The fictitious name was completed when a character (*xi* 西 or “west”) from the studio addresses listed in the two painters’ signatures was mistakenly assumed to be a part of their/his surname, thereby resulting in the illusory persona “Xijin Chushi.”³³

The *Kundaikan Painter’s List* thus came to serve as a source from which Chinese proper names were applied to hundreds of anonymous Goryeo paintings in Japanese collections. Some of these names, such as Wu Daozi, the legendary painter of monastic mural décor in the mid-Tang period, were prominently featured in all standard accounts of Chinese painting. Others, including Zhang Sigong, Xijin Chushi, and Lu Xinzong, resonated only in Japan. The attribution of anonymous Korean Buddhist paintings to obscure Chinese professional painters by Japanese connoisseurs points both to the fluid mobility of East Asian religious icons as well as the arbitrariness of the identities that could be projected onto them during the premodern era.³⁴

For later generations of Japanese connoisseurs, then, the subjectivity of Goryeo Buddhist painting was buried under the prestige of Chinese textuality and the cultural aura of the Ashikaga shogunate. Nationality was of less concern in the premodern period than the existence of an authoritative proper name, and by extension, genealogy or tradition, to which a painted icon could be linked. It would be a mistake to claim that there was no consciousness of Korean painting in Japan before the twentieth century, however. Early dedicatory inscriptions on the backs of Korean iconic scrolls occasionally make mention of their peninsular origins.³⁵ Unkoku-school painters in western Japan sometimes authenticated anonymous scrolls they came across as “Korean paintings” (J. Koma-e or Kōrai-e 高麗絵).³⁶ Furthermore, a text entitled *Lives of Korean Painters and Calligraphers* (J. *Chōsen shoga den* 朝鮮書画伝), said to be compiled by the literati painter Tani Bunchō 谷文晁 (1760–1841), was in circulation during the mid-nineteenth century.³⁷ Although this publication included entries mostly on scholar-officials who wielded the brush, it does include one Goryeo monk, Hyeheo 慧虚, whose name is found on a Buddhist painting that still survives, the *White-Robed Avalokiteśvara* of Sensōji Temple in Tokyo.³⁸ Nevertheless, Goryeo paintings entered the modern era continuing to be misrecognized as Chinese works, in some cases well into the twentieth century. Early articles introducing these icons in the prestigious art history journal *Kokka* 国華 consistently refer to them by their later continental attributions.³⁹ It is clear from these early twentieth-century publications that the legacy of the *Kundaikan Painter’s List* was still alive, and that early Korean hanging scrolls were being understood as works of Chinese manufacture. More specifically, they were increasingly being grouped under the rubric of the “Zhang Sigong



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2
Anonymous, *Peacock King*, late eleventh century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 167.1 x 102.6 cm. Ninnaji Temple, Kyoto, Japan.



3

3
Anonymous, *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 191.0 x 103.0 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., gift of Charles Lang Freer (F1906.269).

style” (J. *Chōshikyō yō* 張思恭樣) as earthy, overly decorative, or otherwise slightly unorthodox Chinese works to be contrasted with the naturalism and refinement of Buddhist paintings such as *The Peacock King* (fig. 2) or *Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara*, from Eihoji Temple, Gifu Prefecture.⁴⁰ Under the sway of this taxonomy, overseas collectors in the early years of the twentieth century often purchased Goryeo Buddhist paintings under the assumption that they were obtaining a scroll by a Chinese master. When *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (fig. 3) was purchased by Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919) in 1906, it bore an attribution to Zhang Sigong.⁴¹ The same label was applied to *Kṣitigarbha* (fig. 4), a work purchased by Henry O. Havemeyer in the early twentieth century.⁴² Although such misattributions were connoisseurial miscues adjusted by later generations of cognoscenti, at the time they directly reflected the manner in which East Asian painting history was being authored and understood. Thus the art historian Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908) reproduced both Freer’s abovementioned *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* and another work now known to be of Goryeo provenance, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (fig. 5), as representative works of “mystical Buddhist painting in China” in his *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art* of 1912. True to his reputation as a leading savant of his time, however, Fenollosa could not



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4
Anonymous, *Kṣitigarbha*,
fourteenth century, hanging scroll,
ink, colors, and gold on silk, 84.5 x
36.8 cm. Metropolitan Museum of
Art, New York.



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5
Anonymous, *Water-Moon
Avalokiteśvara*, fourteenth century,
hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold
on silk, 98.4 x 47.8 cm. Freer Gallery
of Art, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington D.C., gift of Charles
Lang Freer (F1904.13).

reconcile the obvious differences between such paintings and works of Ningbo origin such as the *Five Hundred Luohans of Daitokuji*—works that he admired so much.⁴³ He thus revised the attribution of the Freer *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* to that of a Song-period copy of an original by the early Tang master Yan Liben 閻立本, and already recognized in it attributes that would later be identified as signature characteristics of Goryeo Buddhist painting: “The flesh is of gold, always a feature of the Enriuhon [Yan Liben] type, and found thus combined with thick colouring in the costume down to later times in Northern work... The head-dress is built up into an elaborate tiara of coloured gems and flowers. But the peculiar feature of this type is the enshrouding of the whole body in an elaborate lace veil, painted in thin tones of cream over the heavy colours, and which hangs from the top of the tiara.”⁴⁴

The Birth of a Field

Over the course of the century, however, an awareness began to emerge among Japanese scholars that a group of scrolls scattered in various temple, museum, and private collections quite possibly reflected a tradition of early Buddhist painting distinct from that of the Jiangnan region. These works demonstrated certain

stylistic tics and iconographic commonalities that did not fit unproblematically under the rubric of Chinese painting. Furthermore, some of them bore inscriptions hinting at Korean origins, which suggested that a much larger group of anonymous works herded under the banner of Zhang Sigong in fact also originated from the peninsula. It was with this consciousness that the systematic investigation of Korean painting was launched and modern Japanese scholarship on Goryeo Buddhist painting was born. The remainder of this essay will be devoted to an interpretive survey of some of the most important studies and observations made since the inauguration of modern Japanese scholarship on Korean Buddhist painting. For the sake of convenience, it is useful to divide this history broadly into three stages, each culminating in a landmark publication that encapsulates its most important developments. The first stage (1932–67) is characterized by a dawning awareness of a distinct corpus of Korean Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections, as well as initial attempts to introduce and inventory it. The second phase (1967–81) witnesses a focus on the earliest and finest examples of peninsular religious painting from the Goryeo period. During this period a rough profile of the aesthetic and iconographic characteristics of Goryeo Buddhist painting is outlined. Fleshing out the framework established by these earlier periods, the third stage (1981–present) is characterized by a complexification of this profile through numerous contextual studies of individual scrolls or groups of paintings. While these stages are merely intended to provide an easy-to-follow narrative trajectory of Japanese historiography on early Korean Buddhist painting, they are nevertheless useful in highlighting the differing concerns that drove scholarly inquiry on this subject over the years. The changing nature of these concerns can be grasped through a closer look at each of these stages.

The systematic investigation of Korea's cultural heritage by Japanese scholars was a legacy of the colonial period (1910–45). Soon after the annexation of the peninsula, in October 1910, the Office of the Governor General of Korea (J. *Chōsen sōtokufu* 朝鮮総督府) initiated a thorough archaeological study of the Korean peninsula. The results of this survey were published in various multi-volume sets, and had the effect of raising awareness of Korean works in Japanese collections as well.⁴⁵ Sekino Tadashi 関野貞 (1868–1935), an archaeologist at Tokyo Imperial University and a leading figure in the government surveys, wrote in his 1932 *History of Korean Art* (J. *Chōsen bijutsushi* 朝鮮美術史) of the need to investigate systematically the existence of Korean Buddhist paintings in Japanese monastic collections. Here Sekino stated that he “would like to believe that the many Buddhist paintings in Japan that have been attributed to Zhang Sigong are [instead] by the hands of Goryeo painters.”⁴⁶ The proprietary claim that Japanese colonial-era scholars held on peninsular artistic traditions proved to be the earliest catalyst for

modern art-historical inquiry into Korean art.⁴⁷ The discursive framework within which such inquiry was carried out was fraught with ambivalence. On the one hand, Korean art was subsumed under a larger notion of Asian art, both a Western and Japanese colonial construct whose foundations were established by texts such as Okakura Tenshin's *Ideals of the East* (1903).⁴⁸ According to this notion, the aesthetic traditions of Asia were characterized by a spirituality that could be opposed to the rationality of its Western counterparts. On the other hand, Korean art became an exemplar of a simple, intuitive folk aesthetic, something that had been lost by Japan in its rush toward modernization. Along with the government-sponsored surveys of Korean archaeological remains, therefore, this was the era of Yanagi (Muneyoshi) Sōetsu's 柳宗悦 (1889–1961) championing of the anonymous Korean craftsman, “the unknown potter,” an imaginary representative of a distinct craft tradition for Japan's western neighbor.⁴⁹ From a buddhological perspective, an emerging consciousness of a distinct tradition of “Korean Buddhism” during the colonial period also provided a conceptual foundation for later research on Goryeo Buddhist painting.⁵⁰ Research on peninsular religion also began to focus on the study of sutra scrolls produced in Korea, early examples of which were found in abundance all over Japan.⁵¹

It was only after the end of World War II and peninsular occupation, however, that Japanese scholars systematically began to introduce early Korean works in Japanese collections.⁵² Of particular importance in the art-historical arena are studies by Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫, at the time a researcher at the National Institute for the Research of Cultural Properties in Tokyo. Kumagai's survey of Korean scrolls in 1967 inaugurated the systematic study of Korean Buddhist painting; as a culmination of several decades of slow and steady fieldwork in this genre, it caps the first phase of Japanese historiography.⁵³ The 1967 survey comments on each of seventy-five paintings that Kumagai believed could be of Korean manufacture, dating from the late thirteenth to the late sixteenth centuries. Kumagai's periodization implies that he believes that these works were brought to Japan largely because of Hideyoshi's campaigns of the 1590s, and he does not differentiate between Goryeo works and paintings from the first two centuries of the Joseon period. Kumagai makes several important observations in his 1967 article that bear repeating. He states that the reason why so little research has been carried out on early Korean Buddhist painting might be attributed to the biases of the *Goryeo sa*, the chronicle of Goryeo court history compiled by Confucian advisors to the Joseon court during the fifteenth century. The *Goryeo sa* is one of the few remaining primary sources for the study of the court during this period; because the officials who compiled it had a vested interest in minimalizing the role of Buddhism in court affairs, their editorial strategy appears to have been reflected in the

chronicle's laconic and minimal discussion of Goryeo Buddhist patronage and ritual among the royalty. In addition, Kumagai articulates some general visual characteristics of early Korean Buddhist paintings for the first time, including its chromatic distinctiveness vis-à-vis Chinese and Japanese works, and a tendency among Goryeo works toward stillness or lack of movement in the depiction of Buddhist icons.⁵⁴ The ultimate value of his study, however, lies in his first attempt at a systematic collation of available information; while Kumagai's outline would require much revision and expansion, it nevertheless established a foundation upon which all future scholars of Goryeo Buddhist painting could base their own efforts.⁵⁵

If Japanese scholarship up until Kumagai's 1967 study was characterized primarily by the urge to inventory, the decade-and-a-half that followed oversaw a sustained effort to define the representational characteristics of what had been inventoried. The focus narrowed to the Goryeo period, which had been fixed in the historical imaginary as the golden era of Buddhist art patronage on the peninsula. The introduction of newly discovered works continued to revise, in some cases dramatically, the horizon of knowledge concerning Goryeo Buddhist scrolls.⁵⁶ This steady stream of research paralleled a systematic survey of Chinese Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections overseen by Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬 of the University of Tokyo, which in excavating numerous works hidden in temple collections helped to significantly advance the understanding of continental religious painting in the Jiangnan region.⁵⁷ For the first time, a comparative perspective could be brought to bear on Buddhist painting in the East Asian region, with fields of production such as "Goryeo Buddhist painting," "Ningbo Buddhist painting," "Chan painting," and the "Yan Hui school" aligned within the same historical and taxonomic space. This was the approach taken in the landmark exhibition *Buddhist and Daoist Figure Paintings of the Yuan Dynasty*, held at the Tokyo National Museum in 1975.⁵⁸ Here for the first time East Asian Buddhist painting was conceived of not as a monolithic entity but as arising from a constellation of semi-discrete production contexts. In turn, the specificity of Korean iconography became the focus of attention, as some subjects appeared unique to the Goryeo kingdom while others represented peninsular variations on region-wide themes.⁵⁹ Many of these observations were on display in an exhibition devoted specifically to Goryeo Buddhist painting at the Yamato Bunkakan Museum in Nara in 1978, the first of its kind.⁶⁰ Bringing together most of the known Goryeo-period paintings and sutras in Japanese collections of the period into one museological presentation, the 1978 exhibition proved a revelation to many who were fortunate enough to view it; the art historian Jon Carter Covell was moved to declare that a "lost legacy has been returned to Korean art history."⁶¹

The real legacy of the Yamato Bunkakan exhibition, however, was the research catalogue published by its organizers three years later.⁶² Edited by Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志 and Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, this volume illustrated over ninety Goryeo paintings and included important research articles on Goryeo religion, the relationship between Goryeo painting and Chinese and Japanese Buddhist painting, iconography, inscriptions, and illustrated sutras.⁶³ By bringing together a variety of perspectives to bear on this growing body of paintings, the 1981 study succeeded in articulating for the first time the art historical parameters of “Goryeo Buddhist painting.” This genre was now understood to be a body of work dating from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, characterized by a select iconography, with a particular emphasis on subjects related to Pure Land belief: Amitabha, either alone, in a triadic arrangement, or surrounded by the Eight Great Bodhisattvas; Kṣitigarbha either single or accompanied by the Ten Hell Kings; and most popularly, Avalokiteśvara depicted in her mountain-island abode as the “Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara.” A growing menu of iconographic conventions (Kṣitigarbha’s head scarf, Avalokiteśvara’s transparent veil), representational mannerisms (golden flower roundels on red garments for *tathagata* deities, gold outlines and accents on rock formations), and technical habits (the use of gold ink to the exclusion of cut gold foil) distinguished it from Chinese or Japanese painting, as well as from later Korean painting of the Joseon period.⁶⁴ It was possible to itemize the pictorial qualities that distinguished this group of scrolls from those of nearby regions: general lack of emphasis on figural movement, large disparities in scale between main icons and accompanying figures, minimal emphasis on landscape or illusionistic space surrounding the icons, a palette balancing both strong reds with cool greens and blues, typically overlaid with a softly shimmering web of gold and shell white decoration. Once enumerated, the visual persona of early Korean Buddhist painting was turning out to be highly distinctive.

Crucial to the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting during this period was the examination and ordering of inscribed paintings, which served as nodes around which to situate other works. A small portion of the scrolls bear dated, gold-ink dedications by their patrons, the parsing of which helped to locate more precisely the spatial and temporal coordinates of the genre as a whole. Although the term “Goryeo Buddhist painting” implies a group of works that span the half-millennium encompassed by the Goryeo period, in fact the overwhelming majority of works date only from the last 120 years or so, from around 1270 to the fall of the dynasty in 1392. The only paintings preceding this era are a group of approximately a dozen scrolls depicting one arhat each, believed to be from an original set of *Five Hundred Arhats* on five hundred scrolls dating to the years 1235–36. These paintings are executed in an ink-and-light-color medium and are the only ink



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Anonymous, *Amitabha*, 1286,
hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold
on silk, 203.5 x 105.1 cm. Private
collection (formerly Shimazu
Collection), Japan.

paintings to have survived from the Goryeo period, providing a valuable record of the range of pictorial possibilities available in this period.⁶⁵ Yet *Five Hundred Arhats* is something of an anomaly, and instead it is a group of polychrome iconic images that have become touchstones for research in early Korean Buddhist painting. The earliest extant polychrome painting from the Goryeo corpus is *Standing Amitabha*, formerly in the Shimazu family collection, dated to 1286 (fig. 6). Aside from *Five Hundred Arhats* and the Shimazu *Amitabha*, eleven additional works bear dated inscriptions, including works now canonized as masterpieces of the genre; these include the 1306 *Amitabha*, the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (see fig. 1), the 1320 *Amitabha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (Matsuodera temple, Nara), the 1323 *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* (fig. 7), and the 1323 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*.⁶⁶ These and other dated works would form an axis along which formal and iconographic patterns would be mapped out in the coming years.

The inscriptions allow the proper names of painters and patrons to be linked to the mostly anonymous corpus of early Korean Buddhist painting, even if in many cases little is known about the inscribers.⁶⁷ In some of the dedications, such as the



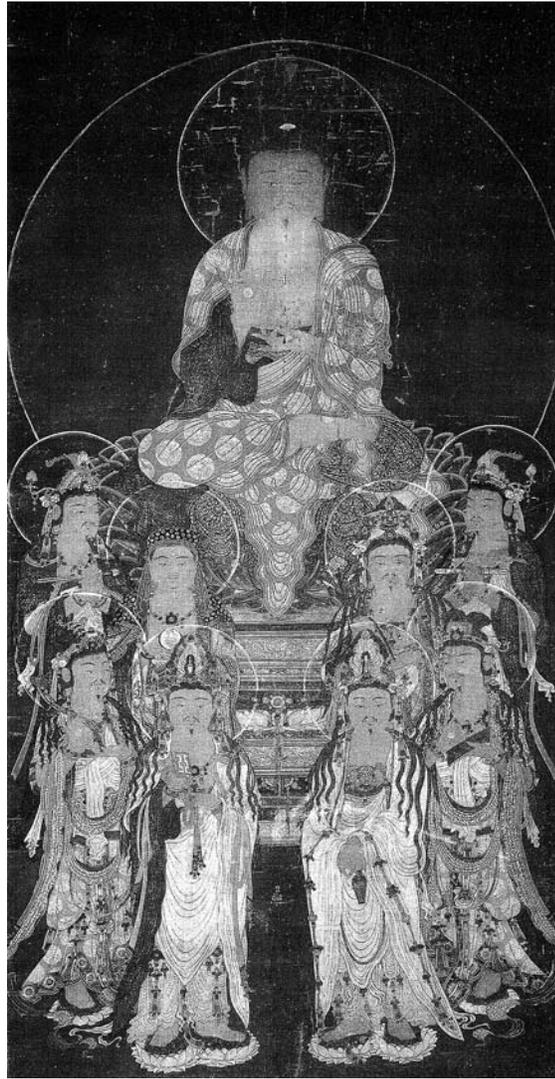
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Seolchung, *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra*, 1323, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 224.2 x 121.9 cm. Chion'in Temple, Kyoto, Japan.

one recorded for the monumental *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* of Kagami Shrine, as many as five painters are mentioned, of various ranks within the court academy, providing clues to the organization of the royal painting atelier.⁶⁸ Some of the patrons are well-known historical actors, such as Yeom Saeng-ik 廉承益 (?–1302) of the Shimazu *Amitabha*, a powerful retainer in the court of King Chungyeol 忠烈王 (1236–1308), and Queen Sukbi 淑妃 of the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*. Most, however, are obscure and have yet to be identified in other historical sources. Buddhist monks are involved in some commissions, members of the military elite and lay religious confraternities in others. Some of the names are also found on colophons to decorated sutras, providing tantalizing clues to the range of religious activity in which these obscure figures were involved.⁶⁹ The inscriptions also provide an understanding of the range of objectives that motivated the production of such paintings in the first place: the accrual of merit for oneself and one's ancestors, prevention of calamity and personal misfortune, longevity, childbirth, and so forth. Although from an East Asian perspective these goals are fairly standard ones for which to enlist the help of Buddhist icons, in some cases a localized Goryeo court context can be fleshed out.

Such investigations of local contexts are one of the primary thrusts of Japanese historiography on Goryeo Buddhist painting during its third stage (1981–present), which has brought into sharper focus the profile of the genre established in the 1970s. During this span, an increasing number of Korean scholars have joined Japanese researchers in exploring the local political contexts and iconographic idiosyncracies of the genre, while further articulating its visual parameters. Articles introducing newly discovered paintings and exhibition catalogues have continued to serve as the primary venues for reassessments of the genre as a whole,⁷⁰ culminating in a catalogue raisonné at the end of the century.⁷¹ Because the entire span of studies carried out in these decades cannot be done justice with a descriptive summary, instead three influential theses that have attempted to complexify the general picture of Goryeo Buddhist painting will be introduced.

The first concerns a cartography of three general production contexts for Goryeo Buddhist painting proposed by Kikutake Jun'ichi, professor emeritus of art history at Kyūshū University.⁷² Although his concerns in this genre are wide-ranging, Kikutake's greatest provocation to the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting may be his proposal that a stylistic analysis of the extant corpus reflects three production contexts: the Goryeo royal court, monasteries, and "commoner" (J. *minkan* 民間) patrons.⁷³ The proposed court style is represented by a string of dated works, including the 1286 Shimazu *Amitabha* (see fig. 6), the 1306 Nezu *Amitabha*, the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (see fig. 1), and the 1323 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*. All bear gold-ink inscriptions to the lower right and left that unambiguously link them to a court context.⁷⁴ As Kikutake points out, all share an interest in depicting their deities as heavily volumetric entities depicted in taut, controlled outlines and bright colors. In addition, they share a cluster of subtler representational techniques, such as those found in the face of the Shimazu *Amitabha* (see fig. 6): a "witch's peak," or slightly pointed arch in the middle of the hairline above the forehead, and three thin, horizontal lines separating the upper and lower lips, two black lines on the side and a red cinnabar line in the middle. Kikutake's monastic style, meanwhile, is represented by works with inscriptions indicating the participation of monks such as the 1312 *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* (Dai'onji Temple), the 1320 *Amitabha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (fig. 8), and *Sakyamuni Triad with Ananda and Kasyapa*. As witnessed in these three works, the monastic style tends toward contraction with a crowded distribution of figures and depiction of motifs, an even more meticulous attention to decorative patterns than usual, and a somber palette. Also lacking are the subtle finishing touches to facial representation characteristic of court-related works. Finally, Kikutake's commoner style is represented by the *Amitabha* triptych now divided between the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Seikadō Art Museum in



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 Anonymous, *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, 1320, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 177.3 x 91.2 cm. Mitsuodera Temple, Nara Prefecture, Japan.

Tokyo. This denomination is characterized by deities with triangular heads and sharp facial features, pointed fingernails and lotus throne petals, a sensitivity to nuances in pose, and a generally cool chromatic palette.

In the absence of further clues linking Goryeo paintings to specific production contexts, Kikutake's tripartite scheme has the merit of providing an initial visual taxonomy of studio styles. In doing so, it diversifies the one-dimensional image of early Korean Buddhist painting established in earlier periods, adding wrinkles to any easy assumptions of a unified Goryeo style. Yet the idea of three patronage regimes corresponding to three differing types of iconic figuration is not entirely unproblematic. One inadequacy of Kikutake's categorization is its assumption of a stable national identity for the corpus of paintings it takes as its subject. As will be discussed below, recently a Chinese origin has been claimed for many of the works categorized as the commoner style, suggesting the need for a much wider geographical purview when mapping visual discrepancies onto nodes of studio production. From an institutional perspective, furthermore, it is unclear to what degree the court can be separated from the monastic community, especially from the largest and most prestigious Buddhist temples, when it

comes to the sponsorship of ritual and its attendant paraphernalia; the question of nonseparation extends to the “commoner” realm as well, for many members of the Goryeo elite formed lay confraternities (such as the numerous White Lotus societies) that sponsored the production of their own luxury icons.⁷⁵ Until a more nuanced institutional landscape for the patronage of Buddhist artifacts can be articulated, taxonomies of Goryeo Buddhist painting based upon the positing of discrete production contexts will have to remain provisional.

A second notable attempt during the last two decades to introduce variation to the general profile of Goryeo Buddhist painting concerns the question of stylistic change over time. Despite the brevity of the span (just over a century) during which most Goryeo paintings were produced, Chung Woothak 鄭于澤 has proposed a framework for charting a shift in pictorial qualities between the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁷⁶ Whereas Kikutake’s idea of a triad of iconic styles was synchronic, Chung’s developmental schema is diachronic. His proposals concerning stylistic change can be found in his important 1990 publication *Studies in Amitabha Painting of the Goryeo Period*.⁷⁷ Through an analysis of six different Amitabha-related painting themes, Chung offers a variety of new perspectives concerning Goryeo Buddhist painting, but discussion will be limited here to his thesis that Goryeo painting underwent a stylistic shift sometime around 1300 from a more naturalistic mode of representation to a greater emphasis on the decorative dimension.⁷⁸ Chung’s proposal provides the first narrative of stylistic change in this genre, and to this extent merits close attention. The trajectory of this change is difficult to follow fully because of the dearth of dated material, but the volumetricity and pliancy of pose in the earliest dated works such as the 1286 Shimazu *Amitabha* (see fig. 6) and the 1306 Nezu *Amitabha* do indeed distinguish them from most of the other members of the Goryeo corpus. A comparison of two almost identical works of the same subject, *Maitreya Waiting to Descend*, one datable to the early fourteenth century (fig. 9) and the other from 1350, also demonstrates a tendency towards flatness and decorative emphasis in the later painting. This difference, however, might be articulated in a less hierarchical manner, not as one between naturalism and stylization, for most Goryeo paintings evince a similar degree of nonconcern for illusionistic space. In most Buddhist painting, furthermore, the priority placed on representation of a given deity’s iconicity makes a certain flatness inevitable. Instead, the slow and steady transformation of the pictorial effects of Goryeo icons might be viewed in terms of certain representational habits that change over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Earlier works, for example, successfully create a magical “glow” for the flesh of buddhas and bodhisattvas by applying white pigment to the back of the silk so that it shows through the warp and woof of the surface in muted fashion, modeled from



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9
Anonymous, *Maitreya Waiting to Descend*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 121.8 x 92.1 cm. Chion'in Temple, Kyoto, Japan.



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Anonymous, *Kṣitigarbha*, late thirteenth or fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 100.7 x 72.4 cm. Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., anonymous gift (S1992.11).

the front in soft red- and yellow-toned pigments. Indeed, this pigmentation of the underside is characteristic of Buddhist painting across East Asia in the premodern period. Later Goryeo paintings, on the other hand, tend to apply a uniformly mat gold paint to signify the deity's flesh, heightening the hieratic quality of the image. This difference can be witnessed in two otherwise similar depictions of a standing Kṣitigarbha, one in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (fig. 10) and the other in the Tokugawa Museum. While neither is dated, the former successfully conjures up the sense of a life-force emanating from the bodhisattva, whereas the golden body of the latter conveys an impression of abstraction, iconic otherworldliness, and distance from the viewer. Whether this distinction is the result of chronological placement requires further study, but based upon a comparison with dated works, the Sackler *Kṣitigarbha* was most likely painted much earlier than the Tokugawa version. Rather than implying a closer proximity to natural models in earlier Goryeo painting, then, Chung's stylistic chronology might be further enriched by articulating such change in terms of differences in technical conventions and painterly habitudes that might in turn be linked to priorities placed on an icon's visual appearance in certain ritual contexts.



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 Anonymous, *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas*, thirteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 175.9 x 87.1 cm. Fudō in Temple, Hiroshima Prefecture, Japan.

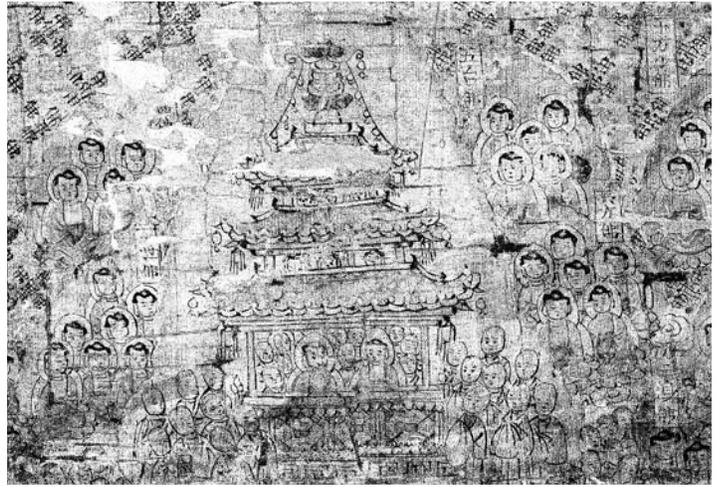
As opposed to the two theses surveyed above, the third attempt to parse the Goryeo corpus for difference discussed here concerns the theological underpinnings of icon production. Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, who has pursued research on Goryeo Buddhist painting from a variety of vantage points, has called attention to the subtle but pervasive doctrinal influence of the *Flower Garland Sutra* (*Avatamsaka Sutra*).⁷⁹ Previously there had been a tendency in the Japanese scholarly community to view Amitabha-related subjects in Goryeo Buddhist painting from an archipelagic religious perspective. This outlook tended to conceptualize Pure Land belief through the ideas of such ecclesiastical figures as Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212) and Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1262), later claimed as founders of the Pure Land and True Pure Land sects respectively. According to this understanding, belief in the Amitabha Buddha and his paradise were imagined primarily through what were known as the “Three Pure Land sutras” (*J. jōdo sanbukyō* 浄土三部経).⁸⁰ Thus many Japanese pictorializations of Amitabha-related imagery were based on the textual foundation provided by these sutras. Ide’s observations concerning the subterranean influence of the *Flower Garland Sutra*, however, has opened up possibilities for the doctrinal recalibration of a wide variety of Goryeo paintings on Amitabha-related subjects.⁸¹

As the longest and one of the philosophically densest texts in the Buddhist canon, the *Flower Garland Sutra* circulated in three different Chinese translations



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12
Detail, fig. 11.



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13
Detail, fig. 11.

throughout East Asia, where it exerted a profound influence on various doctrinal communities, arguably serving as a basis for its own “school.” In the Goryeo kingdom it played a crucial role as the foundation for the reconciliation of the two most important Buddhist sects, the Kyo 教 (textual) and Son 禪 (meditative) schools.⁸² Claiming to represent the Buddha’s first sermon after achieving enlightenment, this sutra preached the “infinite interfusion” of all phenomena, the interrelatedness of all worlds, the fact that all beings were manifestations of Vairocana or the Cosmological Buddha. This ecumenical approach made the text a suitable vehicle for the reconciliation of competing doctrinal interpretations of the Buddha’s word. Its influence on Goryeo Buddhist painting had previously been noted in the prevalence of Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara images, which can in part be traced to the story of Sudhana’s pilgrimage recounted in the last chapter of the *Flower Garland Sutra*.⁸³ Yet Ide argued that it also served as the doctrinal basis for paintings such as the Shimazu *Amitabha* (see fig. 6); there, the painting represents Amitabha already in his Pure Land abode, as witnessed by the lotus pond at bottom, gesturing towards his left, in which direction lies the Flower Garland (K. Hwaom 華嚴) world. This gesture accords with the interpretation in the *Flower Garland Sutra* of the Amitabha Pure Land as a waystation or gateway towards the Hwaom Universe, which subsumes it, and clarifies the previously poorly-understood inscription on the Shimazu *Amitabha*, which in fact cites one version of the sutra itself. This radical reinterpretation of the Amitabha Pure Land as the antechamber to the Hwaom world situates it as merely the *penultimate* goal of the believer. The pictorialization of this unusual doctrine is unknown outside of Goryeo Buddhist painting.

The unique pictorial imprint of the *Flower Garland Sutra* can also be witnessed in *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas* (fig. 11), a painting that ranks among the most graceful and dizzyingly virtuosic works in the Goryeo corpus.⁸⁴ The deity that serves as its protagonist sits in a relaxed pose, with knees crossed, looking to his upper right. The title derives from the four-character inscription, “Fifteen Thousand Buddhas,” found on the top band of mounting. Close examination reveals that the painting is indeed composed of thousands of tiny Buddhas, atomistically filling not only the deity itself, but the space surrounding him, and even the mounting, which is completely covered by this teeming multitude (figs. 12 and 13). The



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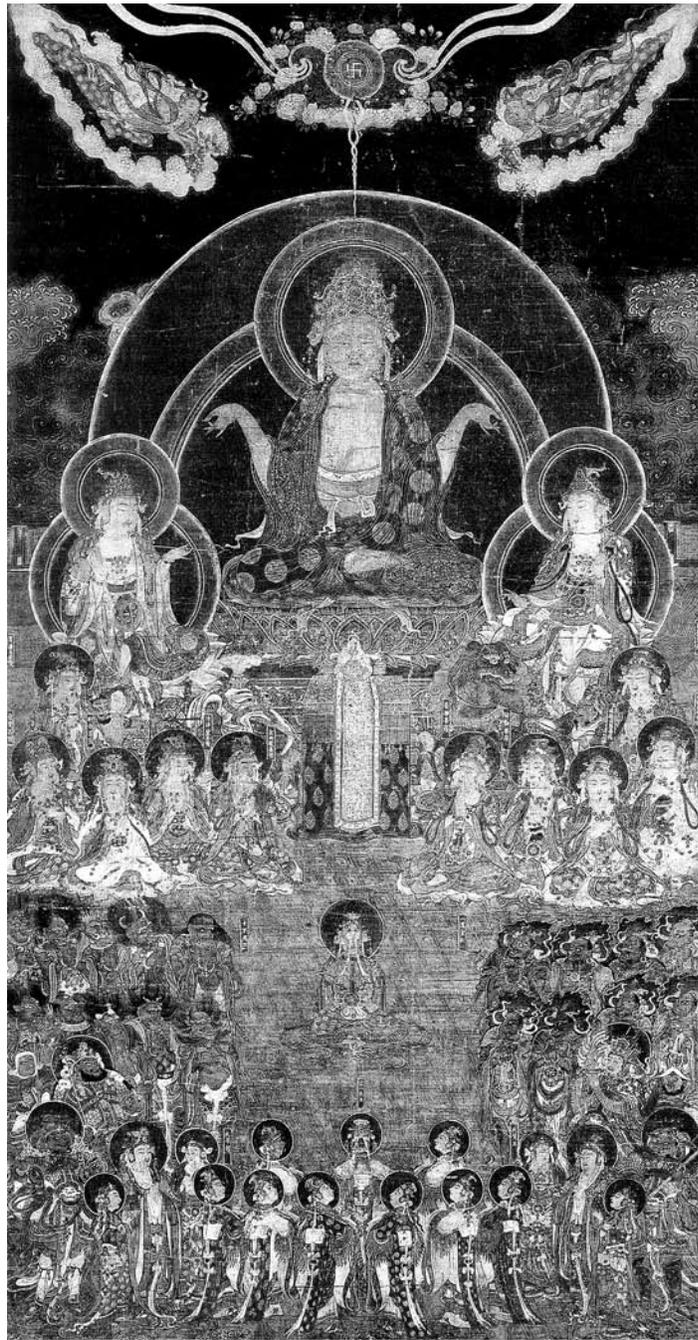
Anonymous, *Long-Sashed Avalokiteśvara*, early fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 69.6 x 31.5 cm. Kokuseiji Temple, Kyoto, Japan.

pointillistic representation might be traced back to distant precedents in Chinese sculptural representations of Vairocana made under the influence of the *Flower Garland Sutra*, such as the Cosmological Buddha in the Freer Gallery of Art. Yet the identity of the deity in *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas* is ambiguous; continental precedents suggest Vairocana as a suitable candidate, but X-ray photos reveal that a small deity is present in its crown, reflecting an iconographic feature of Avalokiteśvara. Furthermore, the relaxed pose also cites a famous template for Avalokiteśvara's representation by the eleventh-century Chinese painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (1146–1101), as reflected for example in an early fourteenth-century Japanese painting (fig. 14).⁸⁵ Rather than representing one or the other, the deity of *Fifteen Thousand Buddhas* might reflect the idea that both deities are manifestations of one another. This twinning of Vairocana and Avalokiteśvara ultimately reflects a sophisticated interpretation of the *Flower Garland Sutra* at the visual register. Not just limited to these unique instances, the imprint of the *Flower Garland Sutra* is also found in more subtle ways in the *śrivastas* (auspicious Indian symbols) found on the chests and *cakras* (dharma wheels) on the palms of many Goryeo deities; these are marks of the Vairocana that, by being branded upon other members of the Buddhist pantheon, visually signal the interconnectedness

of all of these deities as manifestations of the Vairocana. In this way, Ide's work has greatly complexified received understandings of the doctrinal underpinnings of the Goryeo corpus and brought about an awareness that even minor details of a deity's accoutrement can provide clues to the textual and iconographic basis for a given representation. The observation that the *Flower Garland Sutra* functioned as a centrifuge for new visual articulations of doctrine serves as a model for the future refinement and diversification of the relationship between text and image in Goryeo painting.

The Symptoms of Japanese Provenance

An examination of iconographic parameters provides a useful starting point for a discussion of how to assess modern Japanese scholarship on Goryeo Buddhist painting. Because of its unusual afterlife, early Korean religious painting was first studied primarily in Japan, where the overwhelming majority of extant works continues to be located. As research in this field globalizes, however, it is worthwhile to pause and ask the question: What has been the imprint, if any, of archipelagic transmission on Japanese historiography in this field? Are there genealogies of thought within Japanese scholarly communities with an interest in Goryeo Buddhist painting that both open up possibilities and impose blindneses? In retrospect, it is possible to point out several assumptions within these communities that are coming under increasing stress. The first is the tendency, just discussed, to center the iconographic parameters of Goryeo Buddhist painting narrowly upon Pure Land-related themes. At first glance this appears to be a legitimate approach, given the preponderance of Amitabha-related images and pictorializations of Kṣitigarbha and Avalokiteśvara, which are closely linked to Amitabha and Pure Land belief. Pure Land belief, however, can be a rather slippery historical phenomenon to pin down, one that oftentimes existed not so much as an institutional entity in itself but as an important component of larger belief systems. Such is also the case with Goryeo Buddhism writ large, an umbrella term that covers a highly diverse grouping of Buddhist sects and beliefs. Although the religious infrastructure of the kingdom was dominated by the Kyo and Son sects, their entrenchment did not preclude sustained interest in the *Flower Garland Sutra* and *Lotus Sutra*, esotericism, Tibetan Lamaism, and Amitabha Pure Land belief.⁸⁶ Within this rich matrix of Buddhist doctrines and cultic centers, different groups and confraternities could rally around one or another doctrinal node, and commission rituals and appropriate icons accordingly.⁸⁷ While in the last decade art historians have done a great deal to nuance the understanding of late Goryeo religion that lay behind the production of painting, certainly more can be done in this sphere. Further study is necessary of the



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 Anonymous, *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra*, fourteenth century, hanging scroll, ink, colors, and gold on silk, 165.0 x 85.0 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

iconographically most unique examples of Goryeo painting, such as the *Perfect Enlightenment Sutra* (fig. 15)⁸⁸ or the group of paintings previously interpreted as the goddess Marici.⁸⁹ At the same time, a more textured approach to the critical mass of Pure Land-related material will yield further insights into the complexities of peninsular belief in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A second tendency in Japanese historiography concerns the inclination to link the iconography of Goryeo Buddhist painting directly to precedents found in wall paintings of the Mogao Grottoes near Dunhuang. The four hundred and some painted cave-shrines in these grottoes preserve what amounts to an encyclopedia of Buddhist iconography, both sculptural and pictorial, and almost any later

representation of Buddhist teachings can be linked in some way to this archive. Because Japan has a long tradition of Dunhuang scholarship dating back to the early twentieth-century Ōtani journeys to the Silk Road, moreover, many Japanese commentators have found it natural to link the Goryeo iconography directly to Central Asian precedents.⁹⁰ Particularly attractive was the idea of a “northern route” for the transmission of iconographic variations that did not become widespread on the mainland. A good example of this northern transmission of Buddhist iconography from Dunhuang to Goryeo is the theme of the “hooded Kṣitigarbha.” The Japanese Dunhuang scholar Matsumoto Ei’ichi 松本栄一 (1900–1984) was the first to study systematically this iconography in 1932, and traced its depiction to a local Dunhuang legend concerning the monk Daoming 道明, who dreamt that he had been wrongly taken to hell and was only saved by the intercession of Kṣitigarbha, who wore a head scarf resembling a bandana.⁹¹ Matsumoto noted that this oneiric vision of Kṣitigarbha was represented in numerous paintings in the Dunhuang and Turfan grottoes, and that a substantial number can also be witnessed among Goryeo paintings, although not in China or Japan.⁹² This observation has led many commentators since to posit a special relationship between these two Buddhist cultures, perhaps mediated by northern kingdoms such as the Liao. The idea of a special relationship is attractive in that it minimizes the role of direct continental precedent, thereby enhancing the independence of peninsular pictorial tradition from Chinese influence and allowing for the assertion of a more distinctive aesthetic identity for Goryeo art; it has thus served as a catalyst for scholars to seek other iconographic linkages. Some of the proposed iconographic relationships, however, are clearly tenuous. There is a great deal that is still unclear about Buddhist iconography in continental China during the Song and Yuan periods, when the Goryeo court had extensive ties with the mainland.⁹³ The hooded Kṣitigarbha iconography, for example, has recently been found to exist all throughout the continent and East Asia, including the Beishan grotto-shrines of China’s southwestern Sichuan province, paintings produced in the workshops of Ningbo, and in Japanese iconographic compilations.⁹⁴ Although more intensive study of these relationships is necessary, the current understanding of iconographic distribution in East Asian Buddhist art already indicates that the idea of an exclusively northern route of transmission is untenable.

A third pattern that emerges from a survey of Japanese historiography on Goryeo Buddhist painting is a tendency, once consciousness of this field emerged in the postwar period, to reattribute overenthusiastically those paintings that did not easily fit with prevalent notions of Chinese naturalism to a Korean production context. The nationalities of numerous paintings have been thus debated, oscillating between China and Korea depending upon the criteria employed to define



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16
 Anonymous, *Amitabha Pure Land*,
 1183, hanging scroll, ink, colors,
 and gold on silk, 150.5 x 92.0 cm.
 Chion'in Temple, Kyoto, Japan.

both categories on each occasion. Perhaps the most celebrated such case is the 1183 *Amitabha Pure Land* of Chion'in Temple in Kyoto (fig. 16). This painting had long been treasured as one of the few dated Southern Song works in Japanese collections, but in 1991 the Chinese painting scholar Toda Teisuke 戸田禎佑 published an article arguing that it was a twelfth-century Korean painting.⁹⁵ Toda's primary reason was visual; it did not seem to possess the kind of illusionistic space typical of Southern Song painting, found even in the most iconic Buddhist paintings of the continent.⁹⁶ Subsequently, other scholars and publications have counterargued on both stylistic and iconographic grounds that the *Amitabha Pure Land* is indeed a product of China's Jiangnan region.⁹⁷ Yet Toda's rationale in arguing for a Korean origin exposes the tenacity of concepts such as national style, as well as the subjective and in some cases arbitrary standards by which such shibboleths are applied.

Another revealing debate surrounding the nationality of a Buddhist painting concerns a set of *Ten Hell Kings* scrolls in the Seikadō Museum in Tokyo. This set of thirteen scrolls consisting of the ten hell kings, Kṣitigarbha, and two messengers had long been considered to be of Chinese origin among most Japanese scholars, but in 1999 Cheeyun Kwon, a scholar trained in the United States, published a dissertation arguing for its Korean origins.⁹⁸ Kwon asserts that this unique set was made in the mid-Goryeo period for mortuary rituals at the royal court; she



17

17
 Anonymous, *Hell King (Yama)*,
 fourteenth century, hanging scroll,
 ink, colors, and gold on silk, 143.5 x
 55.9 cm. Seikadō Museum, Tokyo,
 Japan.

describes the incorporation of Ten Kings belief into Goryeo court ritual cosmology during the twelfth century and mobilizes a wide array of iconographic comparisons to make her argument. The Japanese scholar Miyazaki Noriko 宮崎法子 has since made a case for a Chinese attribution, leaving the Seikadō Ten Kings in a suspended state of dual citizenship until its fate is determined.⁹⁹ In similar fashion, the geographic origins of other paintings have also been contested; Ide Seinosuke has recently questioned the long-accepted attribution of a group of paintings to the Goryeo period, including a famous trio of works now split between the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Seikadō Museum (fig. 17).¹⁰⁰ Such debates might be viewed as a symptom of the lack of a nuanced understanding of regional Chinese painting styles and conventions, which have yet to be explored in any depth. Ultimately, the identity politics of Goryeo Buddhist painting reveal that the study

of this field is an interregional enterprise, with progress hinging on simultaneous localized research into continental, peninsular, and archipelagic sources and contexts. Only then will the larger mosaic of East Asian Buddhist painting and its various constituent fields take shape.

Future Vectors

As we have seen, the nationalities of a number of East Asian Buddhist paintings are still in flux, awaiting clarification through future acts of art historical repatriation. In concluding this essay, I would like to propose, along with interregional inquiry, several other avenues of research that may prove fruitful in years to come. The first involves studies of the ritual contexts for Goryeo Buddhist painting. Recent interdisciplinary explorations into the nature of the East Asian Buddhist icon have greatly textured the understanding of the signifying potential of such objects.¹⁰¹ Similar investigations in the Goryeo context might include not only cataloguing the range of possible ritual manuals and liturgies for Buddhist paintings, but also reconstructing the architectural environments and spatial settings for their use.¹⁰² Such localized studies will serve to deepen the current understanding of the role of Goryeo icons in a given ritual program and help to articulate differences in function between them and Buddhist scrolls in other East Asian contexts.¹⁰³

Another promising frontier in the field of Goryeo Buddhist painting is the study of its technical and physical characteristics through conservation and scientific research. The art-historical potential of the knowledge produced in conservation has only recently been recognized in the sphere of East Asian Buddhist painting.¹⁰⁴ The many technical observations that become possible when a scroll is repaired and remounted can provide insights into the unique pictorial effects found in numerous early peninsular works. Already there is some understanding of the specific materiality of early Korean scrolls, such as in Pak Youngsook's observation that the darkened silks of many Goryeo Buddhist paintings may result from the fact that they were originally dyed a pale tea color.¹⁰⁵ Scientific pigment analysis should add to the mineralogical understanding of these works and provide possible explanations for the haunting diaphaneity of the best Goryeo painting. In this regard, recent nondestructive photographic techniques for pigment analysis carried out by Shirono Seiji 城野誠治 at the National Institute for the Research of Cultural Properties, Tokyo, have already yielded new insights into the diversity of the Goryeo painting palette and the sheer complexity of pigmentation techniques in the royal atelier.¹⁰⁶

Other vectors in the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting might involve its relationship to later Buddhist painting of the Joseon period. It was common until recently to assume a break between Buddhist painting production in the late

Goryeo and early Joseon periods. Because painted icons of the Joseon period display a heavy Tantric influence, changed iconographic program, and radically different pictorial qualities, this hiatus was easy to posit. The assumption of a gap in production, however, also originated from preconceived notions concerning the fate of Buddhism after dynastic transition. Standard narratives recount that Buddhism was largely suppressed under the new Korean kings, when it became the target of critique by increasingly powerful NeoConfucian factions at court. Yet the status of Korean Buddhist institutions during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is much more complex than such accounts would have; the degree to which individual rulers embraced the religion and believed in the efficacy of Buddhist ritual fluctuated dramatically, and the fate of institutionalized Buddhism was often prey to court factionalism and international diplomatic conditions.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the fall of the Goryeo dynasty does not seem to have affected the quantity of Buddhist patronage all that much, as there are numerous examples of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century court-commissioned Buddhist paintings in Japan and elsewhere. Because the iconographic and stylistic features of this group of later works is still poorly understood, the precise nature of the continuities and discontinuities between Goryeo and early Joseon painted icons remains to be articulated. It could be that many works assumed to be from the late Goryeo in fact belong to a later court context.¹⁰⁸

Because the legacy of Goryeo Buddhist painting extends beyond Korea itself, however, another research arena of great interregional significance is the reception and influence of early Korean Buddhist painting in the Japanese archipelago. Aside from tracing the various routes by which these works entered Japanese collections, it is worthwhile to explore the iconographic adjustments and new representational ideas that these works introduced to archipelagic painting practice. It has previously been asserted that the influx of Goryeo Buddhist painting was of very little consequence to the development of Japanese painting practice, due to a paucity of obvious similarities between the two traditions.¹⁰⁹ Yet further investigation could revise this notion. Not only are a growing number of Japanese copies of Goryeo works being discovered,¹¹⁰ but Goryeo painted icons, like their continental counterparts, appear to have served as models for the production of Japanese sculpture. Chinese painting, easier to transport than sculpture, sometimes provided iconographic models for Japanese sculpture during the Kamakura period, such as in the case of the famous *Amitabha Triad* sculpture in Jōdoji Temple (Hyōgo Prefecture), which was based on a Chinese painting that the monk Chōgen 重源 (1121–1206) had in his possession.¹¹¹ Paintings such as the Amitabha images in the former Shimazu and Hagiwaradera Temple collections may have inspired a highly unique iconographic variation on Amitabha in Japanese sculpture, the “Amitabha look-

ing over his shoulder,” of which several examples are known.¹¹² Such instances are of interest in demonstrating the transposition of iconic images from two to three dimensions, and from one medium and set of materials to another, with all of the representational resourcefulness that this entailed. Future investigations may uncover such pictorial translations within Japanese painting as well. Ultimately, however, the lasting traces of the relocation of Goryeo icons are to be sought not in direct models, but in the details, that is to say, the new technical prescriptions and representational traits they inaugurated in Japan. The Goryeo tendency to outline rocks in gold and add gold-ink highlights to their edges, for example, is a feature that begins to appear in fourteenth-century Japanese works, very possibly a symptom of Korean influence. The signification of such gold-ink modeling in Japanese painting seems, however, to oscillate between its assumed original function as the representation of moonlight to a glowing mineralogical accoutrement that heightens the otherworldliness of the setting. Along with iconographic drift, it is the mobility of such visual habits, trademarks, and automatisms that make Goryeo Buddhist painting such an intriguing subject in East Asian art. The subterranean influence of Goryeo Buddhist painting in the archipelago, of which traces can be discerned but which remains largely unexcavated, is one important component of the interregional artistic and religious cross-pollination that characterizes East Asia during this period. One hopes that further study of Goryeo painted icons by an international community of scholars will elevate them to their rightful place alongside the most visually sophisticated artifacts of Buddhist culture anywhere.

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NOTES

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1. Recent publications include Kumja Paik Kim, ed., *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment, 918–1392* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2003), and *Kokka* 1313 (March 2005).
2. For a general introduction to Goryeo Buddhism, see Lewis R. Lancaster, Kikun Suh, and Chai-Shin Yu, eds., *Buddhism in Koryo: A Royal Religion* (Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1996); and Robert E. Buswell, Jr., “The Koryo Period,” in *Buddhist Spirituality II: Later China, Korea, Japan, and the Modern World*, ed. Takeuchi Yoshinori (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1999), 79–108.
3. See Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *Tracing Back the Radiance: Chinul's Korean Way of Zen* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992).
4. See Ahn Kai-hyon, “Publication of Buddhist Scriptures in the Koryo Period,” in *Buddhist Culture in Korea*, ed. International Cultural Foundation (Seoul: International Cultural Foundation, 1974), 81–95; Lewis R. Lancaster, “The Buddhist Canon in the Koryo Period,” in *Buddhism in the Early Choson; Suppression and Transformation*, ed. Lewis R. Lancaster and Chai-Shin Yu (Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1996), 173–92; Buswell, “The Koryo Period,” 103–6.
5. On the fate of Buddhist institutions in the early Joseon period see Han U-gun, “Policies Toward Buddhism in Late Koryo and Early Choson,” in Lancaster and Yu, *Buddhism in the Early Choson*.
6. On Hideyoshi's military campaigns against Korea see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1982), 207–17 and 232–34; Karl W. Eikenberry, “The Imjin War,” in *Military Review* 68.2 (February 1988): 74–82.
7. For the importance of the Hideyoshi campaigns on Japanese ceramic history see Louise Allison Cort, “Korean Influence in Japanese Ceramics: The Impact of the Teabowl Wars of 1592–1598,” in *Ceramics and Civilization, Volume II: Technology and Style*, ed. W.D. Kingery (Columbus, Ohio: The American Ceramics Society, Inc., 1986), 331–62.
8. See Yoshida Hiroshi, “Bunroku Keichō no eki to Chōsen butsuga,” *Kikan Seikyū* 15 (February 1993): 10–12. *Dragon and Tiger*, a pair of scrolls by the Korean ink painter I Jeong 李☆ (1578–1607) now in the Koryo Art Museum in Japan, was also probably brought to the archipelago during the Hideyoshi wars. Their presence in Japan is recorded by the Japanese painter Kano Tan'yū in the seventeenth century. See Ide Seinosuke, “Ritei hitsu Ryūko zu ni tsuite,” *Yamato bunka* 75 (March 1986): 29–38.
9. The painting is believed to date to the late fourteenth century. Concerning the box inscription and its possible veracity, see Kikutake Jun'ichi, “Kōrai jidai no nehan hensō zu – Kagawa Jōtokuji-bon o chūshin ni,” *Yamato bunka* 80 (September 1988): 17–35. Takeda Kazuaki, “Kagawa Jōtokuji no nehan hensō zu ni tsuite – sono seiritsu to Chōfukuji-bon to no kankei o chūshin to shite,” *Bukkyō*

- geijutsu* 196 (1991): 11–37, has argued that the Saikyōji work is a Japanese painting of the fourteenth century.
10. On Japanese pirates, see Ishihara Michihiro, *Wakō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964); Murai Shōsuke, *Ajia no nake no chūsei Nihon* (Tokyo: Azekura shobō, 1988); and Kanaya Masato, *Kaizoku tachi no chūsei* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1998).
 11. See Kawazoe Shōji, “Japan and East Asia,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan, vol. 3: Medieval Japan*, ed. Kozo Yamamura (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 405.
 12. See Kenneth R. Robinson, “Centering the King of Choson: Aspects of Korean Maritime Diplomacy, 1392–1592,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 59.1 (February 2000): 109–25.
 13. See Kageki Hideo, *Kunchū Kūge nichiyō kōfu ryakushū* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1982), 162. Gidō records the bell’s inscription, which indicates that it is the same bell, cast in 1375, now located in Hō’onji. Cited in Kusui Takashi, “Kōrai Chōsen bukkō bijutsu denrai kō,” *Kōrai Richō no bukkō bijutsu ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, 1997), 96.
 14. The inscription was subsequently removed from the scroll’s surface. See Hirata Yutaka, “Kagami jinja shozō Yōryū Kannon gazō saikō,” *Yamato bunka* 72 (February 1984): 1–14.
 15. See Kenneth R. Robinson, “From Raiders to Traders: Border Security and Border Control in Early Choson, 1392–1450,” *Korea Studies* 16 (1992): 94–115.
 16. Ide Seinosuke raises this possibility in relation to a *nirvana* painting found in Gokurakuji Temple on the island of Naoshima (present-day Kagawa Prefecture) in the Inland Sea; the temple was patronized by the Murakami. Ide formerly believed that the *nirvana* painting was Korean, but later published it as a Chinese fourteenth-century work. See his “Zuhan kaisetsu Kagawa Gokurakuji shozō Butsunehan zu,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 346 (March 1990): 224–33; *Nihon no Sōgen butsuga*, Vol. 418 in *Nihon no bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2001), 73–74.
 17. The following section is indebted to Robinson, “Centering the King of Choson,” and Kenneth R. Robinson, “Treated as Treasures: The Circulation of Sutras in Maritime Northeast Asia from 1388 to the Mid-Sixteenth Century,” *East Asian History* 21 (June 2001): 33–54.
 18. For a comprehensive survey of Korean bells in Japanese collections, see Tsuboi Ryōhei, *Chōsenshō* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1974).
 19. This incident is recorded in an entry on 10.13, 1443 of the *Sejong silok* (102: 6b–8a), cited in Robinson, “Treated as Treasures,” 41.
 20. See Kenneth R. Robinson, “The Imposter Branch of the Hatakeyama Family and Japanese-Choson Korea Court Relations, 1455–1580s,” *Asian Cultural Studies* 25 (1999): 67–88.
 21. Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukkō bijutsu.”
 22. See the entry for 11.1467 of the *Sejo silok*, v. 44. Cited in Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukkō bijutsu,” 108.
 23. Entry for 11.1422 of the *Sejong silok*, v. 18. Cited in Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukkō bijutsu,” 108.
 24. Entry for 2.1464 of the *Sejo silok*, v. 11. Cited in Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukkō bijutsu,” 108.
 25. See Kusui, “Kōrai Chōsen bukkō bijutsu,” 99. There is also an extant early sixteenth-century screen painting that was acquired on a mission in pursuit of the Korean Tripitaka. A certain monk Sonkai traveled to Korea on behalf of the warlord Ōuchi Yoshitaka to request a copy of the Buddhist canon for his patron. It was unclear if he was successful, but Sonkai did bring back a folding screen of the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers,” which is now in the collection of Daiganji Temple in Hiroshima Prefecture. Sonkai’s trip is mentioned in an inscription on the back of the screen. See Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, ed., *Muromachi bunka no naka ni miru Ōuchi bunka no iho ten* (Yamaguchi: Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, 1989), 147–48.
 26. See Ide Seinosuke, “‘Kyōkai’ bijutsu no aidentitii – shōrai butsuga kenkyū no tachiba kara,” Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, ed., *Kataru genzai, katarareru kako* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999): 207–21.
 - 27 For an overview of the Ashikaga collection, see Yukio Lippit, “The Birth of Japanese Painting History: Kano Artists, Authors, and Authenticators of the Seventeenth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003), 194–224.
 28. The wide-ranging duties of the Ami family, which included displaying and pricing objects in the collection, are described in Murai Yasuhiko, *Buke bunka to dōbōshū* (Tokyo: San’ichi shobō, 1991), especially 96–120, and Shimao Arata, *Suibokuga – Nōami kara Kanōha e*, Volume 338 of the series *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1994).
 29. On the influence of the *Kundaikan* manual upon later generations of connoisseurs, see Lippit, “The Birth of Japanese Painting History,” 224–33. The various recensions of the manual are catalogued in Yano Tamaki, *Kundaikan sōchōki no sōgō kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 1999), 21–73.
 30. The *Precious Mirror* was in turn a kind of digest of earlier Chinese compendia of painters’ biographies. For more on *Precious Mirror of Painting*, see Deborah Del Gais Muller, “Hsia Wen-yen and his T’u-hui pao-chien (*Precious Mirror of Painting*),” *Ars Orientalis* 18 (1988): 131–48.

31. For an overview of Ningbo Buddhist painting, see Ide Seinosuke, *Nihon no Sōgen butsuga*, 36–55.
32. Scholars often interpreted these signatures as indications that Ningbo paintings were specifically made for export, but Ide argues that local demand represents a much more important context for their production. See “Nansō no dōshakuga” in Shimada Hidemasa, ed., *Nansō Kin*, Volume 6 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 2000), 123–40.
33. See Ide Seinosuke, “Sakuhin no aidentiti to gaka no jitsuzon – Seikin koji hitsu, Chō Shikyō hitsu to sareru butsuga no baai,” in *Moving Objects: Time, Space, and Context*, ed. National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo (Tokyo: National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, 2004), 239–60, especially 244–48. See also Watanabe Hajime, “Kanki aru Sōgen butsuga” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 45 (September 1935): 14–20, included in *Higashi suibokuga no kenkyū zōho hen* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan, 1985), 229–39.
34. For a case study of the contingency of identities in iconic Zen Buddhist portrait sculpture, see Gregory P. Levine, “Switching Sites and Identities: The Founder’s Statue at the Buddhist Temple Kōrin’in,” *Art Bulletin* 83.1 (March 2001): 72–104.
35. As in, for example, an inscription dated to 1477 on the reverse side of *Amitabha Triad* at Kakurinji Temple in Hyogo Prefecture. See Kikutake Jun’ichi, “Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon,” in *Kōrai butsuga*, ed. Kikutake Jun’ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1981), 9–16 (the inscription is transcribed on p. 16). Kikutake also records the dedicatory inscription to a no longer extant *Eleven-Headed Avalokitesvara* in Risshōji temple, which dates to 1484 and refers to the scroll’s Korean origins.
36. The painters Unkoku Tōyo 雲谷等與 (1612–1668) and Unkoku Tōteki 雲谷等 的 (1606–1664), for example, authenticated a screen depicting the “Eight Views of the Xiao and Xiang Rivers” in the Mōri family collection as a Kōrai-e. Although this term might literally be translated as “Goryeo painting,” “Kōrai” more generally signified “Korea” in premodern Japan. The painting thus authenticated is believed to be the eight-panel folding screen now in the collection of the Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs. See Yamato Bunkakan Museum, ed., *Richō no kaiga – rinkoku no meitō na bi no sekai* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan Museum, 1996), 82.
37. This compilation is preserved in Volumes 50 and 51 of *Reference for Old Paintings* (J. *Koga bikō* 古画備考) by the Kano painter Asaoka Okisada 朝岡興禎 (d. 1856). See Ota Kin, ed., *Zōtei Koga bikō* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1983), 3: 2197–325. The Sensōji painting is found on 3: 2285.
38. The text states that Hyeheo 慧虛 was the painter of the scroll, but Yoshida Hiroshi demonstrates through an analysis of other extant inscriptions on Goryeo paintings that Hyeheo is simply the monk who inscribes the painting, but not necessarily its artist. See Yoshida Hiroshi, “Kōrai butsuga no kinen sakuhin,” in Kikutake and Yoshida, *Kōrai butsuga*, 24–30, especially 27.
39. See, for example, the articles introducing Goryeo paintings as Chinese works in *Kokka* 179 (April 1905), 249 (February 1911), 254 (July 1911), 256 (September 1911), 301 (June 1915), and 340 (September 1918).
40. Consciousness of the Zhang Sigong style is already fully evident in Watanabe, “Kanki aru Sōgen butsuga.” In the late 1940s, Shimada Shūjirō wrote of the *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* in Chion’in Temple that “normally this work falls into the category of Song and Yuan-period Buddhist painting referred to as ‘the Zhang Sigong style,’ and if the painter of this work [薛冲] were not known, it would have been attributed to Zhang Sigong.” Although this scroll is now known to be of Goryeo manufacture, Shimada was under the impression at the time that it was by an unknown Chinese painter who went by the characters 薛冲. See his “Kankyō hensō Setchū nado hitsu,” *Kyōdera ihō shūei* 1 (March 1948), reprinted in *Chūgoku kaigashi kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron bijutsu shuppan 1993), 376–79.
41. This attribution is recorded in the curatorial files of the Freer Gallery of Art.
42. The attribution is inscribed on the box in which the painting was stored when it was purchased.
43. Fenollosa’s relationship to the *Five Hundred Luohans* is discussed in Gregory P. Levine, “Rakan in America: Travels of the Daitokuji *Five Hundred Luohan*,” in National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, *Moving Objects*, 96–134.
44. Ernest Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, Vol. 2 (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963, unabridged republication of the second edition of 1913), 124.
45. See, for example, *Illustrated Catalogue of Ancient Sites of Korea* (J. *Chōsen koseki zūfu*), 14 vols., published by the Office of the Governor General (Seoul: Chōsen sōtokufu, 1934).
46. *Chōsen bijutsushi* (Seoul: Chōsen shi gakkai, 1932), 183.
47. Concerning Japanese archaeological activity on the Korean peninsula during the colonial period, see Hyung Il Pai,

- “Chōsen no kako o meguru seijigaku – Chōsen hantō ni okeru Nihon shokuminchi kōkōgaku no isan” *Nihon kenkyū* 26 (December 2002): 15–52. For a related study of Sekino Tadashi’s role in the development of a colonial-era discourse on Chinese architectural history, see Xu Subin, “Tōyō kenchikushigaku no seiritsu ni miru akademii to nashonarizumu – Sekino Tadashi to Chūgoku kenchikushi kenkyū” *Nihon kenkyū* 26 (December 2002): 53–142. Further studies on Sekino and early Japanese archaeology include Hirose Shigeaki, “Meiji ni okeru ‘bunkazai’ hogo gyōsei to Sekino Tadashi – bijutsushi kara kenchikushi, soshite kōkōgaku e no tenkai,” and Uchida Yoshiaki, “Nihon kōkōgaku no keisei,” both in *Nihon ni okeru bijutsushigaku no seiritsu to tenkai*, ed. Yonekura Michio (Tokyo: Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo, 2001), 139–78 and 179–92, respectively.
48. See Karatani Kōjin, “Japan as Museum: Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenollosa,” in *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky*, ed. Alexandra Munroe (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1994), 33–39.
49. On *mingei* (folk art) discourse in prewar Japan, see Kim Brandt, “Objects of Desire: Japanese Collectors and Colonial Korea,” *positions* 8.3 (Winter 2000): 711–46.
50. Texts such as Takahashi Tōru’s *Buddhism of the Yi Dynasty (Richō bukkyō)* of 1928 played a significant role in this regard. Robert E. Buswell, Jr., discusses the development of a Korean discourse on Korean Buddhism in “Imagining ‘Korean Buddhism’: The Invention of a National Religious Tradition,” in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, ed. Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1999), 73–107. See also Jackie Stone, “A Vast and Grave Task: Interwar Buddhist Studies as an Expression of Japan’s Envisioned Global Role,” in *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 217–33.
51. See, for example, Kamuroji Sukeyoshi (Yūshō), “Kōrai jidai no shakyō ni tsuite,” *Hōun* 25 (1939): 10–24.
52. See Yonezawa Yoshiho, “Ekyo hitsu Suigetsu Kannon zu,” *Kokka* 666 (September 1947); Kumagai Nobuo, “Roei ga kinshitsu Shaka zō shōhei,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 175 (September 1954): 44–49; and Matsumoto Ei’ichi, “Kōrai jidai no gohyaku rakan zu,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 175 (September 1954): 39–42. Matsumoto, a renowned scholar of Dunhuang painting, had also earlier published an important article on the iconography of the scarved Kṣitigarbha image, which noted the prevalence of this variation in Korea art; see “Hibō Jizō bosatsu zō no bunpu,” *Tōhō gaku* 3 (1932). Also of relevance from this period is Miya Tsugio, “Danzan jinja zō Hokke mandara ni tsuite,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 221 (1961): 23–36, and Shimada Shūjirō, “Kōrai no kaiga,” in Volume 14 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1964).
53. See his “Chōsen butsuga chō,” *Chōsen gaku* 44 (July 1967): 1–114, and a follow-up article, “Chōsen butsuga shiryō shūi,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 83 (1972): 60–73.
54. Kumagai, “Chōsen butsuga chō,” 2.
55. Kumagai, “Chōsen butsuga chō,” 114.
56. Articles and entries introducing new paintings from this period include Izumi Hironao, “Ri Jōsa hitsu Rakan zu kaisetsu,” *Kokka* 911 (February 1962): 31; Hirata Yutaka, “Kagami jinja shozō Yōryū Kannon gazō,” *Nara kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo nenpō* (December 1968); Kumagai Nobuo, “Zendōji Jizō bosatsu gazō,” *Bijutsu kenkyū* 265 (September 1969): 36–37; Kumagai Nobuo, “Kyūshū shozai tairiku denrai no butsuga,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 76 (July 1970): 33–48; “Yōryū Kannon zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 92 (May 1971): 12; Horioka Tomoaki, “Bosuton bijutsukan zō Chōsen butsuga ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 83 (January 1972): 53–59; “Kenpon chakushoku Amida nyorai zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 104 (May 1972): 12; “Kenpon chakushoku Amida sanson zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 116 (May 1973): 6; Hirata Yutaka, “Tsushima, Iki no kaiga,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 95 (March 1974): 60–69; Hirata Yutaka, “Kyūshū no Chōsen butsuga,” *Nishi Nihon bunka* 100 (April 1974); Yi Tongju, “Kikō Nihon ni okeru Kankoku kaiga,” nos. 1 to 12, *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 436–47 (January to December 1975); “Kenpon chakushoku nyorai zō,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 164 (May 1977): 13–14; Yoshida Hiroshi, “Shigen nijūsannen-meī Kōrai Amida nyorai zō o megutte,” *Gekkan bunkazai* 186 (March 1979): 22–28; Hayashi Susumu, “Shinshutsu no Kōrai Suigetsu Kannon zu ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 123 (March 1979): 46–65.
57. See the series of publications by Suzuki Kei, including *Mindai kaigashi kenkyū—Seppa* (Tokyo: Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo, 1968), and to progress reports on his survey, *Sōgen butsuga – shūchū Rakan zu Jūō zu no kenkyū*, Parts One (March 1970) and Two (March 1973). The complete results of this survey are found in Suzuki Kei, ed., *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppanki, 1982).
58. See the deluxe edition of the exhibition catalogue, Ebine Toshio, ed., *Gendai dōshaku jinbutsu ga* (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1978); also useful in

- assessing the significance of the exhibition is Toda Teisuke, “Gendai dōshaku jinbutsuga kenkyū no shomon-dai,” *MUSEUM* 287 (February 1975): 4–17, and Ebine Toshio, “Gendai dōshakuga – kikakusha kara no kansō,” *MUSEUM* 287 (February 1975): 18–26.
59. Treatments of Goryeo Buddhist subjects include Nakano Teruo, “Chōsen no Jizō jūō zu ni tsuite,” *Bukkyō geijutsu* 97 (July 1974): 124–139; Hayashi Susumu, “Kōrai jidai no Suigetsu Kannon zu ni tsuite,” *Bijutsushi* 102 (March 1977): 101–17; Donohashi Akio, “Kōrai no Miroku geshōkyō hensōzu ni tsuite,” *Yamato bunka* 66 (March 1980): 1–12.
60. See Yamato Bunkakan Museum, ed., *Tokubetsu ten Kōrai butsuga – waga kuni ni shōrai saretā rinkoku no konjiki no hotoke tachi* (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 1978).
61. See “Korea’s ‘Unknown Legacy’ from the Koryo Period,” *Korea Journal* 18.12 (December 1978): 4–13, in which Covell describes the way in which the exhibition came about. See also her article “A ‘Vendetta’ Over a Koryo-Period ‘Willow Kuanyin’,” *Korea Journal* 19.1 (January 1979): 36–45, in which Covell describes her heated debate with Daitokuji monks over the nationality of that temple’s famous *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, which according to monastic tradition was an eighth-century Chinese painting attributed to Wu Daozi.
62. Kikutake Jun’ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōrai butsuga* (Tokyo: Benridō, 1981).
63. Kamata Shigeo, “Kōrai jidai no bukkyō,” 1–8; Kikutake Jun’ichi, “Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon,” 9–16; Ueno Aki, “Kōrai butsuga no shujusō,” 17–23; Yoshida Hiroshi, “Kōrai butsuga no kinen sakuhin,” 24–30; Hayashi Susumu, “Kōrai jidai no sōshokukyō,” 31–38, in *ibid.*
64. Ueno Aki even speculates that Buddhist painting stops being produced altogether during the early Joseon due to royal suppression, only to be revived later on in the dynasty. “Kōrai butsuga no shujusō,” 17.
65. See Chung Woothak, “Kōrai jidai no rakan gazō,” *Yamato bunka* 92 (September 1994): 35–49.
66. Other paintings with dated inscriptions include *Amitabha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* and *Kṣitigarbha* of 1307 (Seoul National Museum; the two works are painted on opposite sides of the same screen), *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* of 1320 (Chion’in Temple), *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* of 1323 (Rinshōji Temple), *Sākyamuni Triad* of 1330 (Hō’onji Temple), and *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* of 1350 (Shin’ōin Temple). In addition, *Amitabha Pure Land* of 1183 (Chion’in Temple), *Amitabha Triad* of 1309 (Uesugi Shrine), and *Preface to the Visualization Sutra* of 1312 (Daionji Temple) have all at one point been classified as Korean works, but are now widely believed to be of continental origin.
67. The 1307 *Amitabha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (Seoul National Museum) mentions Noyeong 魯英, the 1310 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (Kagami Shrine) lists the five painters Kim Wumun 金祐文, Igye 季桂, Imsun 林順, Song On 宋連, and Choeseung 催昇; the 1323 *Visualization Sutra* (Chion’in Temple) mentions Seolchung 薛冲 and a certain I 李; the 1323 *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (Sen’oku Hakkokan Museum) records Seogubang 徐九方; the 1323 *Sixteen Meditations of the Visualization Sutra* (Rinshōji Temple) lists Seo Jiman 徐智滿; and the 1350 *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* a certain Huijeon 悔前.
68. The painter of the 1307 screen in the Seoul National Museum, Noyeong, however, also appears in documents concerning the repair of Seononsa 禪源寺 Temple on Kanghwa Island, suggesting that he may have been a priest. See Kumagai, “Roei ga kinshitsu,” 46. In addition, *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* at Sensōji (Asakusadera) in Tokyo bears an inscription that has traditionally been understood to mean “painted by the priest Hyeheo [慧虛],” but has subsequently been reinterpreted as simply “inscribed by the priest Hyeheo.” See Yoshida, “Shigen nijūsannen-mei,” 28. Finally, the name of Hyejeon, the painter of the 1350 *Maitreya Waiting to Descend*, implies that he was a monk as well (Yoshida, “Kōrai butsuga no kinen sakuhin,” 28).
69. One such example is the monk Hyeoncheol 玄哲, whose name is found both on the 1350 *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* (Shin’ōin Temple) and on a 1332 *Lotus Sutra*, inscribed in eight scrolls on indigo-dyed paper with silver ink, in the Kagami Shrine collection. See Donohashi Akio, “Kōrai no Miroku geshō kyō hensō zu ni tsuite,” *Yamato bunka* 66 (March 1980): 1–12.
70. To exhibitions in particular deserve special mention for their display of a wide range of Goryeo paintings: Nara National Museum, *Higashi ajia no hotoke tachi* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1996), and Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukkyō bijutsu ten*.
71. The catalogue raisonné was first published in a Korean version and then a revised Japanese version. See Kikutake Jun’ichi and Chung Woothak, eds., *Koryo sidae ui pulhwa* (Seoul: Sigonsa, 1997) and *Kōrai jidai no kaiga* (Seoul: Sigonsa, 2000).
72. Kikutake was formerly a curator at the Nara National Museum as well as university professor, and through

- numerous articles and exhibitions has explored Goryeo Buddhist painting and sculpture from a variety of perspectives. Much of Kikutake's research on Goryeo Buddhist painting is synthesized in his 1998 co-edited volume on early Korean art in a multi-volume series on East Asian art history. See Kikutake Jun'ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōkuri, Kudara, Shiragi, Kōrai*, Vol. 10 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 1998).
- With an eye towards the relationship between this genre and continental precedents, which he was the first to map out, Kikutake had previously explored the treatment of several Buddhist subjects to understand the specific inflections introduced to them in Goryeo production contexts. See "Kōrai jidai raigō bijutsu no ichi irei – Kagawa Hagiwaradera no Amida nyorai zō," *Yamato bunka* 72 (December 1983): 15–24; "Kōrai jidai no Kannon gazō," in *Kannon – sonzō to hensō*, Vol. 5 in *Kokusai kōryū bijutsushi kenkyūkai* series (Osaka: Osaka University and The Taniguchi Foundation, 1986): 58–67; "Kōrai jidai no Nehan hensō zu – Kagawa Jōtokuji-bon o chūshin ni," *Yamato bunka* 80 (September 1988): 17–35; see also his "Kōrai jidai no Birushana-butsumi gazō," *Yamato bunka* 95 (1996): 20–32.
73. Kikutake first proposed this taxonomy in "Kōrai jidai no Kannon gazō," 1986, and has most fully expanded upon it in "Kōrai jidai no bukkyō kaiga" in Kikutake and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōkuri, Kudara, Shiragi, Kōrai*, Vol. 10 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 1998): 273–84. The concept of a palace style, however, was initially developed by Hirata Yutaka in his "Kagami jinja."
74. The only exception is the Kagami Shrine painting, which appears to have had its original inscription removed at some point. This inscription is recorded by the Japanese geographer Inō Tadataka (1745–1818) in his diary in 1812. For more on the inscription, see Hirata Yutaka, "Kagami jinja."
75. Concerning the sponsorship of Buddhist sculpture by one such lay religious society of the late Goryeo period, see Naitō Hiroshi, "Mantoku-zan Byakuren kessha to Amida shinkō o megutte – Kōrai jidai kōki bukkyō bijutsu no shinkōteki haikai," *Tetsugaku* 98 (January 1995): 72–94.
76. Chung Woothak is a Korean scholar who obtained his Ph.D. from Kyushu University. He has been unique in publishing widely in both Japanese and Korean, thus bridging the concerns of to different scholarly environments. His activities have ranged from the close formal readings of individual scrolls to the iconographic analysis of Goryeo Buddhist subjects. See, for example, "Nara Hasedera no Yōryū Kannon zu," *Nikkan ryōkoku ni shozai suru Kankoku bukkyō bijutsu no kyōdō chōsa kenkyū* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1993), 69–72, and "Kōrai jidai no rakan gazō," *Yamato bunka* 92 (1994): 35–49. Chung has also made meticulous comparative studies of garment patterns that provide a more refined cartography of sartorial decoration in fourteenth-century painting. See his "Kōrai butsuma no zuzō to utsukushisa – sono hyōgen to gihō," 368–377, and "Kōrai butsuma no kōgakuteki chōsa," 377–88, in *Kōrai jidai no butsuma*, ed. Chung Woothak and Kikutake Jun'ichi (Seoul: Sigonga, 2000).
77. Chung Woothak (J. Tei Utaku), *Kōrai jidai Amida gazō no kenkyū* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1990). See also the review by Ide Seinosuke, "Shohyō — Kōrai jidai Amida gazō no kenkyū," *De Arute* 7 (March 1991): 144–49.
78. Two other theses of the study are worthy of mention here: 1) Most Goryeo iconography can be linked directly to Dunhuang, although stylistically this corpus should be seen as emerging from the influence of Chinese painting of the Song period; 2) the general religious context for Goryeo Buddhist painting is found in a pervasive Amitabha cult that combines elements of esoteric thought with Lotus Sutra worship. These factors, which transcend sectarian affiliation, led to the development of several new painting subjects reflecting this coexistence of Buddhist concerns, such as the combination of Kṣitigarbha and Avalokitesvara in the same image, witnessed in paintings in the Saifukuji and Minami Hokkeji temple collections.
79. Ide's research has also explored the deep politics of court patronage and the relationship between Goryeo and Chinese painting. Concerning the former, see "Kōrai butsuma no sekai – kyūtei shūhen ni okeru ganshu to shinkō," in *Nihon no Sōgen butsuma*, 88–98; "In and Around the Koryo Royal Family: The Patronage and Production of Buddhist Images," a paper delivered at the conference "Art and Patron in Korea," July 14–16, 2000, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Concerning the latter, see "Kyōkai bijutsu no aidentitii – shōrai butsuma kenkyū no tachiba kara," in *Kataru genzai, katarareru kako*, ed. Tōkyō kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1999), 169–84; "Gen jidai no Amida sanson zō zakkān – Tōfukuji kyūzō-bon o megutte," in *Mihotoke no osugata*, ed. Seikadō Museum (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1999), 11–21. The most accessible introduction to his work in English, however, is "The World of Goryeo Buddhist Painting," in Kim, *Goryeo Dynasty*, 34–97.

80. They are *The Teaching of Infinite Life* (the larger *Sukhavativyuha*), the *Amitabha Sutra* (the smaller *Sukhavativyuha*), and the *Sutra on the Meditation of the Buddha of Infinite Life* (*C. Guan wuliangshou jing*). Concerning the influence of Japanese Pure Land belief on the reception of Goryeo Buddhist painting, it is important to bear in mind Hirata Yutaka's observation that many paintings were deposited in regional Pure Land temples. See his "Kōrai butsuma to Nihon no Jōdo-kyō," 276–77, in *Shiragi, Kōrai bijutsu*, Vol. 2 of *Kankoku bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987).
81. See Ide's "Kōrai no Amida gazō to Fugen gyōgan-bon," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 362 (March 1995): 1–32; "Kōrai butsuma ni mieru manji to senpukurin-mon," in *Higashi ajia bijutsu ni okeru hito no katachi*, ed. Tokyo kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo (March 1995); "Tayō no naka no tōitsu – Kōrai butsuma no ryōbun," in Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsu ten*, 88–94; "Kegon shisō to Kōrai butsuma no ryōbun," in Chung and Kikutake, *Kōrai jidai no butsuma*, 368–76; "The World of Goryeo Buddhist Painting."
82. See Buswell, "The Koryo Period," 83–84.
83. In fact, the representation of Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara appears to have several textual sources, its origins ultimately overdetermined.
84. This work was introduced in Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Kōrai jidai no Birushana-butsuma gazō," *Yamato bunka* 95 (1996): 20–32. See also Ide Seinosuke's entry on the painting in Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsu ten*, 177–78.
85. See Kikutake, "Kōrai jidai no Birushana-butsuma gazō," 24–25.
86. See Kamata Shigeo, *Chōsen bukkuyō shi* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1987).
87. Such is the case with numerous Goryeo-period sutras and, as Chung Woothak has pointed out, the 1235–36 *Five Hundred Arhats* set; "Kōrai jidai no rakan gazō," *Yamato bunka* 92 (1994): 35–49. See also Naitō Hiroshi, "Mantokuzan Byakuren kessha."
88. On this work, see Yukio Lippit, "Engakukyō hensō zu," *Kokka* 1313 (March 2005): 38–39.
89. The Marici-attributed group includes paintings in a private collection, at the Seikadō Museum (Tokyo), and Shōtaku'in Temple (Kyoto). See Ide Seinosuke's entry in Kim, *Arts of Goryeo*, 87.
90. Concerning the Ōtani missions, see Peter Hopkirk, *Devils of the Silk Road* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), and Dainobu Yūji, *Otani Kōzui to Saiiki bijutsu*, Vol. 434 in *Nihon no bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Shibundō, 2002). Japanese scholars of Central Asian art who also took an interest in early Korean Buddhist painting include Matsumoto Ei'ichi and Kumagai Nobuo.
91. For a description of this legend see Youngsook Pak, "Kṣitigarbha as Supreme Lord of the Underworld," *Oriental Art* 23.1 (1977): 96–104.
92. See his "Hibō Jizō bosatsu zō no bunpu," *Tōhō gaku* 3 (1932), found in a slightly revised version as Chapter Seven to his *Tonkōga no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōhō bunka gakuin, 1937): 368–401.
93. In this regard, see Chi-chiang Huang, "Elite and Clergy in Northern Sung Hang-chou: A Convergence of Interest," in *Buddhism in the Sung*, ed. Peter N. Gregory and Daniel A. Getz, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 295–339, and Nishigami Minoru, "Shu Tokujun to Shin'ō," *Bijutsushi* 104 (March 1978): 127–45.
94. The hooded Kṣitigarbha is found in niche no. 177 in the Beishan Grottoes, dated to 1126. For an illustration, see Tanabe Saburōsuke, "Nansō Kin no chōkoku," in Nakazawa Fujio and Shimada Hidemasa, eds., *Nansō Kin*, Vol. 6 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2000), 186. See also Kamata Shigeo, "Daisoku sekkutsu to Kōrai butsuma," 274–275 in *Shiragi, Kōrai bijutsu*, Vol. 2 of *Kankoku no bijutsu* series (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1987). Ide Seinosuke has informed me that the hooded Kṣitigarbha also makes an appearance in the fifth scroll (Yama) of a set of Ten Kings paintings of Ningbo manufacture in the collection of Jōkyōji Temple (Wakayama Prefecture), illustrated in the exhibition catalogue *Myōe – furusato de mita yume* (Wakayama: Wakayama Prefectural Museum, 1996), 70.
95. "Nansō no iryūjonizumu – Chion'in 'Amida jōdo zu' ni tsuite no mondai teiki," *Yamato bunka* 86 (September 1991): 1–9. A follow-up on this argument can be found in Toda Teisuke, *Nihon bijutsu no mikata* (Tokyo: Kadokawa shoten, 1997), 66–73. Previous to Toda, Kumagai Nobuo had included the same scroll in his 1967 list of Korean Buddhist paintings.
96. Toda also points out that while the era name employed for the date ("tenth year of Chunxi") is Chinese, inscribed Goryeo paintings consistently use Yuan-period era names, so that the inscription alone does not discount the possibility of its Goryeo manufacture. See "Nansō no iryūjonizumu," 4–6.
97. The Chion'in painting was published as Chinese in Nara National Museum, ed., *Higashi Ajia no hotoke tachi* (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1996), 138. See also Ide Seinosuke's entry on the painting in Nakazawa and Shimada, *Nansō Kin*, 381–82.
98. Cheeyun Lilian Kwon, "The Ten Kings at the Seikadō Library" (Ph.D. diss.,

- Princeton University, 1999). The scrolls had originally been published as Chinese in Seikadō Museum, ed., *Chūgoku kaiga* (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1986).
99. See Miyazaki Noriko, "Seikadō bunko bijutsukan zō Jūō zu Nishisha zu ni tsuite," in *Mihotoke no osugata*, ed. Seikadō Museum (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1999), 22–30, and Cheeyun Lilian Kwon, "A Repositioning of a Medieval Painting Monument: the Ten Kings at the Seikadō Library," *Oriental Art* 46.5 (2000): 64–72.
100. "Gen jidai no Shaka sanson zō zakkan—Tōfukuji kyūzō-bon o megutte," in *Mihotoke no osugata*, ed. Seikadō Museum (Tokyo: Seikadō Museum, 1999): 11–21.
101. See, for example, T. Griffith Foulk, "Religious Functions of Buddhist Art in China," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 13–29.
102. Kwon's research already points to the complexity of Goryeo court ritual programs. See also Jongmyung Kim, "Buddhist Rituals in Medieval Korea (918–1392): Their Ideological Background and Historical Meaning" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994).
103. A study of original ritual contexts would also need to take into account the new ritual uses to which painted icons were put once in Japan. Although most settled in Pure Land temples, Goryeo paintings served a variety of religious needs. According to an inscription on its reverse side dated to 1477, for example, the *Amitabha Triad* in Kakurinji Temple was employed in repentance rituals as well as hung on the occasion of lecture-rituals on the Buddha's relics and the Six Realms. See Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon," 9–16, Kikutake and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Kōrai butsuga* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1981), 16.
104. For example, see the full conservation report of Liang Kai's *Sākyamuni Descending from the Mountain* (Tokyo National Museum) in *Shūfuku* 3 (Kyoto: Oka Bokkōdō, 1996).
105. Pak Youngsook, "The Korean Art Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art," in *Arts of Korea*, ed. Judith G. Smith (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1998), 426.
106. Shirono Seiji, "Kinsekigaisen gazō no keisei to riyō," *Bijutsu kenkyū* 376 (March 2002): 372–86.
107. Concerning the history of Buddhist institutions in the early Joseon period, see Lancaster and Yu, *Buddhism in the Early Choson*; and Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992).
108. In Japan there have been a handful of synthetic studies of Joseon Buddhist painting. See Kikutake Jun'ichi, "Chōsen ōchō bukkuyō bijutsu ron," in Kikutake Jun'ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Chōsen ōchō*, Vol. 11 of *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū Tōyō hen* series (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1999), 185–96. The entries in this volume on individual Joseon pieces in Japanese collections are highly useful, as are those found in Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum, *Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsu ten*. A full bibliography of articles on Joseon Buddhist paintings in Japan is found in the latter publication.
109. Kikutake, "Kōrai butsuga ni miru Chūgoku to Nihon," 16, declared that there was only a slight relationship, and attributed the lack of influence to a difference in taste.
110. As Chung Woothak has demonstrated, a Japanese painting in Bujōji Temple (Tottori Prefecture) is a copy of the Goryeo-period *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* in Hasedera Temple (Nara). See his "Nara Hasedera no Yōryū Kannon zu," in *Nikkan ryōkoku ni shozai suru Kankoku bukkuyō bijutsu no kyōdō chōsa kenkyū*, ed. Nara National Museum (Nara: Nara National Museum, 1993), 69–72. A Japanese copy of the Korean *Maitreya Waiting to Descend* (Shin'ōin Temple, Wakayama Prefecture) is also known.
111. See Yamamoto Tai'ichi, "Shinshutsu no Tōhon Amida sanson raigō zu ni tsuite – Kaikei saku Harima Jōdoji Amida sanson zō no hon'yō ka," *Kinko sōsho* 17 (1990): 343–62.
112. See Kikutake, "Kōrai butsuga," 15. Other examples can be found at Zenkōji in Yamagata Prefecture and Ankoji in Toyama Prefecture.

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