

**Marginalized yet Devoted:  
Buddhist Paintings Commissioned by Nuns  
of the Early Joseon Palace Cloisters**

BY

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies the three extant Buddhist paintings commissioned by Buddhist nuns in the palace cloisters of the sixteenth-century Joseon dynasty. The examination of the theme, iconography, and composition of each painting is incorporated to interpret their religious significance from the perspective of the social status of their patrons.

The nun-patrons are identified either as widowed royal concubines who were removed from their residences and the position of influence in the inner quarters to live with fellow concubines in a common royal-residence-turned-cloister on the outskirts of the palace after their royal husbands died or as officially ordained practitioners from non-royal families. These women certainly experienced a multifaceted marginality at the centrum of the patriarchal Confucian polity in the religion, gender, family, and marriage systems.

From this perspective, the paintings are presented as a visualization of the salvational aspirations of Buddhist women of the sixteenth-century Joseon court. By replacing the judgment scene above in the usual Ten Kings paintings with the Kṣitigarbha assembly scene and combining it with the depiction of retribution in hell below, *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* switches the thematic emphasis from “punishment through judgment” to “salvation from punishment,” picturing the hope for salvation of the patrons. *The Painting of King Sāla* adds the image of Lady Wonang at the critical moment of salvation, when the literature of the narrative relates only Prince Allakguk taken to the Land of Ultimate Bliss, exhibiting a greater hope for women’s

“salvation to paradise.” The image of a fellow court woman crossing over to paradise in a dragon boat must have reassured nuns in the cloister of their own salvation. *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise* highlights the scene where Buddha Amitābha ferries in salvific dragon boat the soul of a female devotee, which is the portrayal of the woman to whom the painting was dedicated. It depicts a more personalized prayer for “the salvation of a specific individual.” The paintings are visual embodiments of the religious aspirations, patronage, and practice of Buddhist women of the Joseon palace cloisters.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT .....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .....	vi
<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
The Crowning of Hens: Buddhist Paintings of the Early Joseon Dynasty	
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b> .....	42
Worshipping Buddha in the Palace: Buddhist Nuns in the Early Joseon Palace	
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b> .....	78
Prayers for Salvation from Suffering: <i>Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i> (1575–77)	
<b>CHAPTER THREE</b> .....	156
Aspiration for Women’s Salvation to Paradise: <i>The Painting of King Sāla</i> (1576)	
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b> .....	216
Featuring Personalized Women’s Salvation: <i>The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise</i> (1582)	
<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	277
APPENDIXES I–VI .....	288
WORKS CITED AND CONSULTED .....	320
ILLUSTRATIONS .....	352

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(Fig. I-1) *Palace Scene*, attr. mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Joseon. ink and color on silk, 46.5 x 91.4 cm, Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul. Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-2) *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1), framed. Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.

(Fig. I-3) Section of *The Eastern Palaces*, 1820s, Joseon, ink and color on silk, album, 273 x 584 cm (whole painting when unfolded). *Donggwoldo*, pl. 70.

(Fig. I-4) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-5) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-5) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-6) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul

(Fig. I-7) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-8) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-9) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul

(Fig. I-10) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.

(Fig. I-11) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-12) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-12). Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.

(Fig. I-13) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-9). Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.

(Fig. I-14) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-15) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-15). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-16) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul

(Fig. I-17) *Banquet for Retired Officials*, 1584, Joseon. National Museum of Korea, Seoul, *Joseon sidae yeonhoedo*, pl.10.

(Fig. I-18) Detail of *Banquet for Retired Officials* (fig. I-18), *Joseon sidae yeonhoedo*, pl.10.

(Fig. I-19) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.

(Fig. I-20) *Banquet for Celebrating the Longevity of the Mothers of the High-Ranking Officials in the King Seonjo's Administration*, 1605 (ca.1655 copy), Joseon, Hongik University Museum, Seoul. *Joseon sidae yeonhoedo*, pl. 17.

(Fig. I-21) Detail of *Banquet for Celebrating the Longevity of the Mothers of the High-Ranking Officials in the King Seonjo's Administration* (fig. I-21). *Joseon sidae yeonhoedo*, pl. 17.

(Fig. I-22) *The Capital City* (detail), mid-18th cent., Joseon. Hand-drawn map; color on paper, 75.4 x 98.0 cm (whole), Gyujanggak Archives, Seoul National University. *Seoul ui yet jido*, pl. 13.

(Fig. I-23) Detail of *The Capital City* (fig. I-23). *Seoul ui yet jido*, pl. 13.

(Fig. II-1) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary, 1575–77, Joseon, Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 209.5 x 227.3 cm. Chion'in, Kyōto. *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-2) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-3) The Eighteen Hells, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-4) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-5) Inscription of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu*, 522.

(Fig. II-6) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-7) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-8) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Cheongpyengsa (fig. II-9). *Kōrai-Richō no gukbojeon*, pl. 34.

(Fig. II-9) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Cheongpyeongsa, 1562, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 95.2 x 85.4 cm. Kōmyōji, Hiroshima-ken. *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 34.

(Fig. II-10) Daoming (right) and the Ghost King Poisonless (left), detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-11) *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas*, attri. 15<sup>th</sup> century, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 128.7 x 76.3 cm. Yodadera, Kagawa-ken, *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 119.

(Fig. II-12) Venerable Daoming. Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas* (fig. II-11). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, pl. 119.

(Fig. II-13) *Kṣitigarbha Triad*, attr. 13<sup>th</sup> century, Goryeo or Yuan. Hanging scroll; ink, gold, and color on silk, 239.4 x 130 cm. Engakuji, Kanagawa-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 109.

(Fig. II-14) The Venerable Daoming, detail of *Kṣitigarbha Triad* (fig. II-13). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 109.

(Fig. II-15) *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his Attendants*, attr. Yuan. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 111.0 x 58.5 cm. Hōfukuji, Okayama-ken. *Kokuhō Jūyō* Okayama-ken. *Kokuhō Jūyō bunkazai taizen 2*, pl. 56.

(Fig. II-16) *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his Attendants*, attr. Yuan. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 54.0 x 37.6 cm. Eigenji, Shiga-ken. *Kokuhō Jūyō bunkazai taizen 2*, pl. 52.

(Fig. II-17) *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his Attendants*, attr. 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Yuan or Goryeo. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 113.0 x 49.9 cm. Yūgensai, Tōkyō. *Bukkyō kaiga Yūgensai sen*, pl. 79.

(Fig. II-18) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, two scrolls of the *shuilu* painting set, ca. 1460, Ming, 117x 61.5 cm, color on silk, Baoning si, Shanxi sheng. *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, pls. 135 and 138.

(Fig. II-19) The Venerable Daoming and Lord Min, detail of (fig. II-18), *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, pl. 137.

(Fig. II-20) *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his retinue*, dated to 1520s–30s, Ming. Mural painting. Northeast wall of the Rear Hall in Pilu si, Hebei sheng. *Pilu si bihua*, pl. 111.

(Fig. II-21) The Venerable Daoming and Lord Min, detail of (fig. II-20).

(Fig. II-22) *Kṣitigarbha Triad*, Qing. Color on silk, 46.5 x 24.0 cm. Náprstkovo Museum, Prague. *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku*, vol. 2, E 22-013.

(Fig. II-23) Reconstructed Illustration of the Ceremonial Robe of the Government Officials of the Joseon Dynasty. *Hanguk boksik dogam*, pl. 10.

(Fig. II-24) Frontispiece, *The Ten Kings Sūtra*, 1246, Goryeo. Wood-block print; 18 cm (height of each block), Haeinsa, Gyeongsangnam-do. *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo yeongu*, fig. 30.

(Fig. II-25) The Venerable Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless, detail of (fig. II-24).

(Fig. II-26) Lord Min, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-27) *Kṣitigarbha Triad*, Woodblock print (?); measurement unknown. *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, p.116.



(Fig. II-28) Lord Min, detail of (fig. II-27)

(Fig. II-29) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, date unknown, Qing (?). Bronze plaque; size unknown. The Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin. Youngsook Pak, “The Role of Legend in Koryŏ Iconography,” figs. 5 and 6.

(Fig. II-30) *Kṣitigarbha* Bodhisattva from *Shuilu daochang tu*, 1465–87, Ming. Woodblock print, Beijing Library. *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan er bian*.

(Fig. II-31) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, 1617, Qing. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 206.5 x 102.6 cm, Saidaiji 西大寺, Nara. *Seo Ilbon jiyeok Hanguk ui bulsang gwa bulhwa*, pl. 149.

(Fig. II-32) Twin Pagodas, Southern Song. Kaiyuan si, Quanzhou, Fujian. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 6, pl. 234.

(Fig. II-33) West Pagoda, 1228–37. Southern Song, Kaiyuan si, Quanzhou, Fujian. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 6, pl. 236.

(Fig. II-34) *Kṣitigarbha*, East Pagoda, 1238–50, Southern Song. Kaiyuan si, Quanzhou, Fujian. *Quanzhou Dongxi ta*.

(Fig. II-35) Ghost King Poisonless and Daoming, West Pagoda, 1228–37, Southern Song. Kaiyuan si, *Quanzhou Dongxi ta*.

(Fig. II-36) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, 1580, Joseon, Seiganji, Kyōto. *Jigoku yūran*, pl.14.

(Fig. II-37) Frontispiece of the Lotus Sūtra, 1459, Joseon. Woodblock print; measurement unknown. Sailaiji, Nara. Bak Dohwa, “15-segi hubangi wangsil barwon panhwa,” fig. 6.

(Fig. II-38) Frontispiece of *Zhu fo pusa zunzhe shenseng ming jing*, datable to around 1420, Ming. Woodblock print.

(Fig. II-39) Donors, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-40) Donors, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. II-41) *Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra*, the Eighth King, 1246, Goryeo. Woodblock print; 20.5 cm (height), Depository for the Tripitaka Koreana Woodblocks, Haeinsa, Gyeongsangnam-do. Photo by Gim Jahyeon.

(Fig. II-42) *Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra*, the Ninth King, 1246, Goryeo. Woodblock print; 20.5 cm (height), Depository for the Tripitaka Koreana Woodblocks, Haeinsa, Gyeongsangnam-do. Photo by Gim Jahyeon.

(Fig. II-43) Last section of *The Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra*, Dunhuang. 10<sup>th</sup> century, Five Dynasties, ink and colors on paper, 27.8 x 239.9 (whole scroll). *The Art of Central Asia*, pl. 63.

(Fig. II-44) *The Ten Realms*, late 13<sup>th</sup> century, Kamakura, Zenrinji 禅林寺, Kyōto.

(Fig. II-45) Linear Illustration of the left scroll of *The Ten Realms*, detail of (fig. II-44).

(Fig. II-46) *The Six Realms*, Gokurakuji, Hyōgo-ken, dated to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.

(Fig. II-47) *The Transformation Tableau of Hell*, 1174–1252, Southern Song, Niche 20, Dafowan, Baodingshan, Dazu. *Zhongguo Dazu shike*, 127-28.

(Fig. II-48) Linear illustration of *The Transformation Tableau of Hell* of (fig. II-47). *Sichuan daojiào fojiào sheku yishu*, unpaginated folded-in page.

(Fig. III-1) *The Painting of King Sāla*. 1576, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 105.7 x 56.8 cm. Seizan bunko, Kōchi-ken. *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

(Fig. III-2) Donation Document of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). Seizan bunko, Kōchi-ken. Gim Jeonggyo, “Joseon chogi byeonmunsik bulhwa,” p. 87.

(Fig. III-3) Detail of (fig. III-2).

(Fig. III-4) *Portrait of Chōsokabe Motochika*, Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk, 103.21 x 54.6 cm. Wakamiya hachimansha, Kōchi-ken. *Zusetsu Kōchi-ken no rekishi*.

(Fig. III-5) The Storyline of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

(Fig. III-6) *The Prefatory Story of the Contemplation Sūtra*, 1312, Yuan or Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 133.3 x 51.4 cm. Daionji, Aichi-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 52.

(Fig. III-7) *The Prefatory Story of the Contemplation Sūtra*, attr. 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Yuan or Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 150.5 x 113.2 cm. Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 53.

(Fig. III-8) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

(Fig. III-9) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-40), 1323, Goryeo. Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 56.

(Fig. III-10) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-41), 1465, Joseon. Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 5.

(Fig. III-11) Detail of *Śākyamuni at Birth*, attr. the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 145.0 x 109.5 cm (whole painting). Hongakuji, Fukuoka-ken. *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 28.

(Fig. III-12) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

(Fig. III-13) Detail of *Śākyamuni at Birth*, attr. 15<sup>th</sup> cent, Joseon. Hongakuji. Fukuoka-ken. *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 28.

(Fig. III-14) Detail of the mural painting on the north wall of King Mingying Hall, Yuan. Mural painting; ink and color, 293 x 220 cm (entire). Water God Temple, Guangsheng si, Shanxi sheng. *Shanxi siguan bihua*, pl. 204.

(Fig. III-15) Detail of *The Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, 14th cent., Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink, color and gold on silk, 227.9 x 125.8 cm (whole painting). Daitokuji, Kyōto. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 69.

(Fig. III-16) *Śākyamuni Triad*, 1565, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 60.5 x 32 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, New York. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600*, cat. no.12

(Fig. III-17) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

(Fig. III-18) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1).

(Fig. III-19) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

(Fig. III-20) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

(Fig. III-21) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196

(Fig. III-22) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (fig. II-9)

(Fig. III-23) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, fig. 116.

(Fig. III-24) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43). Photo by Yi Yongyun.

(Fig. III-25) Detail of *The Illustrated Handscroll of the Imperial Horse Race*, attri. late 13 or early 14 century, Kamakura. Handscroll; colors on paper, 34.3 x 384.0 cm (whole scroll). Kubosō Memorial Museum, Ōsaka. *Komakurabe gyōkō emaki kenkyū*, p. 16–19 and fig. 10 and 11.

(Fig. III-26) Detail of *The Illustrated Handscroll of the Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* attri. early 13th cent. Kamakura. Handscroll; colors on paper, 21.1 x 449.2 cm (the whole scroll of the Fujita bijutsukan version). Fujita Museum of Art, Ōsaka. *Murasaki Shikibu nikki ekotoba*, p. 41.

(Fig. III-27) *Amitābha Pure Land*, attri. mid 12th cent., Heian. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk, 155.5 x 139.5 cm. Saizen'in, Wakayama-ken. *Nihon bukkyō bijutsu meihōten*, pl. 128

(Fig. III-28) Detail of *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-27).

(Fig. III-29) Detail of *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-27).

(Fig. III-30) Yi Seong, *The Descent of Maitreya*, 1294, Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink and colors, and gold on silk, 227. 2 x 129. 0 cm. Myōmanji, Kyōto. *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.

(Fig. III-31) Detail of *The Descent of Maitreya* (fig. III-30). *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.

(Fig. III-32) Detail of *The Descent of Maitreya* (fig. III-30). *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.

(Fig. III-33) *The Stele of the Record of the Renovation of Amitābha Monastery*, 1462, Ming 268 x 90 x 21 cm. Shanxi Provincial Museum. Xi'an. Photo by Chang Qing

(Fig. III-34) *The Record of the Renovation of Amitābha Monastery*, verso of (fig. III-33). Ink rubbing; 164.5 x 85.0 cm. *Xi'an Beilin quanji* 103:134.

(Fig. III-35) *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region*, 1462, Ming, recto of (fig. III-33). Ink rubbing; 164.5 x 85.0 cm. *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.

(Fig. III-36) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.

(Fig. III-37) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.

(Fig. III-38) Wang Zhenpeng, paintings of *Imperial Dragon-Boat Regatta*, attr. early 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Yuan. Handscrolls; ink on silk, 30.2 x 243.8 cm (top). National Palace Museum, Taipei. *Gugong canghua daxi* 4, pl. 145.

(Fig. III-39) Detail of the bottom scroll *The Dragon Boat* of (fig III-38)

(Fig. III-40) *Competing for the Prize on the Golden Bright Pond*, attr. 12<sup>th</sup> cent (after 1127), Tianjian Municipal Museum of Art. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*.

(Fig. III-41) Detail of *Competing for the Prize on the Golden Bright Pond* (fig. III-40).

(Fig. III-42) Detail of You Qiu, *Enchanting Spring at the Han Court*, 1568, Ming. Handscroll; ink on paper, 27.3 x 822.7 cm (whole scroll). Shanghai Museum. *Power and Glory*, pl. 133.

(Fig. III-43) *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss*, attr. 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Kamakura. Screen; colors on silk, 101.0 x 42.3 cm (each panel). Konkaikōmyōji, Kyōto. *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31

(Fig. III-44) Detail of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (fig. III-43). *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31.

(Fig. III-45) Detail of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (fig. III-43). *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31.

(Fig. III-46) Detail of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (fig. III-43). *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31.

(Fig. III-47) *Amitābha Pure Land*, Kamakura. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 85.5 x 78.0 cm. Private collection, Tōkyō. *Gokurakue*, pl. 138.

(Fig. III-48) Detail of *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-47), *Gokurakue*, pl. 140.

(Fig. III-49) *Maitreya's Ascension to Tuṣita Heaven*, Kamakura, Enmeiji, Ōsaka.

(Fig. III-50) Detail of *Maitreya's Ascension to Tuṣita Heaven* (fig. III-49).

(Fig. III- 51) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.

(Fig. III- 52) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.

(Fig. III-53) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

(Fig. IV-1) *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise*, 1582, Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold and colors on red silk, 115.1 x 87.8 cm, Raigōji, Kagawa-ken. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-2) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-3) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-4) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-5) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-6) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-7) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-8) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV- 9) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-10) *Amitābha's Welcoming Descent*, 1286, Goryeo. Hanging scroll; colors on silk, 203.5 x 105.1cm, Tōkyō National Museum. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 26.

(Fig. IV-11) *Amitābha Triad*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on indigo blue silk, 164.9 x 85.6 cm, Sontaiji, Yamanashi-ken. *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu*, I-33.

(Fig. IV-12) Detail of *Amitābha Triad* (fig. IV-11). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, fig. 110.

(Fig. IV-13) *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on red silk, 155.5 x 145.5 cm, Zenmyōji, Fukui-ken. *Kōrai·Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 22.

(Fig. IV-14) Detail of *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (fig. IV-13). *Kōrai·Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 22.

(Fig. IV-15) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-16) Detail of *Gamnotaeng*, 1591, Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on hemp, Asadadera, Nara

(Fig. IV-17) *Bodhisattva Guiding the Soul*, Dunhuang.

(Fig. IV-18) Detail of *The Assembly for Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-19) Detail of *The Assembly for Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-20) *Portrait of Madame Yi, Welcoming the Tenri University*, Nara-ken.

(Fig. IV-21) *Banquet in Honor of Retired Officials of King Seonjo's Administration*, 1585, Joseon. Album (originally hanging scroll?); ink and color on silk, 40.4 x 59.5 cm, Seoul National University Museum, Seoul. *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 58.

(Fig. IV-22) Detail of *Banquet in Honor of Retired Officials of King Seonjo's Administration* (fig. IV-21).

(Fig. IV-23) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-24) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43), Photo by Yi Yongyun.

(Fig. IV-25) Detail of *The Descent of Maitreya* (fig. III-30). *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.

(Fig. IV-26) Detail of *Boat Race on the Dragon Pond*, 1323, top scroll of (fig III-38).

(Fig. IV-27) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35 and 51). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.

(Fig. IV-28) Detail of Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

(Fig. IV-29) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-42). *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 4.

(Fig. IV-30) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-39). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 55.

(Fig. IV-31) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-40), *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 56.

(Fig. IV- 32) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.

(Fig. IV-33) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43). Photo by Yi Yongyun

(Fig. IV- 34) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-39). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 55.

(Fig. IV-35) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, Song or Kamakura copy. Hanging scroll; colors on silk. 209.3 x 105.0 cm, Amidadera, Nara. *Higashi Ajia no hotoke tachi*, pl. 144.

(Fig. IV-36) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, Song or Kamakura copy Hanging scroll; colors on silk, Chōkōji, Kyōto. *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, ref. pl. 4.

(Fig. IV-37) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Goryeo, Hanging scroll; color on silk, 183.0 x 121.0 cm, Daikōji, Ibaraki-ken. *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment*, pl. 19.

(Fig. IV-38) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent. Goryeo, Hanging scroll; color on silk, 202.8 x 129.8 cm, Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.

(Fig. IV-39) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, the fourth month of 1323, Goryeo. Hanging scroll; color on silk. 214.0 x 112.5 cm, Rinshōji, Aichi-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 55.

(Fig. IV-40) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*. the 10<sup>th</sup> month of 1323, Goryeo. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 224.2 x 139.1 cm, Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 56.

(Fig. IV-41) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 1465, Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 269.0 x 182.1 cm, Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 5.

(Fig. IV-42) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 1434, Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 222.6 x 160.8 cm, Chionji, Kyōto. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 4.

(Fig. IV-43) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 127.5 x 69.5 cm, Hōrinji, Nara. *Bulgyo jungang bangmulgwan gaegwan teukbyeoljeon—Bul*, pl. 29.

(Fig. IV-44) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.

(Fig. IV-45) *Frontispiece of Avatamsaka-sūtra*, ca. 1350, Goryeo, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, KS. Courtesy of Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

(Fig. IV-46) No Yeong, *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*(recto) and *Kṣitigarbha* (verso), 1307, Goryeo. Plaque; gold-line drawing on black-lacquer, 22.5 x 13.0cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul. *Goryeo bulhwa daejeon*, pl. 27.

(Fig. IV-47) *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on indigo blue silk, 90.0 x 45.2 cm, Anain, Gifu-ken. *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu*, I-90.

(Fig. IV-48) *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Goryeo. Hanging scroll, colors on silk, 99.0 x 52.2 cm, Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 20.

(Fig. IV-49) *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent. Goryeo. colors on silk, Private Collection, Japan. *Donga ilbo*, March 6, 2008(internet edition).

(Fig. IV-50) *Amitābha Triad*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Goryeo. Hanging scroll; gold on indigo blue silk, 164.9 x 85.6 cm, Sontaiji, Yamanashi-ken. *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeonggu*, I-33.

(Fig. IV-51) *Amitābha Triad*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; colors on silk, 139.0 x 87.9 cm Nezu Museum, Tōkyō. silk, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 10.

(Fig. IV-52) *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, late 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on red silk, 170.9 x 90.9 cm, Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 16.

(Fig. IV-53) *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, late 14th cent., Goryeo, Hanging scroll; color on silk, 146.9 x 85.9 cm, Kozanji, Yamaguchi-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 98.

(Fig. IV-54) *Śākyamuni and the Ten Disciples*, 16<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold and silver on silk, 59.5 x 37.8 cm, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne. *Art of the Korean Renaissance*, cat. no. 40.

(Fig. IV-55) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.

(Fig. IV-56) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.

(Fig. IV-57) *A Figure Riding the Dragon*, excavated from a tomb of the Chu Kingdom (–223 BCE), Changsha, Hunan sheng.



(Fig. IV-58) *The Dragon Boat*, woodblock-print, frontispiece of *The Amitābha Sūtra*, 1577, Joseon, printed at Yongcheonsa, Jeollanam-do, 30.5 x 19.4 cm, Gim Minyeong Collection, Seoul. *Bulseo reul tonghae bon Joseon sidae seunim ui ilsang*, entry 12.

(Fig. IV-59) Top: *Three Generations of Buddhas*, bottom: *The Illustration of the Genealogical Account of Girimsa*, attr. 1788, Joseon, 225.5 x 335.5 cm, the Dongguk University Museum at Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. *Hanguk ui bulhwa* 18, pl. 3.

(Fig. IV-60) Detail of *The Illustration of the Genealogical Account of Girimsa* (fig. IV-59).

(Fig. IV-61) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, attr. 18<sup>th</sup> cent., exterior wall, the Ten Kings Hall, Eunhasa, Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do (now in the Dongguk University Museum, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do) .

(Fig. IV-62) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, mural, exterior wall of the Jeweled Hall of Ultimate Bliss (Geungnak bojeon), Tongdosa, Gyeongsangnam-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa byeokhwa* (2008).

(Fig. IV-63) North wall of the Jeweled Hall of Ultimate Bliss, Tongdosa. Gyeongsangnam-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2008).

(Fig. IV-64) *The Dragon Boat of Wisdom*, dated to 1809, outer wall of the Hall of the Ultimate Bliss, Silleusa, Jecheon, Chungcheongbuk-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2007).

(Fig. IV-65) Outer wall of the Hall of the Ultimate Bliss, Silleusa, Jecheon, Chungcheongbuk-do, *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2007).

(Fig. IV-66) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, late nineteenth century, the interior west wall of the Hall of the Great Hero, Cheongnyongsa, Anseong, Gyeonggi-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2006), p. 100.

(Fig. IV- 67) The interior west wall of the Hall of the Great Hero, Cheongnyongsa, Anseong, Gyeonggi-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2006), p. 99.

(Fig. IV-68) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, late nineteenth century, the exterior north wall of the Jeweled Hall of the Great Hero, Bogwangsa, Paju, Gyeonggi-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2006), p. 141.

(Fig. IV- 69) *The Dragon Boat of Wisdom*, 1898, Tongdosa. *Hanguk ui bulhwa*.

(Fig. IV- 70) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, Chion'in, Kyōto (fig. IV-40).

**INTRODUCTION**  
**The Crowing of Hens:**  
**Buddhist Paintings of the Early Joseon Dynasty**

This dissertation studies a distinctive group of Buddhist paintings that were commissioned by Buddhist nuns in the palace cloisters of the early Joseon 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1592).<sup>1</sup> The study employs the perspective that Buddhist painting is a visual record of the religious aspirations of a certain social group of patrons. I examine the iconography and subjects of three specific paintings of the group, and also explore their focal themes and cultic background in relation to the social and institutional status of their patrons. I argue that the paintings are visual manifestations of the salvational aspirations of their female patrons, who were marginalized in the religion, gender, family, and marriage systems of late-sixteenth-century Joseon society.

The paintings that I examine in this study are the only extant examples of the paintings commissioned by the patron group: (1) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*

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<sup>1</sup> The development of Joseon Buddhist painting is generally divided into two phases—the early Joseon (1392–1592) and the late Joseon (1592–1910)—unlike the three or four phases used in the periodization of other genres of Joseon art. The watershed in the development of Joseon Buddhist painting was the Japanese invasion of the Korean Peninsula in 1592–98 and the subsequent attacks by the Manchus in 1627 and 1636. The Japanese invasion led by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537–98) especially brought about drastic changes in Korean Buddhism and Buddhist culture, because most of the material heritage of Korean Buddhism by that time was destroyed, burned down, or plundered during the invasion.

(1575–77, fig. II-1) in Chion'in 知恩院, Kyōto 京都; (2) *The Painting of King Sāla* (1576, fig. III-1) in Seizan bunko 青山文庫, Kōchi-ken 高知県; and (3) *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise* (1582, fig. IV-1, hereafter *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*) in Raigōji 来迎寺, Kagawa-ken 香川県, Japan. *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* depicts Kṣitigarbha's assembly and retributive punishments in hell, *The Painting of King Sāla* illustrates the story of a royal family's troubled journey in search for the Law, and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* pictures Amitābha's assembly welcoming the salvific dragon boat that ferries the soul of a female devotee to his Pure Land. The paintings overall represent suffering (hell) and salvation (paradise)—prime concerns of Buddhists of all times.

### **Significance of the Paintings**

These three late sixteenth-century paintings are so distinctive in various aspects as to form an intriguing body of work. The imagery and themes of the paintings are so peculiar that it is difficult to find any easy parallels in Korean or other traditions of Buddhism. *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (fig. II-1) is of an exceptional composition; the depiction of retributive punishments in hell is combined with a scene of Kṣitigarbha's solemn assembly rather than with the judgment scene usually found in Ten Kings of Hell paintings. The narrative of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1) relates to

an apparently distinctive Korean Amitābha cult, whose textual source has not yet been traced to the Buddhist lore of other cultures. The cult and imagery of the salvific dragon boat, depicted in both *The Painting of King Sāla* and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1), also have been believed to be a Korean invention. Each painting thus appears to have rich religious heritage and promises to disclose facets of sixteenth-century Korean Buddhism that have until now remained veiled.

These paintings are visual embodiments of the religious aspiration, patronage, and practice of Buddhist women of the early Joseon court. Not only were they commissioned by women, but they were dedicated to the salvation of women as well. Furthermore, the paintings as a whole represent women's escalating aspiration for salvation in this period. By replacing the usual judgment scene (with its overtones of "punishment through judgment") with the scene of Kṣitigarbha's assembly, *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* makes explicit its women patrons' wish for "salvation from punishment" by virtue of Kṣitigarbha's compassionate soteriological vows. *The Painting of King Sāla* adds to its narrative the image of a court woman at the crucial moment of Amitābha's salvation (fig. III-23), clearly indicating the hope of its female patrons for their own "salvation to paradise," which holds out even greater hope than "salvation from punishment" visualized in *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*. *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* highlights the scene of a woman crossing over to the Western Paradise in a dragon boat led by Buddha Amitābha (fig. IV-9). The delivered soul represents the specific court woman to whose salvation its patron dedicated the painting. By portraying an identifiable figure, the painting conveys the earnest hope for "salvation of a specific

individual,” picturing “the personalized salvation.” These three paintings as a whole thus exhibit the coherent interests of their female patrons in women’s salvation, and demonstrate the development of positive and personalized notions of salvation among this patron group of Buddhist women in sixteenth-century Korea. The paintings also display strong gender-consciousness in their production and themes that is seldom found in other works of pre-modern Korean art.

The women patrons of these paintings participated in the court women’s patronage of Buddhism, one of the most distinct aspects of early Joseon Buddhist painting. Many of the Buddhist paintings of the period were produced under court women’s patronage, which has been accordingly a dominant topic in the study of the early Joseon Buddhist painting.<sup>2</sup> Numerous documents and extant artifacts testify to the involvement of court women of various ranks—queen dowagers, queens, royal

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<sup>2</sup> For a list of the early Joseon Buddhist paintings commissioned by court women, see Appendix III. Most studies of early Joseon Buddhist painting are somehow related to the issue of court women’s patronage. The most inclusive articles are: Bak Eungyeong 朴銀卿, “Joseon jeongi seonmyo bulhwa: sungeumhwa” 조선전기 線描佛畫—純金畫 [Line-drawing Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon period: Paintings in pure gold], *Misul sahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 206 (1995): 5–27; Jeong Utaek 鄭于澤, “Joseon wangjo sidae jeongi gungjeong hwapung bulhwa ui yeongu” 朝鮮王朝時代 前期 宮廷畫風 佛畫의 研究 [A study of the court-style Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon dynasty], *Misul sahak* 美術史學 13 (1999): 129–66; and Gim Jeonghui 金廷嬉, “Munjeong wanghu ui jungheung bulsa wa 16-segi ui wangsil barwon bulhwa” 文定王后의 中興佛事와 16世紀의 王室發願 佛畫 [Queen Munjeong’s sponsorship of the revival of Buddhism and Buddhist paintings commissioned by the court during the sixteenth century], *Misul sahak yeongu* 231 (2001): 5–39.

concubines, princesses, consort-princesses, and court matrons—in countless Buddhist projects.<sup>3</sup> The tradition of women’s patronage of Buddhism was well established in the early Joseon court, and often led to vehement disputes between the female Buddhists in the court and the male Confucian officials in the government. The conflict over Buddhist policy and sponsorship between the inner quarters and the administrative offices was even more fervent when a royal woman came to power as a queen dowager—whether as a queen-dowager regent or as the most senior authority in the court. Court Buddhism enjoyed particularly lavish patronage and provoked negative responses from officials during the tenures of Queen Dowager Jeonghui 貞憲 (1418–83), consort of King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–68); Queen Dowager Sohye 昭惠 (1437–1504), mother of King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–94); and Queen Dowager Munjeong 文定 (1501–65), consort of King Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506–44).<sup>4</sup> The dispute between the two camps sometimes grew into a

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<sup>3</sup> No comprehensive list of court women’s patronage of various Buddhist projects has yet been compiled. The records are scattered in *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [The veritable records of the Joseon dynasty], inscriptions on the paintings and sculptures, dedicatory statements on hand-copied or printed sūtras, bells, and alms-bowls, renovation records of monasteries, records on steles, monks’ writings, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The names given here are the posthumous names of each queenship. Because these names are better known and customarily used in academic and popular writings than their names of queen-dowagership, I use the queenship names with the queen-dowager title for the sake of readers’ recognition. Queen Dowager Jeonghui assumed the regency during 1469–76 for her grandson King Seongjong, and Queen Dowager Munjeong did so during 1545–53 for her son King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545–67). Refer to the chart of The Royal Genealogy of the Early Joseon Dynasty in Appendix II. For the Buddhist patronage of Queen Dowager Jeonghui, though

confrontation of “female Buddhists vs. male Confucians,” “female authorities in court vs. male subjects in the government,” or “female users of vernacular Korean script known as *hangeul* vs. male champions of classical Chinese.”<sup>5</sup> Royal Buddhist women resisted the

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focusing on her patronage of scripture prints, see Bak Dohwa 朴桃花, “15-segi hubangi wangsil barwon panhwa: Jeonghui daewang daebi barwonbon eul jungsim euro” 15세기 후반기 王室發願 版畫—貞熹大王大妃 發願本을 중심으로 [Prints commissioned by the court of the latter half of the fifteenth century: With a focus on sūtra prints commissioned by Queen Dowager Jeonghui], *Gangjwa misulsa* 講座美術史 18 (2002): 155–83. For the patronage of Queen Dowager Sohye, see Han Huisuk 한희숙, “Joseon chogi Sohye wanghu ui saengae wa Naehun” 朝鮮初期 昭惠王후의 생애와 內訓 [The life of Queen Sohye and *The Admonitions for Women*], *Hanguk sasang gwa munhwa* 韓國思想과 文化 27 (2005): 81–131. For a number of publications about the patronage of Queen Dowager Munjeong, see the Bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Gender and the Politics of Language in Chosŏn Korea,” in Benjamin A. Elman et al., eds., *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 220–57; Yi Gyeongha 이경하, “Sohye wanghu ui bulgyo ongho bareon gwa jendeo gwollyeok gwangye” 소혜왕후의 불교옹호발언과 젠더권력관계 [Queen Sohye’s remarks to protect Buddhism and their relationship to the gender power], *Hanguk yeoseonghak* 한국여성학 20.1 (2004): 5–32. Both articles discuss the fierce altercations between the two camps over the sponsorship of Buddhism by court women in King Seongjong’s administration. The altercations were voiced through the government officials’ responses to the queen dowagers’ letters in *hangeul* to the officials in the royal audience, which were translated into classical Chinese by the Confucian chroniclers of the *Joseon wangjo sillok* (*Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, gwon 117, Seongjong 11 [1480].5.30 (*giyu* 己酉); gwon 164, Seongjong 15 [1484].3.1 (*muja* 戊子) ff.; and gwon 271, Seongjong 23 [1492].11.21 (*muja* 戊子) ff.). Haboush interprets this as “degenderization” and “depowerization” of women participants in the public realm by the male historians of the *Sillok* through the manipulation of diglossic practice of classical Chinese and vernacular Korean.

never-ending anti-Buddhist petitions and memorials of Confucian officials and continued their support of Buddhism. To the court women's overt manifestations of their patronage of Buddhism, Confucian officials repeatedly responded, "If a hen crows at dawn, the house will fall down."<sup>6</sup> History shows that this "crowing of hens" referred to the major role played by Buddhist women of the early Joseon court in continuing the Buddhist tradition by promoting Buddhism and sponsoring Buddhist art at the very center of the Confucian polity during the period conventionally labeled a time of the "decline of Buddhism."<sup>7</sup> The three paintings studied here are also an outcome of this "crowing of hens" in the early Joseon court.

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<sup>6</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 271, Seongjong 23 [1492].11.27 (*gabo* 甲午). This phrase never failed to be used by Joseon Confucians whenever they found women asserting their own opinions. The phrase is from Mushi 牧誓 Chapter of *Shujing* 書經 [The book of documents]: The ancients had a saying: The hen should not call the morning. If the hen calls the morning, (there is the ransacking of the house =) the house should be ransacked for baleful influences 古之有言曰 牝雞無晨 牝雞之晨 惟家之索. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Göteborg, Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1950), 28–29.

<sup>7</sup> This view of early Joseon Buddhism is found in most of the modern writings about Buddhism and Buddhist culture of the early Joseon period. Such definitive terms as "elimination of Buddhism" (*baebul* 排佛), "suppression of Buddhism" (*eokbul* 抑佛), "abolition of Buddhism" (*pyebul* 廢佛), and "expulsion of Buddhism" (*cheokbul* 斥佛) never fail to appear in writings on early Joseon Buddhism. These terms originated from Japanese scholars' view of Joseon Buddhism and overshadowed Korean study of Buddhism even after Japanese colonial rule (1910–45). Recent studies of early Joseon Buddhism, however, have emphasized aspects of its autonomous development rather than its suppression by the political and socioeconomic policies of successive royal administrations; the aspects include the religious function of Buddhism in the



Furthermore, the women patrons of the paintings were Buddhist nuns, an exceptional social group that has not drawn adequate attention in the studies of Korean history and Buddhism, and an extraordinary patron group that has hardly ever been recognized in the field of Korean art history.<sup>8</sup> These nun-patrons included both former royal secondary wives, who took the tonsure after their royal husbands died, and fully ordained nuns from non-royal families. The nun-patrons clearly experienced a multifaceted marginality at the centrum of the patriarchal Confucian ideology.<sup>9</sup>

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Confucian Joseon polity, court (especially court women's) patronage, and dissemination of Buddhism among the local populace.

<sup>8</sup> The study of the nuns of pre-modern Korea has been confined thus far to a handful of articles by a small number of scholars. Each subject—such as nuns of the Three Kingdoms and Goryeo periods, and the royal nunnery and Buddhist cloisters of the early Joseon period—has been illuminated in one or two articles, mostly published in the 2000s. Noteworthy are the international conference on Korean nuns, including the modern and contemporary nuns, at the panel of the 2002 Annual Meeting of Association of Asian Studies, “Researching Buddhist Nuns in Korea: A Multidisciplinary Perspective,” and another international conference, “Korean Nuns within the Context of East Asian Buddhist Traditions,” held in Anyang 安養, Gyeonggi-do 京畿道, Korea in 2004. The proceedings of the latter conference are: Hanmaum seonwon 한마음선원, ed., *Dong Asia ui bulgyo jeontong eseo bon Hanguk biguni ui suhaeng gwa sam* 동아시아의 불교 전통에서 본 한국 비구니의 수행과 삶 (Korean Nuns within the Context of East Asian Buddhist Traditions), 2 vols. (Anyang, Gyeonggi-do: Hanmaum seonwon, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> The definition of the nun-patrons' standing presupposes the social status of women in general of the early Joseon dynasty. Contrary to the conventional picture of early Joseon women as total victims of the patriarchal social paradigm of Confucianism, recent socio-historical studies of genealogies and inheritance documents indicate that early Joseon women enjoyed much higher standing in the family, marriage, and inheritance systems than did their descendants in the late Joseon dynasty. Accordingly, scholars agree that the Confucianization of Joseon society was not

Becoming a royal concubine was a prestigious event for a young woman. However, even when her husband, the supreme authority, was still alive, being a secondary wife involved many layers of marginalization in the marriage and family systems of the patrilineal society of the Joseon dynasty. When the king died, a concubine's marginalization became literal as well as figurative. She was completely excluded from the radius of political power. Furthermore, she was turned out of the residence in the inner quarters that she had enjoyed in her heyday and forced (seemingly of her own free will) to live with other surviving concubines in a common residence or in a royal Buddhist nunnery on the outskirts of the Joseon palace compounds. The situation of nuns from non-royal families was much worse. To be a Buddhist nun was to belong to two social minorities, those of religion and gender. In the male-oriented Confucian society, Buddhist nuns existed outside the boundary of the social order that Confucian patriarchy structured and advocated.<sup>10</sup> To male Confucians, they were beyond the patriarchal system of social

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completed until the seventeenth century. One of the most well-known studies in English on this issue is: Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). Thus the marginality with which I characterize the nun-patron group of the early Joseon period may sound contradictory to this new characterization of early Joseon women. However, I take the case of the court women, including the nun-patrons, as an exception, because they were at the epicenter of the polity base of Confucian ideology, where the patriarchal role of the sovereign was essential.

<sup>10</sup> Confucian patriarchy stipulates that a woman should stay within the fundamental unit of the Confucian social system through marriage, and observe the Confucian principle of the three kinds of subordination (*samjong ji do* 三從之道)—subordination to father, husband, and son—thus deferring to a man at each stage of her life.

protection. This study pursues the themes of the three paintings under consideration from the perspective of the marginal status of their nun-patrons.

Nuns of the Joseon dynasty were “marginalized and silenced” in the both official and private literature of the Joseon dynasty.<sup>11</sup> Because Buddhist nuns lived outside the boundaries of the social order that Confucian patriarchy constructed, they were not subjects of interest either to Confucian literati in their private writings or to the historiographers who wrote the official dynastic histories. Nor were their activities recorded in other official documents, since they were totally excluded from the monk examinations, clerical ranks, and administrative positions of the Buddhist Order. Neither biographies nor writings of Joseon nuns themselves are known.<sup>12</sup> All the information that

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<sup>11</sup> This phrase comes from the title of John Jorgensen’s article “Marginalised and Silenced: Buddhist Nuns of the Chosŏn Period,” in Hanmaeum seonwon, ed., *Dong Asia ui bulgyo jeontong eseo bon Hanguk biguni ui suhaeng gwa sam*, 2: 88–105. I referred to the longer version of the author’s manuscript in Eun-su Cho, ed., *More than Women: Historical Illuminations: Korean Nuns within the Context of East Asian Tradition* (2007 draft ms.). I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Jorgensen for allowing me to read his manuscript prior to its publication.

<sup>12</sup> The silence of literary sources on nuns in Korea is true throughout the dynasties. The community of Buddhist nuns (Skt. *bhikṣuṇī saṃgha*) was present in the Baekje 百濟 (18 BCE–663 CE) and Silla 新羅 (57 BCE–935 CE) Kingdoms from the very inception of Buddhism in the kingdoms. What is known about the Baekje nuns is a brief inferential reconstruction of the nuns’ order from the records of both the Southern Dynasties, China, and Japan. As for the Silla nuns, a clerical rank of *doyunarang* 都維那娘 (chief rectress) of the Silla nuns’ order and the instances of Queens’ becoming nuns are known from the records of *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 [The history of the Three Kingdoms] and *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 [The memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms]. The dynastic histories of Goryeo (918–1392), *Goryeosa* 高麗史 [The history of the Goryeo

we have at the moment about Joseon nuns is what *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 or *The Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty* (hereafter the *Sillok*) reveals about Buddhist nuns around the royal cloisters in the palace. Thus the examination of the nun-patrons in this dissertation mainly focuses on those who were former royal concubines, which is appropriate in light of the fact that the paintings were produced and enshrined in places established for the royal-concubine-turned-nuns and they were the major sponsors of the commissions of the paintings.

However, even the information that the *Sillok* provides on the royal nuns is, not surprisingly, full of bias and criticism by Confucian officials and historiographers, as well as extremely fragmentary and omissive. Royal nuns and their institutions were recorded in the *Sillok* only vis-à-vis issues regarding the government policy enforcement or issues that offended ready-to-be-outraged Confucian officials. Thus all the information that the *Sillok* provides is related either to the administration of abolitions, reinstitutions, and relocations of the Buddhist institutions, or to nuns' wrongdoings (to the eyes of the

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dynasty] and *Goryeosa jeoryo* 高麗史節要 [The essentials of the Goryeo history], are not informative on Goryeo nuns, either. Both these official histories of the Goryeo dynasty were compiled by Confucian scholars of the Joseon dynasty, in 1451 and 1452, respectively. Given this lack of literature, recent study of nuns of the Goryeo dynasty has employed the records on female Dharma disciples found on the steles of master monks and the records of Goryeo women's epitaphs. See Gim Yeongmi 김영미, "Goryeo sidae biguni ui hwaldong gwa sahoe jeok jiji" 高麗時代 比丘尼의 활동과 사회적 지위 [The activities and social status of Buddhist nuns of the Goryeo period], *Hanguk munhwa yeongu* 한국문화연구 1 (Autumn 2001): 67–96. For Korean nuns of the Three Kingdoms and Goryeo periods, see the entries of Gim Yeongtae 金煥泰 and Gim Yeongmi 김영미 in the Bibliography.

officials) that prompted many criticisms and memorials by officials. No information on the lives and practices of female Buddhists in their cloisters is recorded in the *Sillok*. Moreover, the complete records of King Seonjo's 宣祖 reign (1567–1608), which is the temporal setting of the paintings examined here, are even sketchier, because the original chroniclers' drafts for compiling the *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄 were all burned during the Japanese invasion and reconstituted afterwards.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, I still use the *Sillok* to the full extent possible because it is the only source known at the moment that is useful at all in constructing the institutional and practical settings of the nun-patrons of the paintings.<sup>14</sup>

The three paintings also showcase the forms of Buddhist worship and the cults that court women adopted in the Joseon palace compounds where the paintings were produced and enshrined.<sup>15</sup> The Kṣitigarbha and Amitābha worship that the paintings

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<sup>13</sup> Sin Gyeu 신계우, “Seonjo sillok haeje” 宣祖實錄解題 [The bibliographical notes of the *Veritable Records of King Seonjo*] in *Jeollado saryojip* 전라도사료집 12 (1994), 238.

<sup>14</sup> Other records about Joseon nuns in the *Sillok* are mostly related to cases where nuns were involved in some misdeeds that required state interrogation, which also gave Confucian officials grounds for vehemently criticizing nuns. Nuns' names are also occasionally found in monastery gazetteers, where they are listed as donors of some votive projects in local monasteries. However, the monastery gazetteers were compiled in the early twentieth century and carry the records of the late Joseon dynasty, mostly of the late nineteenth century and later. Some of the *Sillok* and monastery gazetteer records are cited in John Jorgensen, “Marginalised and Silenced: Buddhist Nuns of the Chosŏn Period.”

<sup>15</sup> *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* is from the Jasugung 慈壽宮 Cloister, one of the palace cloisters discussed in detail in Chapter One, as clarified in its inscription. The places where the

illustrate had been two of the most popular objects of Buddhist faith among women devotees since the Goryeo period (918–1392). The worship of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha was especially popular among Buddhist women of the early Joseon court. Hand-copies or prints of *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* 地藏菩薩本願經 (K. *Jijang bosal bonwongyeong*) or *The Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha* and images of the bodhisattva were frequent offertory commissions of Joseon court women.<sup>16</sup> The sūtra particularly attracted female believers for various reasons. It emphasizes maternal filial piety, in that Śākyamuni Buddha preached it for his deceased mother, Lady Māyā. Moreover, in some episodes of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha’s past vows in the sūtra, it is the accumulated merit of daughters’ pious faith that delivers their mothers from the suffering of retribution. Above all, the sūtra repeatedly holds out to Buddhist women the promise of “release from the woman’s body” so that they can attain buddhahood. Kṣitigarbha worship must thus have had special meaning to Buddhist women living in the male-oriented Confucian society.

The paintings testify the popularity of a distinctive Amitābha cult—Amitābha’s salvation of souls via dragon boat—among devotees of the sixteenth century Korean

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other two paintings were enshrined are not specified, but they were most likely enshrined in the palace cloisters, based on their circumstances of production and patronage being similar to those of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*. This is addressed in more detail in Chapters Three and Four.

<sup>16</sup> Court women’s patronage both of images of Kṣitigarbha and of publication of *The Sūtra of the Original Vows* is discussed in Chapter Two.

Buddhism. The cult of Amitābha’s salvific dragon boat seems to have been especially popular among court women, since paintings of the subject was frequently commissioned by them.<sup>17</sup> The paintings demonstrate that their patrons were interested not only in the iconic representation of the Buddha Amitābha for worship or meditative visualization, but also in the direct expression of their imminent spiritual concerns—namely, salvation via Amitābha’s soteriological compassion. Buddhist women of sixteenth-century Joseon supplicated Amitābha’s active involvement in their own salvific moment, as seen in *The Painting of King Sāla* and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, both of which portray women’s own images on their way of salvific voyage.

In addition, the three paintings studied here all shared the same fate: they were taken from home soon after they were produced, survived centuries in obscurity or with a newly acquired national identity at foreign adoptive houses in Japan, and have only recently reclaimed their rightful presence and identity.<sup>18</sup> Their fate epitomizes the destiny of the majority of Korean Buddhist paintings from the Goryeo and early Joseon dynasties in Japan.<sup>19</sup> The reception of the Korean “diaspora” paintings in Japan is an important issue, in that it has defined the development of the study of these paintings and, by extension, early Joseon Buddhist painting in general. I discuss this topic in depth later

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<sup>17</sup> Beyond *The Painting of King Sāla* and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, a document reveals that another painting of the salvific dragon boat was commissioned by a court woman in the mid-sixteenth century. This is discussed in Chapter Four.

<sup>18</sup> The provenance and history of each painting are detailed in each pertinent chapter.

<sup>19</sup> For information on the list of Korean Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections, see note 26 below.

in this Introduction, to shed light on the history and state of the study of Korean Buddhist painting of the Goryeo and early Joseon dynasties, which may be unfamiliar to some western readers.

## Previous Studies

Notwithstanding the intriguing significance that these three paintings had for women and Buddhism of the early Joseon period, their study has been at a near standstill since earlier introductions cataloging or featuring each painting. *The Painting of King Sāla* was attributed to Joseon Korea at an early stage, owing to the *hangeul* script narrating each scene of the painting (fig. III-5).<sup>20</sup> Since then, the painting has been mostly studied from the perspective of the narrative, including tracking down the visual storyline through translation of the accompanying text written in medieval Korean and comparing the image and text, not to mention the numerous analyses of other strictly literary genres recounting the same narrative.<sup>21</sup> *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* was first

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<sup>20</sup> Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫, “Seizan bunko-zō Anrakukoku taishikyō hensō” 青山文庫藏 安樂國太子經變相 [The *Transformation Tableau of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* in the collection of Seizan bunko], *Gim Jaewon baksa hoegap ginyeom nonchong* 金載元博士 回甲記念論叢 [Festschrift in honor of Dr. Gim Jaewon on his sixtieth birthday] (Seoul: Gim Jaewon baksa hoegap ginyeom saeop wiwonhoe, 1969), 1063–91.

<sup>21</sup> Art historical analysis is partly employed in Gim Jeonggyo 金貞教, “Joseon chogi byeonmun sik bulhwa: Allakguk taejagyong byeonsangdo” 朝鮮初期 變文式 佛畫—安樂國太子經 變相圖 [A Buddhist painting of the early Joseon period in the mode of the transformation text: The



introduced in 1983 by Nishigami Minoru 西上實, who discussed its inscription, dating, and scriptural source.<sup>22</sup> A decade later, its iconography, pictorial motifs and technique, and the textual source for hell depiction were more extensively described and examined by Bak Eungyeong 朴銀卿.<sup>23</sup> Also inheriting the earlier introduction by Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭 of the inscription, iconography, style, and medium of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*,<sup>24</sup> Jeong Utaek 鄭于澤 attempted to seek the iconographic

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*Transformation Tableau of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk*], *Gonggan* 空間 208 (1984): 86–94. For the studies of literature incorporating pictorial aspects and the narrative in other genres of literature, see the Bibliography.

<sup>22</sup> Nishigami Minoru 西上實, “Jizō hongankyō hensōzu” 地藏本願經變相図 [The transformation tableau of *The Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha*], *Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan Gakusō* 京都國立博物館 學叢 5 (March 1983): 129–36.

<sup>23</sup> Bak Eungyeong 朴銀卿, “Richō zenki butsuga no kenkyū: Jizō bosatsuzō o chūshin ni” 李朝前期仏画の研究—地藏菩薩図像を中心に [A study of Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon period: With a focus on the iconography of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha] (PhD diss., Kyūshū University, 1993), 57–93.

<sup>24</sup> Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭, “Honjima Raigōji no Amida Jōdozu ni tsuite: Richō butsuga junkinga no seisaku haikai ni tsuite” 本島来迎寺の阿弥陀浄土図について—李朝仏画純金画の制作背景について [On the *Amitābha’s Pure Land* in the collection of Raigōji in Honjima: Regarding the production background of pure gold Buddhist paintings in the Yi dynasty], *Kagawa-ken bunkazai kyōkaihō* 香川県文化財協会報, 1987-nen tokubetsu-gō 1987年 特別号 (March 1988): 15–25.

and religious tradition of the painting in Korean Pure Land Buddhism.<sup>25</sup> Thus, scholarship on the three paintings has yet to move beyond focusing on each individual painting. Scholars have been curious about distinctive features of the paintings such as the identities of nun-patrons listed in the inscriptions, the Jasugung 慈壽宮 or the Palace of Compassionate Longevity, where *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* was enshrined, the allegedly distinctive Korean Amitābha cult seen in the narrative of *The Painting of King Sāla*, and the salvific dragon boat depicted in both *The Painting of King Sāla* and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, all of which are hoped to reveal unknown aspects of the sixteenth-century Korean Buddhism. However, efforts to decode the visual signs of the paintings have not been successful. Key issues of each painting remain unresolved and more general issues raised by the three paintings as a group remain to be addressed.

## **Organization of the Dissertation**

Intrigued with the significance of the questions that these three paintings raise and with the goal of expanding current studies by examining the paintings as a group within the context of their patronage, I pursue in this dissertation the integrative significance of the paintings that is defined in the course of examining key issues of each painting. Study of

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<sup>25</sup> Jeong Utaek 鄭于澤, “Naeyeongsa Amita jeongtodo” 來迎寺 阿彌陀淨土圖 [*Amitābha's Pure Land* in the Raigōji collection], *Bulgyo misul* 佛教美術 12 (1994): 51–71.

the patron group of the paintings in Chapter One is followed by examinations of each of the three paintings in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. An integrative interpretation of the themes of the paintings in the light of the status of their patrons is offered in the Conclusion.

Chapter One introduces the patron group of Buddhist nuns associated with the Joseon court who are recorded in the inscriptions of all three paintings and bring this previously unrecognized patron group to light. The discussion provides readers with an environmental background of Buddhist worship of Joseon court women and with an interpretative frame for the following discussion of each painting. In the first section, I examine the identity and formation of the nuns in the early Joseon palace in order to illuminate the social status of the patrons. The second section addresses the institutional affiliation of the nun-patrons with either the official royal convent, the Jeongeobwon 淨業院 (The Temple of Pure Karma [which leads to rebirth in the Pure Land]), or the royal-residence-turned-Buddhist-cloisters represented by the Jasugung 慈壽宮 (The Palace of Compassionate Longevity) and Insugung 仁壽宮 (The Palace of Benevolent Longevity). The discussion of these institutions' history and their court support will elucidate the institutional setting of the nun-patrons. In the third section, I discuss the religious environment and practices in the Buddhist cloisters to reconstruct the physical setting of the production and enshrinement of the paintings. Finally, I argue that the painting *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1) is a pictorial documentation of the literary image of the Buddhist cloisters drawn from the principal literary source of the *Sillok*.

The discussion of each painting starts with an examination of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (fig. II-1) in Chapter Two, whose enshrinement place, the Jasugung Sanctuary named in its inscription, initiates the study of the three paintings in the perspective of Buddhist worship and patronage of court women in the Joseon palace. The first section analyzes the inscription, confirming the identification of the patrons in relation to the enshrinement place, the intention of the offering, the subject matter, and the date. The next three sections concern the distinctive pictorial characteristics of the painting: (1) the addition of a new member of Kṣitigarbha's retinue, (2) the compositional and thematic emphasis on the depiction of the donors' offering scene, and (3) the unconventional composition that integrates the Kṣitigarbha assembly scene and the comprehensive hell scenes in a single picture space. The first discussion contrasts the iconographic development of the Kṣitigarbha cult in later Chinese and Korean Buddhism. The second and third discussions interpret the significance of both the offering scene and the distinctive synthetic composition from the perspective of the commission intention and religious desires of the nun-patrons, interpreting the painting as the patrons' prayers for salvation from suffering. The final section extends the discussion to the early Joseon court women's patronage of images and sūtra prints of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell and sheds light on the tradition of Kṣitigarbha worship and its significance to Buddhist women in the early Joseon court.

Chapter Three discusses *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1), presenting the painting as a visualization of the aspiration for women's salvation to paradise. I examine

the literature of the painting—the inscription, the donation record, and the narrative—in the first section. The pursuit of the patron and enshrinement place that are not given in the inscription through the exploration of the career of a possible patron and the provenance of the painting reinforces the grouping of these paintings proposed in this dissertation. Next the textual source of the narrative that has long drawn scholarly interests is reconsidered to raise the possibility that it was also formed in China. In the second section, I examine briefly pictorial elements of the painting and suggest that the present painting was very likely based on one that maintained pictorial motifs of the Goryeo Buddhist tradition. The third section focuses on the thematic motif of the painting, the salvific dragon boat, looking for pictorial parallels in East Asian culture to determine the iconographic origin of the salvific dragon boat. Then I examine the representation of the salvation via boat in East Asian Buddhism and propose that the cult of salvific dragon boat was shared by Buddhist culture of the East Asian countries. Finally, returning the discussion back to the significance of the painting to the nun-patrons, I study the meaning of the narrative for court female Buddhists and how the religious aspiration of the patrons was visualized in the painting of the narrative.

Chapter Four studies the third painting *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1) and features the visualization of personalized salvation highlighting the image of a specific individual's deliverance. A brief comment on the content of the inscription in the first section is followed by a full discussion on the iconography of the painting in the second section. I identify the subject matter and iconographic tradition of the painting through the detailed examination of each pictorial element, placing the

painting in the pictorial tradition of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*. Then I examine the religious significance of the motif of Amitābha's salvation via dragon boat in the developments of paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* and the Amitābha cult of the Korean Pure Land Buddhist tradition. The third section explores the painting from the perspective of its medium, the gold line drawing on red silk that was favored by court women for their commissions in the early Joseon period to show the painting was produced in the tradition of court women's patronage. The last section returns the focus on the salvific dragon boat and studies the doctrinal development of the belief in the salvation via boat in Buddhist literature, which is not discussed in Chapter Three. Finally, the later development of the salvific dragon boat in Korean Buddhist literature and paintings is also briefly addressed, demonstrating the continuation of the cult and iconography depicted in these early Joseon paintings into modern Korean Buddhism.

In conclusion, piecing together my findings from the examination of each painting in its own chapter, I integrate the core theme and pictorial devices to represent it and reconsider the visualization of the salvational aspiration of the nun-patrons from the doctrinal discourse on women's salvation in Buddhism.

## Korean Buddhist Paintings in Japanese Collections

The great majority of extant Korean Buddhist paintings produced prior to the seventeenth century survived for centuries in Japan.<sup>26</sup> The Japanese collection of Goryeo and early Joseon Buddhist paintings was built up through diverse channels, including lootings, various forms of trade, diplomatic gifts, and so on, but largely through the Japanese invasion of Korean Peninsula in 1592–98 and some later in the Japanese colonial period of 1910–45.<sup>27</sup> Many paintings taken to Japan were donated at some point to monasteries

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<sup>26</sup> The most up-to-date comprehensive list of early Joseon Buddhist paintings, made out by Bak Eungyeong 朴銀卿, totals around 98 paintings in the Japanese collections, out of the 122 works attributed to early Joseon. Early Joseon Buddhist paintings now in Korean and Western collections account for about 13 and 11 works respectively, many of which found their way to their present homes via Japanese collection in the early twentieth century and later (the numbers are, of course, subject to future change). See Bak Eungyeong 박은경, *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu* 조선전기 불화연구 [Studies in Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon dynasty] (Seoul: Sigongart, 2008), 26–29. Also refer to “Richō butsuga genzon risuto” 李朝仏画現存リスト [The list of the extant Buddhist paintings of the Yi dynasty] in Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsuten*, 146–48. In the case of Goryeo Buddhist painting, 124 paintings out of the 168 extant works are known to be in Japanese collections. See “Kōrai butsuga genzon sakuhin” 高麗仏画現存作品 in *Kōrai · Richō no bukkuyō bijutsuten* 高麗·李朝の仏教美術展 [The exhibition of Buddhist art of the Goryeo and Joseon dynasties], ed. Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan 山口県立美術館 (Yamaguchi-ken: Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, 1997), 122–25.

<sup>27</sup> See Kusui Takashi 楠井隆志, “Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsu denrai kō” 高麗李朝の仏教美術伝来考 [A study on the transmission of Buddhist art of the Goryeo and Yi dynasties], in *Kōrai Richō no bukkuyō bijutsuten*, 95–105. For Korean collections established during the Japanese

across the country, especially around western Japan in the areas of Kyūshū 九州, Chūgoku 中国, and Shikoku 四国.<sup>28</sup> Some of the monastery collections have recently been entrusted to local museums or institutions of cultural properties, or sold to foreign collections.

Having been housed in Japanese collections for centuries, a large number of Korean Buddhist paintings in Japan lost their national identity and were attributed, instead, to Chinese artists until the early twentieth century. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, active investigations and discoveries of Buddhist paintings in Japan helped these paintings reclaim their true place of origin. However, the re-identification was focused on Goryeo Buddhist paintings. At the beginning of the 1980s, Goryeo Buddhist painting enjoyed worldwide recognition, which led to erroneous attributions of the early

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colonial period, see Yi Guyeol 李龜烈, *Hanguk munhwajae bihwa* 韓國文化財秘話 [The hidden stories of Korean cultural properties] (Seoul: Hanguk misul chulpansa, 1973). This book was translated into Japanese under the title, *Ushinawareta Chōsen bunka: Nihon shiryaku ka no Kankoku bunkazai hiwa* 失われた朝鮮文化--日本侵略下の韓国文化財秘話 [Korean culture lost: The hidden stories of Korean cultural properties during the Japanese colonial rule], trans. Nam Yeongchang 南永昌 (Tōkyō: Shinsensha, 1993).

<sup>28</sup> Thus some publications bring together the early Joseon Buddhist paintings especially in these areas. Jeong Utaek 정우택, “Ilbon Shikoku jiyeok Joseonjo jeongi bulhwa josa yeongu” 日本四國地域 朝鮮朝 前期 佛畫 調査 研究 [A survey of early Joseon Buddhist paintings in the collections of the Shigoku region in Japan], *Dongak misul sahak* 東岳美術史學 9 (2008): 57–89; Bak Eungyeong and Jeong Eunu 정은우, ed., *Seo Ilbon jiyeok Hanguk ui bulsang gwa bulhwa* 西日本지역 한국의 불상과 불화 [Korean Buddhist sculptures and paintings in the collections in the region of western Japan] (Busan: Minjok munhwa, 2008).



Joseon Buddhist paintings to the Goryeo period. It was not until the 1990s that early Joseon Buddhist paintings were distinguished from Goryeo paintings, and thus took their rightful place in the history of Korean Buddhist painting.

### **1. Lost Identity: Korean Buddhist Paintings in Japan until the Early Twentieth century**

Most of the Korean Buddhist paintings in Japan survived into the early twentieth century under the guise of having been painted by legendary Chinese artists. Pre-modern Japanese connoisseurship had assigned each “Buddhist painting requested and brought in [from the Continent to Japan]” (*shōrai butsuga* 請来仏画) to a certain preordained Chinese painter depending on the subject matter of the painting. A simple classification system was adopted for this practice, based on such writings as *Kundaikan sō chōki* 君台觀左右帳記 of the Muromachi period (1338–1573).<sup>29</sup> According to this system, a painting of Avalokiteśvara would be attributed to Wu Daozi 吳道子 (ca. 710–60) or

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<sup>29</sup> *Kundaikan sō chōki* 君台觀左右帳記 was a handbook for the management and display of the imported goods or *karamono* 唐物 in the collections of Shōgun or Buddhist monasteries around Kyōto 京都. It was written by the “Three Amis”—Nōami 能阿弥, Geiami 芸阿弥 and Sōami 相阿弥—from the mid-fifteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century. The list and rating of Chinese painters in *Kundaikan sō chōki* became a manual for artists and connoisseurs through the Edo period (1600–1868), greatly influencing connoisseurship in pre-modern Japan. For a comprehensive study of the book, see Yano Tamaki 矢野環, *Kundaikan sō chōki no sōgō kenkyū* 君台觀左右帳記の総合研究 [A comprehensive study of *Kundaikan sō chōki*] (Tōkyō: Bensei shuppan, 1999).

Zhang Sigong 張思恭 (Southern Song), while a painting of Amitābha would be labeled with the name of Zhang Sigong. Xijin jushi 西金居士 (Southern Song) was named as the artist of Arhat paintings, whereas paintings of The Ten Kings of Hell were invariably classified as the works of Lu Xinzong 陸信忠 (Southern Song, fl. the early and mid-thirteenth century). This assignment system was adhered to even when the style of a Korean painting was clearly different from that of paintings known with certainty to have been done by that artist: all that counted in this classification was the subject matter, not the style.

In accordance with this system, over thirty Goryeo paintings of Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara were attributed to Wu Daozi or Zhang Sigong, and many Goryeo Amitabha paintings were handed down under the name of Zhang Sigong.<sup>30</sup> Many early Joseon paintings were also misattributed to Chinese artists. *The Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* in Bairinji 梅林寺, Fukuoka-ken 福岡県, was transmitted under the name of Zhang Sigong despite the date corresponding to 1427 in the inscription.<sup>31</sup> *Kṣitigarbha*

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<sup>30</sup> Examples include the *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* in Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyōto, and another *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* in MOA Bijutsukan, Shizuoka 静岡. For these images, see Kikudake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一 and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa* 高麗時代の佛畫 [Buddhist paintings of the Goryeo period] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1997), pl. 70; Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, *Gendai dōshaku jimbutsuma* 元代道釈人物画 [Daoist and Buddhist figure paintings of the Yuan dynasty] (Tōkyō: Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1977), entry 66.

<sup>31</sup> Bak Eungyeong 박은경, “Ilbon Bairinji sojang ui Joseon chogi Suwol Gwaneum bosaldo” 日本梅林寺所藏의 朝鮮初期 水月觀音菩薩圖 [*Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* of the early Joseon

and the *Ten Kings of Hell*, one of the topic paintings of this dissertation, was attributed to Lu Xinzong only because its subject is related to The Ten Kings of Hell, even though its iconography and composition are different from the other paintings traditionally attributed to the artist.<sup>32</sup> The customary practice of attributing Korean Buddhist paintings to Chinese painters continued through the Edo 江戸 period (1600–1868).

The methodological reformations of the Japanese academy and consequent nationalism and positivism of Japanese historians during the Meiji 明治 (1868–1912) and Taishō 大正 (1912–26) periods enabled some of the Korean Buddhist paintings to first win recognition of their nationality.<sup>33</sup> At the turn of the twentieth century, the Japanese government initiated a nationwide survey of cultural artifacts in the collections of Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines, both to protect cultural assets from a large-scale

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period in the collection of Bairinji, Japan], *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 2 (December 1995): 391, note 1. A good reproduction of the painting is found in Kikutake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一 and Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志, ed., *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū* 世界美術大全集 [The complete collection of world art], Tōyōhen 東洋編 11, Chōsen ōchō 朝鮮王朝 (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1999), pl. 120.

<sup>32</sup> Yabuuchi Gensui 藪内彦瑞, ed., *Chion'inshi* 知恩院史 [The history of Chion'in] (Kyōto: Chion'in, 1937), 768. The details of the reattribution of the painting are addressed in Chapter Two.

<sup>33</sup> For the nationalism and positivism of Meiji-Taishō historians, inspired by the Meiji Reformation to establish a Japanese national system and identity based on the institutions and methodology of the modern Western culture, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

exodus or damage and to provide materials for scholarly research.<sup>34</sup> This led to their designations as National Treasures (*kokuhō* 国宝) or Important Cultural Properties (*jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財).<sup>35</sup> However, these designations reflected Japan's long-time attitude toward China as the source of creativity and civilization. Thus "Chinese imports" had a connotation of being "elegant products."<sup>36</sup> Japan's admiration for Chinese artistic quality was such that if a work demonstrated a high level of artistry, it was naturally attributed to China. Meanwhile, if an item was mediocre, it was assumed to be Korean. Thus the nationality of an imported Buddhist painting was determined not by examination of the actual place of its origin but by prejudice about its artistic quality.

For example, among the three Goryeo paintings of *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, the most excellent one, in the collection of Daitokuji 大徳寺, Kyōto, was attributed to Yuan China and designated as a National Treasure in 1900, whereas the other two were

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<sup>34</sup> The Japanese government established the Temporary Board to Inventory Nationwide Treasures (Rinji zenkoku hōmotsu torishimari kyoku 臨時全国宝物取調局) in 1888 to conduct a nationwide survey of the cultural assets.

<sup>35</sup> The designation of National Treasures was initiated under the Law for the Protection of Ancient Shrines and Temples (Koshaji hōzonhō 古社寺保存法) instituted in 1897. Later, this law was revised and expanded in 1929, 1933, and 1950, and continued into the 1996 revision. On the brief history of the national treasure designation system in Japan, see Yui Suzuki, "Temple as Museum, Buddha as Art: Hōryūji's Kudara Kannon and Its Great Treasure Repository," *RES* 52 (Autumn 2007): 133–34.

<sup>36</sup> Harry D. Harootunian, "The Functions of China in Tokugawa Thought," in *The Chinese and the Japanese: Essays in Political and Cultural Interactions*, ed. Akira Iriye (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 13 and 11.

attributed to Goryeo Korea and not designated as National Treasures until 1907 and 1908, respectively.<sup>37</sup> In the case of early Joseon paintings, this practice continued until the 1980s. *The Assembly of Five Buddhas* in Jūrunji 十輪寺, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫県, which shows a distinctive iconography and elaborate execution, was designated as an Important Cultural Property in 1959 and attributed to Ming China until the 1980s.<sup>38</sup> The painting, however, was later recognized to be a work from late fifteenth-century Joseon, based on the style and color scheme.<sup>39</sup> For another early Joseon painting *The Assembly for*

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<sup>37</sup> Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔, “Kyōkai bijutsu no *aidentiti*: shōrai butsuma kenkyū no tachiba kara” 境界美術のアイデンティティ—請來仏画研究の立場から [The identity of the boundary art: From the standpoint of the study of Buddhist paintings requested and brought in (from the continent)], in *Kataru genzai, katarareru kako: Nihon no bijutsu shigaku 100-nen* 語る現在, 語られる過去: 日本の美術史学 100年 [The present that speaks and the past that is spoken: 100 years of Japanese studies of art history], ed. Tōkyō kokuritsu bunkazai kenkyūjo (Tōkyō: Heibonsha, 1999), 175. For the reproductions of these images, see Kikudake Jun’ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pls. 69 and 70.

<sup>38</sup> Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭, “Hyōgo Jūrinji gobutsu sonzōzu ni tsuite” 兵庫十輪寺の五仏尊像図について [On *Five Buddhas, the Honored Ones* in the collection of Jūrinji at Hyōgo], *Mikkyō zuzō* 密教図像 7 (July 1990): 9. A fine reproduction of this image is found in Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 24.

<sup>39</sup> Hong Yunsik 洪潤植, “Joseon chogi Jūrinji sojang Obul hoesangdo” 朝鮮初期十輪寺所藏五佛會相圖 [*The Assembly of Five Buddhas* of the beginning of the Joseon dynasty in the collection of Jūrinji], *Bulgyo hakbo* 佛教學報 29 (1992): 407–09; and Gang Soyeon 姜素妍, “Chōsen ōchō zenki no ōshitsu shūhen no bukkyō kaiga: Nihon shozai no ihin de mita yokubutsu jidai no ōshitsu no bukkyō bunka” 朝鮮王朝前期の王室周辺の仏教絵画—日本所在の遺品で見た抑仏時代の王室の仏教文化 [Buddhist paintings around the royal court in the early Joseon

*Welcoming the Dragon Boat* discussed in this dissertation, some Japanese scholars suggested a Joseon identity early on.<sup>40</sup> However, other Japanese art historians in established institutions still attributed the painting to the Ming dynasty until the late 1980s.<sup>41</sup>

## **2. Looking for Korean Buddhist Paintings: 1960s–1970s**

The late 1960s through the 1970s was a time of identifying and building the corpus of Korean Buddhist paintings in Japan. The extensive surveys of Buddhist paintings and the recognition of Korean Buddhist paintings yielded various publications and regional exhibitions that initiated the study of Korean Buddhist painting in Japan.

As Japanese academic institutions recovered from World War II, the Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai hogō iinkai 文化財保護委員会)

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period: The court Buddhist culture during the era of Buddhist suppression as seen through extant works in the Japanese collections] (PhD diss., Kyōto University, 2005), 40–42.

<sup>40</sup> Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫, “Chōsen butsuga chō” 朝鮮仏画徴 [A collection of Joseon Buddhist paintings], *Chōsen gakuhō* 朝鮮学報 44 (1967), entry 27; and Mizobuchi Kazuyuki 溝淵和幸, “Sanuki no Chōsen butsuga 2-ten ni tsuite” 讃岐の朝鮮仏画 2点について [On the two Joseon Buddhist paintings in Sanuki], *Seto naikai rekishi minzoku shiryōkan nenpō* 瀬戸内海歴史民俗資料館年報 4 (1979): 46–56.

<sup>41</sup> Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, *Jōdo mandara: gokuraku jōdo to raigō no roman* 浄土曼荼羅—極楽浄土と来迎のロマン [The mandalas of the Pure Land: The Pure Land of ultimate bliss and the roman of welcoming descent] (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1983), fig. 69.

conducted a nationwide survey of Buddhist paintings in the collections of the temples across Japan in 1967, followed by two surveys in 1968–69 and in 1971–72.<sup>42</sup> These surveys also contributed to the discovery of more surviving Korean Buddhist paintings. The outcome of these surveys, reported in 1970 and 1973, included thirteen Korean paintings, mostly of Arhats and Kṣitigarbha, from the sixteenth century of the early Joseon period.<sup>43</sup> In 1975, Matsubara Saburō 松原三郎 led the investigation into Korean Buddhist art from the ninth through the sixteenth centuries and located almost 200 Korean Buddhist paintings across Japan.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> The original goal of these surveys, led by the Chinese painting specialist Suzuki Kei 鈴木敬, was to promote the studies of Japanese Buddhist painting and the early development of Japanese ink painting, as well as the study of the bird-and-flower painting of Chinese Song and Yuan dynasties, which has very few extant works. For it, the survey featured the paintings of Arhats and the Ten Kings of Hell of the Song and Yuan periods.

<sup>43</sup> *Sō Gen butsuga nakanzuku rakanzu jūōzu no kenkyū daiichiji hōkokusho: sōgō kenkyū* 宋元仏画就中羅漢図十王図の研究: 第一次報告書—総合研究 [Studies in paintings of Arhats and the Ten Kings of Hell among the Buddhist paintings of the Song and Yuan dynasties, the first report: Comprehensive studies], vol. 1 (Tōkyō?: s.n., 1970); and vol. 2 (Tōkyō?: s.n., 1973), mimeograph-print.

<sup>44</sup> The investigation was titled as “Chōsen no kyū-jūroku seiki no bukkyō bijutsu ni tsuite no sōgōteki kenkyū” 朝鮮の九—十六世紀の仏教美術に就いての総合的研究 [Comprehensive studies in Buddhist art of ninth through sixteenth century Korea]. I have not been able to find any catalogue or report of this survey. For the information on this survey, see Maeda Kan 前田幹, “Chūgoku Shikoku chihō no Chōsen butsuga” 中国四国地方の朝鮮仏画 [Joseon Buddhist paintings in the regions of Chūgoku and Shikoku], *Nihon no naka no Chōsen bunka* 日本の中の朝鮮文化 50 (1981): 14.

It was Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫 (1900–72) who laid the cornerstone for the modern study of Korean Buddhist painting. Kumagai’s comprehensive catalogue-style article, “Chōsen butsuga chō” 朝鮮佛畫徵 (1967), is groundbreaking in that he put together for the first time seventy-five Korean Buddhist paintings of the Goryeo and early Joseon dynasties, all that he could locate.<sup>45</sup> He added two supplementary articles in 1970 and 1972, creating a working corpus for the study of Korean Buddhist painting and providing a reference for scholars to the present day.<sup>46</sup> By including some paintings about which identifying information was inconclusive by that time or ones that later challenged as to their country of origin, Kumagai left the door open for changes in attributions and academic debates over nationality that still await scholarly agreement.<sup>47</sup> Equally or even more significant is the fact that his proposal to rethink the well-established attributions of certain paintings to China provided a new perspective for the study of East Asian Buddhist painting in Japan. Kumagai’s scholarship should also be

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<sup>45</sup> Kumagai Nobuo, “Chōsen butsuga chō,” *Chōsen gakuhō* 44 (1967): 1–114.

<sup>46</sup> Kumagai Nobuo, “Kyūshū shozai tairiku denrai no butsuga” 九州所在大陸伝來の仏画 [Buddhist paintings in Kyūshū that were transmitted from the continent], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 仏教芸術 76 (1970): 33–48; and Kumagai Nobuo, “Chōsen butsuga shiryō shūi” 朝鮮仏画資料拾遺 [The gleanings from Joseon Buddhist painting materials], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 83 (1972): 60–73.

<sup>47</sup> This is obvious especially in the paintings of Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara, for which Goryeo paintings are renowned. See entries 1, 8, 9, 37, 39, 51, 53, etc. of the 1967 article.



recognized for his in-depth exploration in each specific Buddhist painting from the early Joseon period for the first time.<sup>48</sup>

After Kumagai, more Korean Buddhist paintings were located and introduced, thus expanding the working corpus. Examples of early Joseon Buddhist paintings in Western collections were revealed to the public for the first time.<sup>49</sup> In addition, the first full-fledged introduction by a Korean historian of Korean paintings in Japanese collections was made to the Korean public, which provided Korean scholars with materials with which to attempt to account for the development of Korean painting during the Goryeo and early Joseon dynasties.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Kumagai Nobuo, “Ryūjōin-zō Yakushi sanzonzō ni tsuite” 龍乘院藏 藥師三尊 像について [On the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Triad* in the collection of Ryūjōin], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 69 (December 1968): 56–62; and Kumagai Nobuo, “Seizan bunko-zō Anrakukoku taishikyō hensō” 青山文庫藏 安樂國太子經變相 [The *Transformation Tableau of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* in the collection of Seizan bunko], *Gim Jaewon baksa hoegap ginyeom nonchong* 金載元博士 回甲記念論叢 (Seoul: Gim Jaewon baksa hoegap ginyeom saeop wiwonhoe, 1969), 1063–91.

<sup>49</sup> Horioka Chimei 堀岡智明, “Bosuton bijutsukan-zō Chōsen butsuma ni tsuite” ボストン美術館の朝鮮仏画について [On the Buddhist paintings of the Joseon dynasty in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 83 (1972): 53–59.

<sup>50</sup> Yi Dongju 李東洲, *Ilbon sok ui hanhwa* 日本속의 韓畫 [Korean paintings in Japan] (Seoul: Seomunsa, 1974). It was first journalized as a serial in the newspaper *Hanguk ilbo* 韓國日報 in 1973 and was later published as a book in 1974. Then it was translated into Japanese: “Kikō Nihon ni aru Kankoku butsuma” 紀行 日本にある韓国仏画 [Travelogue: Korean Buddhist paintings in Japan] 1–12, *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 日本美術工藝 436 to 447 (January to December 1975).

The late 1960s and the 1970s saw further developments in the publicizing of Korean Buddhist paintings. The organization of regional exhibitions and publication of several catalogues lent validity to the scholarly research of this heretofore under-examined area of Buddhist art. The catalogue *Awa no butsuma* 阿波の仏画, which gathered the Buddhist paintings surviving in the Awa area of Tokushima 徳島 included five paintings from the early Joseon period.<sup>51</sup> Okayama Prefectural Museum in Okayama-ken 岡山県 (1973), Kyūshū History Museum (Kyūshū rekishi shiryōkan 九州歴史資料館) in Fukuoka 福岡 (1974), and Seto Inland Sea History and Folk Museum (Seto naikai rekishi minzoku shiryōkan 瀬戸内海歴史民俗資料館) in Kagawa-ken 香川県 (1978) also organized exhibitions that included Korean Buddhist paintings that survived in their respective areas.<sup>52</sup>

### **3. Rehabilitation of Goryeo Buddhist Painting: Late 1970s–Early 1980s**

With the discovery of a significant number of Korean Buddhist paintings in the late 1960s through the 1970s, Korean Buddhist paintings finally gained public recognition

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<sup>51</sup> Tada Takanobu 多田高信 and Tanaka Yoshitake 田中善隆, *Awa no butsuma* 阿波の仏画 [Buddhist paintings in Awa] (Tokushima: Shuppan, 1972), pl. 54–58.

<sup>52</sup> Maeda Kan, “Chūgoku Shikoku chihō no Chōsen butsuma,” 13; *Kyūshū shozai Chūgoku Chōsen no bukkyō bijutsu ihinten* 九州所在中国朝鮮の仏教美術遺品展 [Extant Chinese and Korean Buddhist artworks in the collections of Kyūshū] (Kyūshū: Kyūshū rekishi shiryōkan, 1974); and Mizobuchi Kazuyuki, “Sanuki no Chōsen butsuma 2-ten ni tsuite.”

and a well-deserved acknowledgment of their artistic quality. Around 1980, large-scale exhibitions and comprehensive publications synthesized the scholarly findings about these paintings.

The exhibition *Kōrai butsuga* organized by Yamato bunkakan 大和文華館 (1978) was the most comprehensive exhibition of Goryeo Buddhist painting ever mounted.<sup>53</sup> With its wide range of subject matters and the high artistic quality of the paintings, the exhibition not only drew great public attention, but also proved pivotal in bringing the Japanese public to a deeper understanding and appreciation of Korean Buddhist painting.

The Yamato bunkakan *Kōrai butsuga* exhibition made a significant impact on the study of Goryeo Buddhist painting. Based on the exhibition, comprehensive catalogues were published both in Japan and in Korea in the early 1980s: *Kōrai butsuga* 高麗仏画 (1980) in Tōkyō, and *Goryeo bulhwa* 高麗佛畫 (1981) in Seoul.<sup>54</sup> The two catalogues brought together almost all the Goryeo Buddhist paintings known by that time. The

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<sup>53</sup> A catalogue was published in conjunction with the exhibition: Yamato bunkakan 大和文華館, *Kōrai butsuga: waga kuni ni shōraisareta ringoku no konjiki hotoketachi* 高麗仏画—わが国に請來去れた隣国の金色佛たち [Goryeo Buddhist paintings: The golden Buddhas of a neighboring country that were requested and brought in to our country] (Nara: Yamato bunkakan, 1978).

<sup>54</sup> Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志 and Kikudake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一, *Kōrai butsuga* 高麗仏画 [Goryeo Buddhist paintings] (Tōkyō: Asahi shimbunsha, 1980); Yi Dongju 李東洲 et al., eds., *Goryeo bulhwa* 高麗佛畫 [Goryeo Buddhist paintings], vol. 7 of *Hanguk ui mi* 韓國의 美 (Seoul: Jungang ilbosa, 1981).

introduction of color plates of Goryeo Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections was a revelation to Korean scholars. With the accessibility of the images—even in reproduction—Korean scholars whose research subjects had previously been confined to the late Joseon Buddhist paintings that survived in Korean territory could now extend their research fields to the paintings of the Goryeo period.

With the sudden expansion of the number of identified Korean Buddhist paintings and the reassessment of them through exhibitions and catalogues, the understanding of Korean Buddhist painting underwent a remarkable change. Korean Buddhist painting not only reclaimed its presence in the history of East Asian Buddhist painting, but also gained international renown for its unique quality. Goryeo paintings of both Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara enjoyed a special reputation for their exquisite artistry and large number. As a result, paintings of Amitābha or Avalokiteśvara that had not had a decisive national identity were assigned to the corpus of Goryeo painting. The frenzy was such that the Japanese academy began to speculate that Zhang Sigong, the Chinese brand-name artist for Amitābha paintings in pre-modern Japanese connoisseurship, might in fact have been a Goryeo painter, and propose that the “*karabitsu*” 唐筆 (the brush of the Chinese) or “*karae*” 唐絵 (Chinese painting) in the inscriptions on some Japanese paintings might indicate Goryeo paintings.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, when the placement of an

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<sup>55</sup> The suggestion that the paintings attributed to Zhang Sigong might have been produced by (an) artist(s) of Goryeo was first made by Sekino Tadashi 関野貞. Sekino Tadashi, *Chōsen bijutsushi* 朝鮮美術史 [History of Korean art] (Keijō: Chōsen shigakukai, 1932), 183. Ebine Toshio 海老根聰郎 pointed out that the paintings once attributed to Zhang Sigong were thought to be

undated painting was difficult to determine, they, too, fell to Goryeo by default, because neither Korean nor Chinese Buddhist art in later periods has been fully studied.

An example of such a reattribution is the painting *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (fig. IV-52) in Saifukuji 西福寺, Fukui-ken 福井県. The painting was displayed in the exhibition *Kōrai butsuma* in 1978 as a Goryeo piece, but was later redated to the late fifteenth century Joseon dynasty with the close reading of the inscription.<sup>56</sup> Another case in point involves the *Avalokiteśvara by a Nine-Lotus Pond* (C. Jiulian Guanyin tu 九蓮观音图) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It had long been catalogued as a Korean painting, because Korean Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara was well

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Goryeo paintings. Ebine Toshio, *Gendai dōshaku jimbutsuma* 元代道釈人物画 [Daoist and Buddhist figure paintings of the Yuan dynasty] (Tōkyō: Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1977), 131. Kurada Bunsaku 倉田文作 suggested that a unique style seen in some of Japanese sculptures might have been related to the Goryeo painting and wondered if the term “*tōhon*” 唐本 (Chinese model work) in Japanese documents could have meant Goryeo paintings. Kurada Bunsaku, “Kōrai butsuma-ten ni yosete” 高麗仏画展に寄せて [On the occasion of the Exhibition of Goryeo Buddhist Paintings], in Yoshida Hiroshi and Kikudake Jun’ichi, eds., *Kōrai butsuma*, unpaginated.

<sup>56</sup> The painting was entitled *Shūyashinzu* 主夜神圖 (K. Juyasindo) in the exhibition (fig. 42 in the catalogue, *Kōrai butsuma*). Yi Dongju first pointed out that the painting was from the early Joseon in a lecture held in conjunction with the exhibition in 1978, and later he published it. Yi Dongju, “Yeomal Seoncho bulhwa ui teukjing: Juyasindo ui jejak nyeondo e daehayeo” 麗末鮮初 佛畫의 特徵—主夜神圖의 제작년도에 대하여 [The characteristics of Buddhist paintings in the end of Goryeo and the beginning of the Joseon dynasties: On the date of the *Deity of Night*], *Gyegan misul* 季刊美術 10 (Winter 1980): 174–86; reprinted in *Hanguk hoehwa saron* 韓國繪畫史論 (Seoul: Yeolhwadang, 1987), 208–30.

known from early textual account but assigned to the early Joseon because the iconography was obviously different from that of typical Goryeo Avalokiteśvara paintings. However, a Ming attribution was suggested on the basis of the style of the painting<sup>57</sup> and later an infrared photograph disclosed a seal of the donor, Empress Dowager Cisheng 慈聖 (1546–1614) of the Wanli 萬曆 era (1573–1620) of the Ming dynasty, revealing the date to be 1593.<sup>58</sup> Yet another example is the case of *The Bhaiṣajyaguru Triad and the Twelve Guardian Generals* (K. Yaksa samjon sibi sinjangdo 藥師三尊十二神將圖) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>59</sup> This work was once attributed to fourteenth-century Goryeo due to its high artistic quality, but was recognized as a sixteenth-century Joseon painting through a close examination of the inscription.<sup>60</sup>

The late 1970s and the early 1980s was surely the halcyon days in the national rehabilitation of Korean Buddhist painting—or, rather of *Goryeo* painting. However, the historical presence of early Joseon Buddhist painting remained obscure, due to the small

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<sup>57</sup> Hongnam Kim, *The Story of a Painting: A Korean Buddhist Treasure from the Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation* (New York: The Asia Society Galleries, 1991), 50, note 5.

<sup>58</sup> Marsha Weidner, “Imperial Engagements with Buddhist Art and Architecture: Ming Variations on an Old Theme,” in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 129. For more details of this painting, see Marsha Weidner, “Images of the Nine-Lotus Bodhisattva and the Wanli Empress Dowager,” *Jungguksa yeongu* 中國史研究 35 (2005): 245–80.

<sup>59</sup> For a fine image of this painting, see *Selected Masterpieces of Asian Art* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), pl. 110; or Soyoung Lee, *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), cat. no. 14.

<sup>60</sup> Horioka Chimei, “Bosuton bijutsukan-zō Chōsen butsuga ni tsuite,” 54–55.

number of identified works, the misattributions of others to Goryeo period, and the prevailing assumption that Buddhist painting could not have developed in the early Joseon period, given the well-known official anti-Buddhist position of the Joseon government. Therefore, in this period of repatriating Goryeo Buddhist paintings, the Korean Buddhist painting under study consisted either of Goryeo or of late Joseon paintings, whose corpuses of works had already been established. Early Joseon Buddhist painting had yet to claim its rightful historical place.

#### **4. Reclaiming Early Joseon Buddhist Painting: 1980s–1990s**

In the 1980s to mid-1990s, Goryeo Buddhist painting was internationally recognized for its artistic quality and a significant body of scholarship was devoted to it. The catalogue *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa* 高麗時代の佛畫 (1997) synthesized the whole body of the extant Goryeo Buddhist paintings and the scholarship by that time.<sup>61</sup> During this time, early Joseon Buddhist painting remained little unknown with adding a small number of new discoveries. However, new discoveries were mostly unremarkable pieces from the late sixteenth century and thus did not draw scholarly attention. Thus the study of the

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<sup>61</sup> Kikudake Jun'ichi 菊竹淳一 and Jeong Utaek 鄭于澤, ed., *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa* 高麗時代の佛畫 [Buddhist paintings of the Goryeo period] (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1997); published in Japanese edition: *Kōrai jidai no butsuga* 高麗時代の仏画 (Seoul: Sigongsa, 2000).

early Joseon Buddhist painting of this period still remained at the stage of cataloguing already known or newly discovered paintings in Japan.<sup>62</sup>

It was not until the early 1980s that the early Joseon Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections began to be introduced to Korean audiences. A comprehensive catalogue of Joseon Buddhist painting, *Joseon bulhwa* 朝鮮佛畫 was published in Korea in 1984 with 15 out of the approximately 110 Buddhist paintings dated to the early Joseon period.<sup>63</sup> This catalogue was significant in that it made color images of early Joseon paintings—though small in number and wanting in quality by today’s standards—accessible to Korean scholars.

In the mid-1990s, two pivotal exhibitions for early Joseon Buddhist painting were mounted and accompanied by catalogues: *National Treasures of the Early Joseon Dynasty* (*Joseon jeongi gukbojeon* 朝鮮前期國寶展, 1996) at the Ho-Am Art Museum in Seoul and *The Buddhist Art of the Goryeo and Joseon Dynasties* (Kōrai·Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten 高麗·李朝の仏教美術展, 1997) at the Yamaguchi Prefectural Museum in

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<sup>62</sup> The publications updating new findings of early Joseon paintings in this period are: Mizobuchi Kazuyuki, “Sanuki no Chōsen butsuga 2-ten ni tsuite”; Maeda Kan, “Chūgoku Shikoku chihō no Chōsen butsuga”; Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭, *Sanuki no bukkyō kaiga* 讃岐の佛教繪畫 [Buddhist paintings in Sanuki] (Kagawa: Honda shorin, 1984); and Yamamoto Taiichi 山本泰一, “Shinshutsu no nenkimei no aru Richō butsuga” 新出の年紀銘のある李朝仏画 [Newly-discovered and dated Buddhist paintings of the Yi dynasty], *Kinko sōsho* 金鯨叢書 19 (1991): 295–317.

<sup>63</sup> Mun Myeongdae 文明大 et al., eds., *Joseon bulhwa* 朝鮮佛畫 [Joseon Buddhist paintings], vol. 16 of *Hanguk ui mi* 韓國의 美 (Seoul: Jungang ilbosa, 1984).



Yamaguchi-ken, Japan.<sup>64</sup> The Ho-Am exhibition presented early Joseon Buddhist paintings in Japanese collections to Korean audiences for the first time. The Yamaguchi exhibition displayed the most comprehensive collection of the early Joseon Buddhist painting shown to date. A total of 21 were exhibited from the period and this was a public debut for many of them. The two consecutive exhibitions vividly brought to light the brilliance of early Joseon Buddhist painting which nobody had expected. The total of known early Joseon Buddhist paintings amounted to about 120 works by this time.<sup>65</sup> The artistry and number of pieces immediately stimulated scholars' interest, resulting in bringing groundbreaking shift in the focus of Korean Buddhist painting studies. The field of early Joseon Buddhist painting has quickly absorbed the attention of many Korean scholars who might have otherwise worked in the better-established fields of Goryeo and late Joseon Buddhist painting. Thus Korean scholars took the lead in the study of early Joseon Buddhist painting, drawing on Japanese scholars' discoveries and presentations of paintings in Japanese collections. This study is based on the studies of the early Joseon Buddhist painting accomplished last decade in Korea.

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<sup>64</sup> Ho-Am misulgwan 湖岩美術館, *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon: Widaehan munhwa yusan eul chajaseo, 1392–1592 (2)* 朝鮮前期國寶展: 위대한 문화유산을 찾아서 1392–1592 (2) [National treasures of the early Joseon dynasty: In search of the great cultural heritage 1392–1592 (2)] (Seoul: Ho-Am misulgwan 湖岩美術館, 1996); Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, ed., *Kōrai Richō no bukyō bijutsuten*.

<sup>65</sup> See note 26.

Significant advances have been made in the field of early Joseon Buddhist painting over the last decade in Korea.<sup>66</sup> By filling the gap in the history of Korean Buddhist painting between the Goryeo and the late Joseon dynasties, these advances are allowing us to understand the unbroken development of Korean Buddhist painting.

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<sup>66</sup> For the Korean scholarship on the early Joseon Buddhist painting accomplished in this period, see the Bibliography.

**CHAPTER ONE**  
**Worshipping Buddha in the Palace:**  
**Buddhist Nuns in the Early Joseon Palace**

**Introduction**

In the eyes of Confucian officials of the early Joseon period, Buddhist nuns had a questionable reputation. This is portrayed by the literatus-official Seo Geojeong 徐居正 (1420–88) of King Seongjong's 成宗 (r. 1469–94) administration:

Fairly judging their behavior, the people who sincerely aspire to Buddhist practice do not count even one or two out of a hundred. Transgressing the bounds of propriety, [they] just eagerly desire to have the license to commit obscene wrongdoings. Why is this? The houses where women dwell are surrounded by decent families on the right and left sides and male and female servants stay in the front and the rear. [And] monastic and lay people differ in their attire, and there are prohibitions about [women's] comings and goings. [Therefore] even though [women may] want to unbind their sexual desires, ears and eyes are already pervasive and the situation is also difficult to put [their desires] into practice. [But] when they leave home, monks and nuns are the same, and the color of their robes is mixed together. Shaking off their maid- and man-servants and breaking off connections with their relatives, they have no obstruction in their comings and goings. Is not the situation ten-thousand ten-thousands times easier than the earlier days [before they left home]?

夷考其行，誠心向道者，百無一二。跳出禮防，切切焉肆意於宣淫耳。何者。婦人之處家，閭閻在左右，奴婢居前。僧俗異服，出入有禁。雖欲縱情恣欲，耳目既廣，

勢亦難行。出家則僧尼一體，服色相混，攘斥婢僕，頓絕親戚，出入無防。其勢視前日，豈不萬萬易哉！<sup>1</sup>

Joseon Confucian officials perceived Buddhist nuns as women who had left their homes in order to situate themselves in an environment where they could release their passions and transgress the bounds of social decorum, rather than to pursue any religious cultivation. Despite this view of Buddhist nuns, the Joseon court could not but inherit the Goryeo institution of the royal nunnery and maintain it for widowed royal and high-ranking aristocratic women. Yet because of this negative view of nuns, the Joseon court also felt it necessary to keep the royal nuns confined on the palace grounds, secluded from outside Buddhist establishments and practitioners.

The institutional presence of Buddhist facilities for royal nuns in the Joseon palace compounds is documented in the *Sillok*. The Temple of Pure Karma (Jeongeobwon 淨業院) was an official royal convent; the Palace of Compassionate Longevity (Jasugung 慈壽宮) and the Palace of Benevolent Longevity (Insugung 仁壽宮) were residential facilities for former royal concubines that later turned into full-fledged Buddhist cloisters. The Jasugung was the most established stronghold for female court Buddhists, where surviving royal concubines lived and practiced their faith generation after generation. The Jasugung and probably Insugung were also the places

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<sup>1</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Seongjong], gwon 32, Seongjong 4 [1473].7.18 (jeongmi 丁未).

where the paintings that this dissertation discusses were commissioned, produced, and most likely enshrined.

These Buddhist facilities for court women were not the only Buddhist ritual centers in the early Joseon court, despite the well-known anti-Buddhist ideology and policies of the early Joseon government.<sup>2</sup> Buddhist facilities such as the Hall of Culture and Brightness (Munsojeon 文昭殿),<sup>3</sup> the Inner Palace Memorial Shrine (Naewondang

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<sup>2</sup> Buddhist policies of the Joseon government during the early Joseon period are generalized into two phases: a series of anti-Buddhist policies from King Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400–18) through King Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506–44), and the Buddhist restorative policies by Queen Dowager Munjeong 文定 (1501–65) and her cleric advisor Monk Bou 普雨 (1509–65) during King Myeongjong’s 明宗 reign (1545–67). Joseon Buddhism during King Seonjo’s 宣祖 reign (1567–1608), when the paintings examined in this dissertation were produced, basically reverted to the earlier policies, but was founded on the doctrinal studies and eminent monks nurtured during the previous restoration period. Extensive research has been done on the Buddhist policies of each administration in Korean scholarship. One of the most comprehensive studies is: Han Ugeun 韓 兪右昞, *Yugyo jeongchi wa bulgyo: Yeomal Seoncho dae bulgyo sichaek* 儒教政治와佛教—麗末鮮初 對佛教施策 [The Confucian politics and Buddhism: Buddhist policies in the end of Goryeo and the beginning of Joseon dynasties] (Seoul: Iljogak, 1993), a much-abridged version of which is his article in English: Han U-gŭn, “Policies toward Buddhism in Late Koryŏ and Early Chosŏn,” in *Buddhism in the Early Chosŏn: Suppression and Transformation*, ed. Lewis R. Lancaster and Chai-shin Yu (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1996), 1–58. See also John Isaac Goulde, “Anti-Buddhist Polemic in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Korea: The Emergence of Confucian Exclusivism” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1985), 208–44.

<sup>3</sup> The Hall of Culture and Brightness was established in 1408 in the Palace of Prosperous Virtues (Changdeokgung 昌德宮) and was rebuilt on the premises of the Palace of Great Felicity (Gyeongbokgung 景福宮) in 1422, upon King Sejong’s 世宗 moving his court to the Gyeongbok

內願堂),<sup>4</sup> and the Inner Palace Buddhist Shrine (Naebuldang 內佛堂)<sup>5</sup> played an indispensable role for the state in such times of need as a natural disaster, as well as for the court at times of illness of royal family members and of the funerary and memorial services for royal ancestors. This shows that the Goryeo tradition of worshipping Buddha in the palace continued in the Joseon court and that Buddhism still assumed a strong presence at the very center of the Confucian Joseon polity during the early Joseon period.

This chapter examines the social and institutional background of the nun-patrons of the Buddhist paintings discussed in the following chapters so as to illuminate the significance of the paintings and their patronage. I discuss the formation and social status of royal Buddhist nuns and the history and devotional activities of their palace institutions through the analysis of textual materials—mostly the records of the *Sillok*.

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Palace. At the Japanese invasion of the Korean Peninsula in 1592, all the royal spirit-tablets were buried before the court took refuge from the attack, and the tablets were later purportedly taken out to a temple on Ganghwa 江華 Island by a courtier. The court returned to find all the buildings of the Gyeongbok Palace burned to the ground.

<sup>4</sup> The Inner Palace Memorial Shrine was built in 1409 next to the spirit-tablet hall inside the Changdeok Palace, as a subsidiary facility for prayers and memorial services of the deceased royal family. The Inner Palace Memorial Shrine in the Changdeok Palace was abolished in 1433, after King Sejong moved the spirit-tablet hall to the Gyeongbok Palace.

<sup>5</sup> The Inner Palace Buddhist Shrine was established in 1448 next to the spirit-tablet hall in the Gyeongbok Palace compound, as a replacement for the abolished Inner Palace Memorial Shrine. After surviving repeated abolition and reinstatement, it was also called the Inner Palace Memorial Shrine (Naewondang 內願堂) in the sixteenth century and multiplied its institutions nationwide, coming to mean the memorial shrine of any member of the royal family, even if that shrine was not on the premises of the palace itself.

Finally, the painting *Palace Scene* is examined as a visual documentation of a Buddhist institution for royal nuns in the sixteenth-century Joseon palace.

## I.1 Becoming Nuns in the Palace

The tradition of court women becoming Buddhist nuns after their husbands died and living in a royal convent was inherited from the Buddhist Goryeo dynasty (918–1392).<sup>6</sup> The earliest extant record on the Goryeo royal convent, which like the Joseon convent was called Jeongeobwon 淨業院, dates back to the mid-twelfth century and briefly mentions King Uijong’s 毅宗 (r. 1146–70) visit there.<sup>7</sup> The Jeongeobwon was maintained even when the Goryeo court sought refuge on Ganghwa 江華 Island during

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<sup>6</sup> This custom originated from Tang, China and was shared by all three countries of East Asia. In Korea, some cases that queens of the Silla Kingdom became nuns after their husbands died are recorded in *The History of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk sagi 三國史記)*. For the instances of Silla, see Gim Yeongtae 金煥泰, “Silla ui yeoseong chulga wa niseungjik gochal: Doyunarang Ani reul jungsim euro” 新羅의 女性出家와 尼僧職 高察—都維那娘 阿尼를 중심으로 [A study of the womens’ ‘leaving home’ and monastic positions for nuns in the Silla Kingdom: With a focus on Chief-Rectress Ani], *Myeongseong seunim gohui ginyeom bulgyohak nonmunjip* 명성스님古稀記念佛敎學論文集 (Daegu: Unmun seungga daehak chulpanbu, 2000). Reprinted in Hanguk biguni yeonguso 한국 비구니 연구소, comp., *Biguni wa yeoseong bulgyo* 비구니와 여성불교 [Bhikṣuṇī and feminine Buddhism] (Gimpo, Gyeonggi-do: Hanguk biguni yeonguso, 2003), 1: 65–92.

<sup>7</sup> *Goryeosa* 高麗史, gwon 18, Uijong 毅宗 18 [1164].11 (intercalary).

the Mongol invasion of the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Its existence through the end of the Goryeo period is confirmed in stelae and dedicatory documents that comment on “the abbesses of Jeongeobwon.”<sup>9</sup>

The continuation of the royal convent from Goryeo to Joseon is exemplified by the case of the Gracious Consort of the Yi Family (Hyebi Yi-ssi 惠妃 李氏, d. 1408), one of the consorts of King Gongmin 恭愍 (r. 1351–74) of the Goryeo dynasty; her years in the Jeongeobwon spanned late Goryeo and early Joseon times. The Gracious Consort took the tonsure and became a nun along with another consort of King Gongmin, the Prudent Consort of the Yeom Family (Sinbi Yeom-ssi 愼妃 廉氏), after the king was assassinated in 1374.<sup>10</sup> The *History of Goryeo* (Goryeosa 高麗史) states that the

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<sup>8</sup> *Goryeosa*, gwon 24, Gojong 高宗 38 [1251].6.

<sup>9</sup> Records on abbesses of Jeongeobwon are found in the donors' list in the inscription of *The Illustration of the Contemplation Sūtra* (1323) in the collection of Chion'in 知恩院 at Kyōto; a stele of Chan Master Jigong 指空 (1372); the donor's list of the *Tripitaka* (1380) printed in Silleuksa 神勒寺, Gyeonggi-do 京畿道; another stele for Jigong (1383), etc. For details, see Hwang Ingyu 황인규, “Joseon jeongi Jeongeobwon gwa biguni juji” 조선전기 정업원과 비구니 주지 [The Jeongeobwon of the early Joseon period and its abbesses], *Hanguk bulgyohak* 한국불교학 51 (2008): 106–7.

<sup>10</sup> *Goryeosa*, gwon 89, Yeoljeon 列傳 2, Hubi 后妃 2, “Hyebi Yi-ssi” 惠妃 李氏 and “Sinbi Yeom-ssi” 愼妃 廉氏. The Gracious Consort of the Yi Family was a daughter of Yi Jehyeon 李齊賢 (1287–1367), one of the greatest literati who associated with Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 in the Yuan capital, Yanjing 燕京. Yi Jehyeon was the sitter of the famous *Portrait of Yi Jehyeon* (1319) by a Chinese painter, Chen Jianru 陳鑑如. The portrait is reproduced in Ho-Am Gallery,



Gracious Consort stayed in the Goryeo Jeongeobwon after she became a nun.<sup>11</sup> Later, the *Sillok* reports that she was the abbess of the Joseon Jeongeobwon in 1408 when she died:

[The king] bestowed a condolence gift for mourning Lady Yi of the Palace of Gracious Harmony. The Lady was a daughter of [Yi] Jehyeon, prime minister of the Goryeo dynasty. Because King Gongmin had no son, she was selected as a royal concubine [consort?] and invested with the title Gracious Consort. Later she became a Buddhist nun and dwelled in Jeongeobwon at the time (when she died). [The king] conferred 30 *seok*<sup>12</sup> of rice and beans, and 100 scrolls of paper as a condolence gift, and made Lady Sim, wife of Prince Sodo, the abbess of Jeongeobwon in her place.

賜賻惠和宮主李氏之喪。宮主，高麗侍中齊賢之女。恭愍王無子，選入後宮封惠妃。後爲尼，時住淨業院。賻米豆三十石紙百卷，以昭悼君妻沈氏，代爲淨業院住持。<sup>13</sup>

The *Sillok* entry above indicates that not only the convent for the royal nuns but also the practice of royal women becoming nuns continued into the Joseon dynasty. It also reports that royal daughters-in-law took their vows in the Jeongeobwon. The

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*Dae Goryeo gukbojeon* 大高麗國寶展 [Great National Treasures of the Goryeo dynasty] (Seoul: Ho-Am Gallery, 1995), pl. 63. Her uncle was Chewon 體元, the great master of the Hwaeom 華嚴 sect of Goryeo Buddhism. Sinbi Yeom-ssi was a daughter of Yeom Jesin 廉悌臣 (1304–82), a high-ranking official of the late Goryeo dynasty, whose portrait is also reproduced in Ho-Am Gallery, *Dae Goryeo gukbojeon*, pl. 62.

<sup>11</sup> *Goryeosa*, gwon 89, Yeoljeon 列傳 2, Hubi 后妃 2, “Hyebi Yi-ssi.”

<sup>12</sup> *Seok* 石 is a measure for volume of grain. One *seok* is about five bushels of grain.

<sup>13</sup> *Taejong sillok* 太宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Taejong], gwon 15, Taejong 8 [1408].2.3 (*imo* 壬午).

Consort-Princess of the Sim 沈 Family of Prince Sodo 昭悼, King Taejong's 太宗 (r. 1400–18) younger stepbrother who was killed in a struggle for the throne with King Taejong in 1398, had presumably become a nun after her husband's death and was appointed as the abbess of Jeongeobwon in 1408. In addition, Princess Gyeongsun 敬順 (d. 1407), the third daughter of King Taejo 太祖 (r. 1392–98) and the younger stepsister of King Taejong, took the tonsure after the death of her husband, who had also been involved in the power struggle among King Taejong's brothers in 1398.<sup>14</sup> The *Sillok* also reveals that in 1411 an older sister of Queen Dowager Jeongan 定安, consort of the second King Jeongjong 定宗 (r. 1398–1400), was the abbess of Jeongeobwon.<sup>15</sup>

The custom of royal women becoming nuns, indeed, became a convention in fifteenth-century Joseon. When King Taejong died in 1422, many of his concubines had their heads shaved:

The Perfectly Virtuous Concubine of the Gwon Family and Lady Sin (d. 1435) of the Palace of Prudence and Peace shaved their heads and became nuns without notifying the king. Many royal concubines [of the deceased king] vied with one another in shaving their heads, prepared their chanting aids, and performed Buddhist rites dawn and evening. The king prohibited it, [but] to no avail.

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<sup>14</sup> *Jeongjong sillok* 定宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Jeongjong], gwon 2, Jeongjong 1 [1399].9.10 (*jeongchuk* 丁丑).

<sup>15</sup> *Taejong sillok*, gwon 22, Taejong 11 [1411].7.27 (*sinmyo* 辛卯).

懿嬪權氏，慎[信]寧宮主辛氏，不啓於上，剃髮爲尼。後宮爭相剃髮，備梵唄之具，晨夕作法。上禁之不得。<sup>16</sup>

Among King Taejong's concubines who took the tonsure in 1422, at least the Perfectly Virtuous Concubine of the Gwon Family (Uibin Gwon-ssi 懿嬪權氏) seems to have remained in her residence even after becoming a nun rather than entering the Jeongeobwon. There are entries in the *Sillok* about food supply for her residence (Uibingung 懿嬪宮) in 1455, and about the change of the title of her residence to the Palace of Peaceful Longevity (Yeongsugung 寧壽宮) in 1457.<sup>17</sup>

Subsequently, on the night of King Sejong's (r. 1418–50) death, more than ten of his concubines took the tonsure and became nuns.<sup>18</sup> King Munjong's 文宗 (r. 1450–52) concubines all shaved their heads after completing the one-year-anniversary memorial ceremony of his death.<sup>19</sup> Queen Jeongsun 定順 (1440–1521), consort of King Danjong 端宗 (r. 1452–55), also took the tonsure and stayed in a nunnery called Jeongeobwon

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<sup>16</sup> *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Sejong], gwon 16, Sejong 4 [1422].5.20 (*byeongja* 丙子).

<sup>17</sup> *Sejo sillok* 世祖實錄 [The veritable records of King Sejo], gwon 2, Sejo 1 [1455].11.13 (*gapsin* 甲申); *Sejo sillok*, gwon 7, Sejo 3 [1457].5.22 (*gapsin* 甲申). See also note 48.

<sup>18</sup> *Munjong sillok* 文宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Munjong], gwon 1, Munjong accession year [1450].2.28 (*imin* 壬寅).

<sup>19</sup> *Danjong sillok* 端宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Danjong], gwon 11, Danjong 2 [1454].5.14 (*gapja* 甲子).

淨業院 after her husband was dethroned and put to death by King Sejo (r. 1455–68).<sup>20</sup>

Some concubines of King Sejo and King Seongjong 成宗 (r. 1469–94) also had their heads shaved.<sup>21</sup> The Consort-Princess of the Jeong 鄭 Family of Prince Suchun 壽春 followed her mother-in-law, the Gracious Concubine of the Yang Family (Hyebin Yangssi 惠嬪 楊氏), who was a concubine of King Sejong, and became a nun. She was later the abbess of Jeongeobwon.<sup>22</sup>

In 1504, however, King Yeonsan 燕山 (r. 1494–1506) issued decrees that prohibited royal concubines from becoming nuns after a king died. He wanted to end what had become a convention:

It is wrong for the concubines of the preceding king to become nuns. Because the royal concubines are like this, many of their servants also follow [them] and become nuns.

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<sup>20</sup> *Yeongjo sillok* 英祖實錄 [The veritable records of King Yeongjo], gwon 117, Yeongjo 47 [1771].9.6 (*gyemyo* 癸卯). There is controversy about the identity of this “Jeongeobwon,” which is recorded as having been located around the Great East Gate (Dongdaemun 東大門) of the capital city of Seoul. It seems that there was some confusion on the part of a late Joseon historiographer, so that this Jeongeobwon is most likely a different nunnery from the royal convent on the outskirts of the palace grounds. Alternatively, confusion may have been caused by the fact that, because the facility that Queen Jeongsun stayed was first established when the Jeongeobwon on the palace compounds was totally abolished during 1448–57, the place claimed to be or was considered to be the royal nunnery, Jeongeobwon.

<sup>21</sup> See note 24.

<sup>22</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Seongjong], gwon 138, Seongjong 13 [1482].2.3 (*imin* 壬寅).

Generally speaking, it is not necessary to become a nun in order to keep chastity. What is important rest with their state of mind, nothing more. From now on, the royal concubines are not allowed to become nuns.

先王後宮爲尼，非也。後宮如此，故下人亦從而爲尼者多。凡守節，不必爲尼而後可也，要在其心而已。自今以後，後宮勿許爲尼。<sup>23</sup>

What the concubines of the preceding king should do is simply to keep chastity. It is not necessary to shave their heads and become nuns. In case of the concubines of Kings Sejong, Munjong, and Sejo, it is impossible to make them grow their hair again. Among the concubines of King Seongjong there are also some who shaved their heads. . . . In addition, bring the concubines of King Sejo and his predecessors together [to live] in a royal residence and move all the Buddhist sculptures of their three royal residences to install [them] in another place. And have the concubines of King Seongjong grow their hair and dwell separately in a royal residence. Supply them with meat and do not allow nuns [from non-royal family] and other unauthorized people to visit. . . . Let the ones who already became nuns among the concubines of the kings earlier than King Sejo go, if it is not possible to force them to grow their hair, but make their servants who became nuns quickly grow their hair.

先王後宮，當守信而已。不必削髮爲尼。如世宗文宗世祖後宮，則不可復長髮矣。成宗後宮，亦有削髮者....且世祖以上後宮，使會于一宮，三宮佛像，竝移置他所。成宗後宮皆令長髮，別處一宮，支供用肉，勿使尼及雜人出入....世祖以上後宮，曾爲尼者，縱不可使之長髮，其侍婢爲尼者，速人[令]長髮。<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> *Yeonsangun ilgi* 燕山君日記 [The diary of Prince Yeonsan or of the deposed King Yeonsan], gwon 52, Yeonsan 10 [1504].4.14 (*eulsa* 乙巳).

<sup>24</sup> *Yeonsangun ilgi*, gwon 53, Yeonsan 10 [1504].4 (intercalary).19 (*eulmyo* 乙卯).

It seems that the practice of royal concubines shaving their heads as a group faded out after King Yeonsan's decrees, since there are few later reports or serious concerns about royal concubines taking the tonsure in *Sillok* records. But the practice was surely carried out until the end of the sixteenth century in a less collective and less overt fashion, as attested to by some known cases and by the fact that Buddhist cloisters for court women continued to exist in the palace. Ironically, one of King Yeonsan's own concubines, Lady Gwak 郭, took the tonsure after he was deposed in 1506 and is found to be the abbess of Jeongeobwon in 1522.<sup>25</sup> It is not recorded in the *Sillok* that the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong Family (Hyebin Jeong-ssi 惠嬪鄭氏, d.u.) who was a major patron of the Buddhist paintings that this dissertation examines and the Noble One of the Jeong Family (Guiin Jeong-ssi 貴人鄭氏, 1520–66), both concubines of King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1544–45), took the tonsure. The elegies for mourning their deaths reveal that they were nuns in a palace Buddhist cloister until they died.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Jungjong sillok* 中宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Jungjong], gwon 44, Jungjong 17 [1522].3.3 (*gyeongsul* 庚戌).

<sup>26</sup> For the Gracious Concubine, see Chapter Three. For the biography of the Noble One, see Yi I 李珣 (1536–84), “Guiin Jeong-ssi haengjang” 貴人鄭氏行狀 [The brief biography of the deceased Noble One of the Jeong Family], *Yulgok jeonseo* 栗谷全書, gwon 18, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊 (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Chujinhoe, 1989), 44: 417b.

## I.2 Buddhist Institutions for Royal Nuns

### I.2.1 The Royal Convent: Jeongeobwon

The Goryeo official royal convent Jeongeobwon continued into the Joseon dynasty, accommodating both widowed court women and women from the dominant social class of *yangban* 兩班 families, who wanted to dedicate the remainder of their lives to practicing their faith and praying for the deceased (royal) husband and family. After its establishment at the inception of the dynasty, the Joseon Jeongeobwon was repeatedly abolished, reinstated, and relocated throughout the early Joseon period. First abolished in 1448 by King Sejong,<sup>27</sup> it was reinstated and renovated in 1457 by King Sejo, the most pious Buddhist king of the Joseon dynasty.<sup>28</sup> Then it was removed from the city center by King Yeonsan in 1504,<sup>29</sup> although it seems to have remained as a royal convent even after it was sent to the suburbs, since King Yeonsan's own concubine Lady Gwak 郭氏 was abbess of Jeongeobwon in 1522.<sup>30</sup> The Jeongeobwon on the palace premises was apparently abandoned through King Jungjong's 中宗 reign (1506–44),<sup>31</sup> until Queen

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<sup>27</sup> *Sejong sillok*, gwon 122, Sejong 30 [1448].11.28 (*gyeongsul* 庚戌)

<sup>28</sup> *Sejo sillok*, gwon 9, Sejo 3 [1457].9.8 (*gisa* 己巳).

<sup>29</sup> *Yeonsangun ilgi*, gwon 54, Yeonsan 10 [1504].7.29 (*jeongsa* 丁巳).

<sup>30</sup> See note 25.

<sup>31</sup> After King Yeonsan abolished the Jeongeobwon in the palace premises in 1504, the site was used as the Study Hall (Dokseodang 讀書堂) for young scholar-officials for a short period of time (1506–10).

Dowager Munjeong, consort of King Jungjong, assumed regency for her son King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545–67) and initiated a series of policies for Buddhist restoration. She sought to restore the Jeongeobwon in the palace compound and merge it with a royal residence for the concubines of her deceased husband, the Palace of Benevolent Longevity (Insugung 仁壽宮), which was reconstructed on the site of the earlier Jeongeobwon in 1546.<sup>32</sup> This merger made Buddhist practice in the royal residence for former royal concubines more legitimate. It also indicates that the tradition of royal concubines becoming nuns continued, and that the royal residence for the widowed concubines of former kings was perceived as enough of a Buddhist facility to be merged with the official nunnery. The Insugung was soon called the Jeongeobwon, presumably because that was the longtime name of the site and also the actual function of the establishment.<sup>33</sup> The Jeongeobwon was very likely abolished permanently when the two royal residences for concubines, the Jasugung and the Insugung, were abolished at some point before 1664.<sup>34</sup>

As the official royal convent in the palace, the Jeongeobwon enjoyed the generous patronage and support of the court. Its abbess was appointed by the highest royal

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<sup>32</sup> *Myeongjong sillok* 明宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Myeongjong], gwon 4, Myeongjong 1 [1546].7.26 (*sinsa* 辛巳).

<sup>33</sup> *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄 [The veritable records of King Seonjo], gwon 8, Seonjo 7 [1574].5.20 (*gyesa* 癸巳).

<sup>34</sup> *Hyeonjong sillok* 顯宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Hyeonjong], gwon 8, Hyeonjong 5 [1664].6.14 (*gapsul* 甲戌) (intercalary).



authority.<sup>35</sup> Financial support from the court included land and slaves, along with a monthly stipend and tax exemption.<sup>36</sup> A complaint made by an official of King Seongjong's administration describes the privileges that the Jeongeobwon enjoyed:

Yi Inseok, the Third Inspector at the Office of Inspector-General, reported to the Throne, "Many government offices have a few male and female servants, and some have as many as ten people. However, the male and female servants in the Jeongeobwon amount to as many as over 180 people. Please divide and assign them to other offices." His Highness said, "[They are] what my ancestral kings gave [to Jeongeobwon]. It is impossible to take them away now."

掌令李仁錫 啓曰, 諸司奴婢數少, 或至十餘口, 而淨業院奴婢, 多至一百八十餘口, 請分屬諸司. 上曰, 祖宗朝所給, 今不可奪也.<sup>37</sup>

The Jeongeobwon particularly owed a great deal to the support of powerful women at court. The grand renovations made in 1486 were patronized by Queen Dowager Sohye 昭惠 (1437–1504), mother of King Seongjong, and Queen Dowager

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<sup>35</sup> Consort-Princess Sim of Prince Sodo was appointed the abbess of Jeongeobwon by King Taejong, and Consort-Princess Jeong of Prince Suchun was appointed by Queen Dowager Jeonghui 貞憲. See notes 13, and 22.

<sup>36</sup> *Taejong sillok*, gwon 24, Taejong 12 [1412].7.29 (*imja* 壬子); *Sejo sillok*, gwon 9, Sejo 3 [1457].9.16 (*jeongchuk* 丁丑); *Sejo sillok*, gwon 12, Sejo 4 [1458].4.9 (*byeongin* 丙寅); *Sejo sillok*, gwon 12, Sejo 5 [1459].5.29 (*gyeongsul* 庚戌); *Yejong sillok* 叡宗實錄, gwon 2, Yejong accession year [1468].11.15 (*sinmi* 辛未); *Yejong sillok*, gwon 3, Yejong 1 [1469].1.21 (*byeongja* 丙子); *Seongjong sillok*, Seongjong 3 [1472].11.19 (*sinhae* 辛亥).

<sup>37</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 114, Seongjong 11 [1480].2.13 (*gyehae* 癸亥).

Inhye 仁惠 (?–1498), consort of King Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1468–69); and in 1546 by Queen Munjeong 文定 (1501–65).<sup>38</sup> Queen Dowager Sohye donated a Buddhist sculpture specially produced for the Jeongeobwon after the grand renovation.<sup>39</sup>

The nuns of Jeongeobwon apparently practiced Buddhism in concert with monks outside the palace. Officials in King Seongjong's administration accused nuns in the Jeongeobwon of performing the funerary ceremony for their master spanning several days and nights at the monasteries Jeonginsa 正因寺 and Seongburam 成佛庵 outside the Jeongeobwon.<sup>40</sup> The *Sillok* chroniclers were not interested in the name of the deceased master, but the deceased master was very likely a monk from an outside monastery, since the nuns held the funerary ceremony outside the Jeongeobwon and the Jeonginsa and Seongburam were monasteries, not nunneries. This suggests how the master-disciple relationship between an outside monk and Jeoneobwon nuns may sometimes have been formed. Another record demonstrates that the Jeongeobwon invited monks for dharma lectures of the institution. It invited Seoljam 雪岑 (1435–93), a famous literatus and later unfrocked monk of Cheontae 天台 (C. Tiantai) Buddhism, to give a two-day lecture

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<sup>38</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 198, Seongjong 17 [1486].12.11 (*imo* 壬午); *Myeongjong sillok*, gwon 4, Myeongjong 1 [1546].7.26 (*sinsa* 辛巳).

<sup>39</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 228, Seongjong 20 [1489].5.11 (*mujin* 戊辰). A *Sillok* historiographer wrote that a group of Confucian students had taken the sculpture from the Jeongeobwon and burned it, excusing themselves by saying that because they were Confucians there was nothing wrong in their denouncing Buddhism.

<sup>40</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 32, Seongjong 4 [1473].7.9 (*musul* 戊戌).

there.<sup>41</sup> Predictably, the fact that Seoljam stayed overnight at the Jeongeobwon outraged Confucian officials, and thus the event was accordingly recorded in the *Sillok*. Yet another instance also indicates the Jeongeobwon's connection with monasteries outside the palace. The Office of the Inspector-General (Saheonbu 司憲府) reported to the throne that it had caught a throng of Jeongeobwon nuns on their way to Yujeomsa 楡岾寺, one of the largest court-sponsored monasteries on Mt. Geumgang 金剛.<sup>42</sup> The Office of the Inspector-General accused the nuns of wandering the countryside in a group and stirring up troubles, and used this as another reason to insist on abolishing the Jeongeobwon. Later, it turned out that the nuns had gone to Yujeomsa at the request of Queen Dowager Gongui 恭懿 (1514–77), consort of King Injong.<sup>43</sup> The Jeongeobwon operated in close relationship with court Buddhists in the inner quarters and was thus an intermediary for the inner quarters and Buddhist monasteries outside the court.

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<sup>41</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 55, Seongjong 6 [1475].5.26 (*gapsul* 甲戌).

<sup>42</sup> *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄 [The veritable records of King Seonjo], gwon 8, Seonjo 7 [1574].5.11 (*gapsin* 甲申).

<sup>43</sup> Queen Dowager Gongui is the patron of *Thirty-Two Responsive Manifestations of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* from Dogapsa 道岬寺 (1550) now in Chion'in, Kyōto, and *Maitreya Preaching* (1568) in Nyoirinji 如意輪寺, Wakayama-ken 和歌山県. For a good image of the Chion'in painting, see *Joseon Jeongi gukbojeon* (1996), pl. 190, or *Sekai bijutsu daizenshu*, tōyō hen 11 (1997), pl. 122.

### 1.2.2 The Buddhist Cloisters: Jasungung and Insungung

The royal residences where the concubines of preceding kings lived together became strongholds for court Buddhist nuns, like the Jeongeobwon itself. At the beginning of the Joseon dynasty, the Jeongeobwon was the only place in the palace where Buddhist nuns from royal or aristocratic families could stay. A royal-concubine-turned-nun could, however, sometimes remain in her royal residence after she took the tonsure, as mentioned above in the case of the Perfectly Virtuous Concubine of the Gwon Family (Uibin Gwon-ssi 懿嬪 權氏) of King Taejong (r. 1400–18).<sup>44</sup>

It was only after King Sejong (r. 1418–50) closed the Jeongeobwon in 1448 and King Munjong (r. 1450–52) in 1450 set the new tradition of the concubines of deceased kings living in a common residence on the outskirts of the palace grounds that royal concubines who took the tonsure dwelled together in a palace residence:

His Highness ordered the old residence of Prince Muan to be renovated, and named it the Jasungung, where he was to situate the concubines of the preceding king [King Sejong].

上命修撫安君舊第，號慈壽宮，將以處先王後宮也。<sup>45</sup>

More than ten of King Sejong's concubines shaved their heads on the night he died and stayed in the mortuary hall (*binjeon* 殯殿) to mourn for him. When the renovation of the Jasungung was completed, they all moved into their new quarters.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See note 17.

<sup>45</sup> *Munjong sillok*, gwon 1, Munjong accession year [1450].3.21 (*eulchuk* 乙丑).

The new practice that a royal concubine who took the tonsure was removed from her residence in the inner quarters to live with other surviving concubines in a common residence became institutionalized. When King Munjong died, his son King Danjong 端宗 (r. 1452–55) arranged a separate residence for his father’s concubines, naming it the Palace of Longevity Attained (Suseonggung 壽成宮).<sup>47</sup> After completing one year of mourning, all of King Munjong’s concubines took the tonsure and moved there. Once the tradition was set, King Sejo (r. 1455–68) applied the practice retroactively to the residence of the Perfectly Virtuous Concubine of the Gwon Family, the still-living concubine of King Taejong (r. 1400–18), changing its name from the Palace of the Perfectly Virtuous Concubine (Uibingung 懿嬪宮) to the Palace of Peaceful Longevity (Yeongsugung 寧壽宮) in 1457.<sup>48</sup>

As the generations changed, the royal residences were recycled. King Seongjong (r. 1469–94) changed the name of the Jasugung, where the concubines of King Sejong had lived, to the Palace of Prosperous Longevity (Changsugung 昌壽宮), and assigned it to the concubines of both King Sejo and the short-reigned King Yejong 叡宗 (r. 1468–

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<sup>46</sup> *Munjong sillok*, gwon 2, Munjong accession year [1450].6.6 (*muin* 戊寅).

<sup>47</sup> *Danjong sillok*, gwon 10, Danjong 2 [1454].3.13 (*gapja* 甲子).

<sup>48</sup> *Sejo sillok*, gwon 7, Sejo 3 [1457].5.22 (*gapsin* 甲申).

69).<sup>49</sup> King Yeonsan (r. 1494–1506) changed the name of the Palace of Longevity Attained, once occupied by the concubines of King Munjong (r. 1450–52), so that the concubines of King Seongjong could live there.<sup>50</sup> Queen Dowager Regent Munjeong of King Myeongjong (r. 1545–67) had the Insugung restored for the concubines of her husband, King Jungjong (r. 1506–44), and also had the Jeongeobwon reinstated and affiliated with the Insugung.<sup>51</sup> The concubines of the short-lived King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1544–45) also joined in the Insugung.<sup>52</sup>

Even though the records of royal concubines taking the tonsure decrease after King Yeonsan's 1504 decree prohibiting them from shaving their heads, the royal residences continued to be places where widowed royal concubines could worship the Buddha in the palace. The facts that the royal residence of Insugung was merged with

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<sup>49</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 179, Seongjong 16 [1485].5.7 (*byeongjin* 丙辰) and 5.9 (*muo* 戊午). However, the title of Jasugung was still used in the *Sillok* and seems to have been a generic name for all the residences for royal concubines.

<sup>50</sup> *Yeonsangun ilgi*, gwon 53, Yeonsan 10 [1504].5.1 (*gyeongin* 庚寅).

<sup>51</sup> *Myeongjong sillok*, gwon 4, Myeongjong 1 [1546].7.26 (*sinsa* 辛巳). All the royal residences for the widowed concubines have the character “longevity” (*su* 壽) in their titles, thus bearing blessings for the longevity of the concubines, most of whom were mature or elderly women when their royal husbands died.

<sup>52</sup> The biography of the Noble One of the Jeong Family, one of King Injong's concubines reveals that she lived in the Insugung. See note 26. Another concubine of King Injong's, the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong Family also stayed in one of the palace cloisters from her elergy, for which Insugung is a possible candidate, because the Insugung was the designated residence for the royal concubines of Kings Jungjong and Injong.

the Jeongeobwon which was the official convent of the court, and that they were renovated extensively during King Myeongjong's reign (1545–67) with the ardent patronage of Queen Dowager Munjeong, attest to the prosperity of these residences for former concubines until the late sixteenth century.

By this time, there seem to have been various types of royal concubines staying at the Jasugung. Some lived in the Jasugung full time, while others moved back and forth between the inner quarters and the cloister. King Myeongjong justified a Jasugung construction project to his officials by quoting a report on the state of its buildings by a former concubine who had returned to the inner quarters after staying in the Jasugung for several months during the summer.<sup>53</sup> Such concubines may not have taken the tonsure, but they still considered the Jasugung the center of their palace life.

Records of the Jasugung and the Insugung in the *Sillok* are radically fewer after Queen Dowager Munjeong died in 1565. However, the paintings discussed in this study were commissioned and enshrined in those institutions during the late sixteenth century, and thus exemplify the continued prosperity and religious vitality of these royal residences at that time.

### **I.3 Buddhist Practices in the Palace Cloisters**

As has been seen, the practice of widowed royal concubines taking the tonsure and dwelling in a common residence naturally turned the royal residences into Buddhist

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<sup>53</sup> *Myeongjong sillok*, gwon 17, Myeongjong 9 [1554].11.13 (*gyeongsul* 庚戌).

cloisters. The original idea of establishing a separate residence for royal concubines most likely sprang from the need to secure space in the inner quarters for the new king's concubines. However, once royal concubines began shaving their heads after their husband died, the royal residences became a sanctuary where these self-ordained royal nuns could also practice their faith. Among the royal residences for former royal concubines, the Jasugung was the largest and most enduring generation after generation. The Jasugung Cloister enshrined Buddhist icons for worship, held Buddhist rites and lectures, was equipped with subsidiary Buddhist facilities, and was gradually inhabited by fully ordained nuns from non-royal families.

The installation of Buddhist icons in the royal residences was made possible with the approval and support of court authorities. When government officials accused the Gracious Concubine of the Yang Family (Hyebin Yang-ssi 惠嬪 楊氏), one of King Sejong's former concubines, of turning her residence into a Buddhist shrine by installing a Buddhist icon, King Munjong rejected their claim, asking, "How can I forbid her to enshrine a Buddhist painting? Do you not think that she would have done it even if she had been in the Jasugung?"<sup>54</sup> This shows not only the contrivance of a Buddhist setting in an otherwise secular royal residence, but also the approval of installing Buddhist icons in the Jasugung. The icons were also dedicated or commissioned by high-ranking female Buddhists in the court. The painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, discussed in

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<sup>54</sup> *Munjong sillok*, gwon 6, Munjong 1 [1451].3.28 (*jeongmyo* 丁卯). Unlike other concubines of King Sejong, who resided in the Jasugung, Lady Yang was allowed to stay in her own residence because of illness.



Chapter Two, was commissioned by the Chaste Concubine of the Yun Family (Sukbin Yun-ssi 淑嬪 尹氏) and a couple of nuns to be enshrined in the Jasugung. The other paintings to be discussed later were also produced and were hung in the cloisters. Queen Dowager Sohye's 昭惠 donation of a Buddhist sculpture to the Jeongeobwon is yet another example.<sup>55</sup>

Even though the Jasugung started out as a royal residence, it was adapted to being a Buddhist facility by the addition of various auxiliary buildings. The controversy in the government over the construction of a Bell Tower (*jongnu* 鍾樓) and Hall of Arhats (*nahanjeon* 羅漢殿) indicates that the Jasugung must have already had more important facilities, such as a buddha hall or dharma hall.<sup>56</sup> This demonstrates that the Jasugung Cloister functioned as a fully equipped Buddhist temple.

The Jasugung Cloister held Buddhist ceremonies on such a grand scale that it attracted many women from the court and upper classes and drew public attention. The *Sillok* describes a Buddhist rite at the Jasugung in 1494 as follows:

Your subjects have heard that on the fifteenth day of the last month, the Jasugung held a grand Buddhist ceremony, for which various offices pitched tents and paved the roads. Women from the king's inner quarters and royal family tried to get ahead of others who were rushing to attend the ceremony. Regarding worshipping the Buddha in the capital, the state has [already] issued a prohibition. Moreover, the Jasugung is the place where

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<sup>55</sup> See note 39.

<sup>56</sup> *Myeongjong sillok*, gwon17, Myeongjong 9 [1554].10.30 (*jeongyu* 丁酉); 11.6 (*gyemyo* 癸卯); 11.13 (*gyeongsul* 庚戌).

the concubines of the preceding kings dwell and is also a forbidden royal residence. It is not like the Jeongeobwon, which dedicates itself to burning incense. How can it throw such a grand Buddhist ceremony, bringing a large number of women together, shaking the whole town, and shocking the ears of the public?

臣等聞，前月十五日，慈壽宮大作佛事。官設張幕，治道路。內命婦及宗室婦女，爭先參赴。都中供佛，國有禁令。況慈壽宮，乃先王後宮所處，亦一禁掖也，非如淨業以香火爲事。豈宜廣設梵席，盆會婦女，聳動閭里，駭人聽聞乎。<sup>57</sup>

Considering the practices known to have been held in the Jeongeobwon, such as enshrinement of *sarira* (relics) and Buddhist lectures by visiting monks, we can assume that similar Buddhist ceremonies were also held in the Jasung Cloister.<sup>58</sup>

Royal concubines were not the only residents in the Buddhist cloisters. When they took the tonsure and moved to the cloister, their ladies-in-waiting and maids who served them in the inner quarters followed them, sometimes also shaving their heads and becoming servant-nuns to their ladies.<sup>59</sup> Palace Matron Lady Choe 崔 of the Jasung, a senior-fifth-rank lady-in-waiting, expressed concern about her servant-nuns in 1496, when King Yeonsan issued a decree that Buddhist nuns younger than twenty years old be

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<sup>57</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 295, Seongjong 25 [1494].10.9 (*gapja* 甲子).

<sup>58</sup> *Sejo sillok*, gwon 30, Sejo 9 [1463].6.18 (*byeongja* 丙子); *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 55, Seongjong 6 [1475].5.26 (*gapsul* 甲戌).

<sup>59</sup> See note 23.

defrocked.<sup>60</sup> Court officials rebutted her by saying that it was not necessary to shave the heads of servant-girls in order to take them to the Jasugung as servants.<sup>61</sup>

Later, fully ordained nuns from non-royal families also joined the Jasugung Cloister. It is presumably these fully ordained nuns whose Dharma names are recorded in the *Sillok* and in the inscriptions on the paintings examined in the following chapters. They were the actual initiators of the dedications of these paintings, as well as co-patrons of the paintings themselves. These nuns also actively supervised the Buddhist rites held in the Jasugung:

The Office of the Inspector-General reported again, “. . . the Jasugung is a place where the concubines of the preceding kings dwell. Thus it should be as solemn as the forbidden palace. Now what I hear is that lowly and wicked nuns stay together with the concubines, and that their number is large. They always hold Buddhist ceremonies, and there is nothing on which they do not exercise their arts of sorcery. The sound of bells and wooden gongs is heard outside [of the palace walls]. That is extremely un[desirable].”

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<sup>60</sup> Dr. Daniel Stevenson, Buddhologist in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Kansas, kindly made me aware that the age of twenty is the legal age when one may take full ordination, according to the rules of discipline for the Buddhist clergy (*vinaya*).

<sup>61</sup> *Yeonsangun ilgi*, gwon 12, Yeonsan 2 [1496].1.11 (*gyeongin* 庚寅). Professor Stevenson also instructed me that “yosa” 妖邪 in “yosa ji sul” 妖邪之術 is often used in Chinese sources of the period to refer to “sorcery” (especially when “sul” 術 is used together). It is a derogatory expression for popular/vulgar shamanistic practices.

(司)憲府又啓曰, “...慈壽宮, 迺先王後宮寓接之所, 所當嚴肅, 無異宮禁. 今聞微賤妖尼混處, 其數甚多. 長作佛事, 妖邪之術, 無所不至. 鈴鐸之音, 徹於外間, 至爲不.”<sup>62</sup>

Not surprisingly, this aroused a fiery response from government officials who condemned the very presence of commoner nuns on the palace grounds. Officials were also concerned about the growing number of nuns from non-royal families:

Yi Chu, the Reader of the Office of the Royal Lectures, said, “. . . because the prohibition is not strict enough, the group became very prosperous. What the judge heard is that [their number] reached as many as fifteen. Beyond this, how many more nuns have entered [the Jasugung] through their connections, we do not know.”

侍讀官李樞曰, “... 禁斷之法不嚴, 厥類甚繁. 法官所聞, 多至十五人云. 此外因緣而入者, 抑不知其幾何人也.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> *Injong sillok* 仁宗實錄 [The veritable records of King Injong], gwon 1, Injong 1 [1545].3.24 (*byeongsul* 丙戌).

<sup>63</sup> *Injong sillok*, gwon 2, Injong 1 [1545].4.7 (*gihae* 己亥). Quoting *Richō bukyō* 李朝佛教 [Buddhism of the Yi dynasty] by Takahashi Tōru 高橋 亨, some articles on the convents and nuns of the Joseon period maintain that the number of nuns in the Jasugung reached 5,000 at its peak, and that the Jasugung became the largest convent of the Joseon dynasty. I hesitate quoting this number because of the huge difference between 5,000 and the 15 given in this *Sillok* entry, even considering the bias of the Confucian historiographers of the *Sillok*. Takahashi Tōru, *Richō bukyō* (Tōkyō: Hōbunkan, 1929), 735; Yi Giun 李起雲, “Joseon sidae wangsil ui biguniwon seolchi wa sinhaeng” 조선시대 왕실의比丘尼院 설치와 信行 [The establishment of the royal nunneries in the Joseon period and their practices], *Yeoksa hakbo* 歷史學報 178 (2003): 53; and

Thus around the mid-sixteenth century, the residents of the Jasugung Cloister included tonsured or non-tonsured royal concubines and ladies-in-waiting, as well as fully ordained commoner nuns.

The image of the Jasugung conveyed by these *Sillok* records is that of a Buddhist cloister adorned with icons for worship, equipped with various subsidiary halls, bustling with devotional ceremonies, and occupied by female Buddhists of various social and religious positions. Surprisingly, this image is borne out in an extant painting, the *Palace Scene*, discussed below.

#### **I.4 Visual Documentation: *Palace Scene***

The *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1) in the collection of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art (former Ho-Am Art Museum) in Seoul is a vivid visual documentation both of the physical presence of royal Buddhist institutions and active practice of Buddhism within the Joseon palace.<sup>64</sup> Now mounted in a wooden frame (fig. I-2), the painting is clearly a fragment of

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John Jorgensen, “Marginalised and Silenced: Buddhist Nuns of the Chosŏn Period,” manuscript, 14.

<sup>64</sup> The painting was named as *Worshipping Buddha in the Palace* (Gungjung sungbuldo 宮中崇佛圖) when it was first introduced to the public at the exhibition *National Treasures of the Early Joseon Dynasty*, after it was acquired by the Leeum from a European collection. See Ho-Am misulgwan, *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pls. 60 and 61. In a recent exhibition, the painting is simply entitled *Palace Scene*. See Soyoung Lee, *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), cat. no. 39. I follow this precedent and

a much larger work such as the famous map-like picture *The Eastern Palaces* (Donggwoldo 東闕圖, fig. I-3).<sup>65</sup> The paintings are similar in their bird's-eye view of diagonally parallel tile-roofed buildings with red pillars. The red-lacquered ceremonial tables dispersed around the yards and the red-painted roof-gables in the painting are also familiar pictorial elements from the documentary paintings of various gatherings in the court.<sup>66</sup>

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adopt the title *Palace Scene* because the painting is strongly believed to be a fragment of a large palace scene that depicted much more than worshipping Buddha in the palace.

<sup>65</sup> For comprehensive illustrations, see An Hwijun 安輝濬, *Donggwoldo 東闕圖* [The eastern palaces] (Seoul: Munhuajae gwalliguk, 1991). *The Eastern Palaces* is a depiction of the Palace of Prosperous Virtues (Changdeokgung 昌德宮) and the Palace of Prosperous Rejoicing (Changgyeonggung 昌慶宮), both of which are located to the east of the Palace of Great Felicity (Gyeongbokgung 景福宮), the principal palace of the Joseon dynasty. Three copies of *The Eastern Palaces* were reportedly produced in the 1820s: one is in the folded album format now in the collection of the Goryeo University Museum, Seoul; another is remounted in screen format in the Donga University Museum collection, Busan; and the whereabouts of the third is now unknown. An Hwijun, *Donggwoldo*, 42–55.

<sup>66</sup> See *Royal Banquet in Honor of the Mentors of King Jungjong's Crown Prince* (Jungmyojo seoyeongwan sayeondo 中廟朝書筵官賜宴圖, ca. 1535) in the Hongik University collection, Seoul; *Royal Banquet for Successful Candidates of the State Exam* (Gwageo eunyeongyeondo 科舉恩榮宴圖, 1580) in Yōmei bunko 陽明文庫, Kyōto; and *Banquet in Honor of Retired Officials of the King Seonjo's Administration* (Seonjojo giyeonghoedo 宣祖朝耆英會圖, 1585) in the collection of Seoul National University Museum. The reproductions are found in Gungnip gugagwon 국립국악원, ed., *Joseon sidae yeonhuedo 조선시대연회도* [Banquet paintings of the Joseon period] (Seoul: Minsogwon, 2001), pl. 1, and Ho-Am misulgwan, *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 58 and 59, respectively.

A closer look at the two tall buildings roofed with blue tiles in the top middle section of the painting reveals a flurry of devotional Buddhist activities (fig. I-4). The open doors of the building on the left (fig. I-5) allow a glimpse of the interior of the hall, where two figures in gray robes are sitting before a gilt seated Buddha triad enshrined on the altar, though now they are not clear enough to recognize because the pigment is peeled off. A group of people clad in gray monastic robes are dancing or performing a ceremony in the hall of the building on the right (fig. I-6). A standing bodhisattva and a seated Buddha are seen on the altar in the far right of the hall. This hall also very likely enshrined another gilt seated Buddha triad. Scattered around the compound are various people busily supporting or watching the events taking place in the halls (fig. I-4). The figures predominantly wear gray (seemingly with blue tint in the present painting) upper and under robes. Some figures in the hallways to the buildings (fig. I-7) and in the front building (fig. I-8) don a red or a dark-blue ceremonial vestment (Skt. *kāṣāya*, K. *gasa* 袈裟) over their gray robes. This painting captures a lively moment of Buddhist ceremony in a Buddhist facility of the Joseon palace.

A wide-view of the compound demonstrates that the establishment was well planned. The two ritual halls are surrounded by an L-shaped series of buildings to the front and left (fig. I-1). Large soy sauce jars dispersed around the buildings indicate that these are living quarters (fig. I-9). The long building in the center of the painting faces south with figures seen sitting through open doors. Each hall of this building has a wooden plaque inscribed with the hall's name on the facade under the eaves. The plaque of the hall facing east attached to the far left end of the long building has "(illegible)

Hall” ((illegible)sil □室) (figs. I-10 and 11). The next hall at a right angle to the (illegible) Hall is entitled “Southern Separate Hall” (Nam byeolsil 南別室) (fig. I- 11). The hall next to the Southern Separate Hall is the “Upper Hall” (Sangsil 上室) (figs. fig. I-12 and I-13). Next is the covered entrance leading to the courtyard of the sanctuary. The titles of the next two halls to the right are not clear because either the plaque is not legible or is missing. The plaque of the hall on the far right (fig. I- 9) of the long building has “(illegible) Separate (illegible)” ((illegible) 別 (illegible)) (fig. I-14). Given the name of the hall on the far left “Southern Separate Hall,” the title of this building is presumed as either “Eastern Separate Hall” (Dong byeolsil 東別室) or “Northern Separate Hall” (Buk byeolsil 北別室), of which the latter is more likely from the remnants of the strokes.

Below the L-shaped series of buildings across the horizontally long courtyard is another series of long buildings. This series of long buildings are divided up with multiple bays. The majority of these bays have casement or awning windows with a large gate in the middle. The doors of these halls face north towards opposing buildings across the horizontal courtyard. This is the clergy’s living quarters. Below the living quarters is a transitional zone that is less populated and has planted trees. This area is subdivided, and has two buildings on the right. Through the open doors of the front building storage jars are seen. These buildings are presumed to be storehouses. Below the transitional area is a public area where there are laypeople and has lively foot traffic. Some figures in this area are obviously male dressed in their traditional Korean costumes of mostly white outer coat (*dopo* 道袍) and horsehair hat (*gat* 笠) (figs. fig. I-15 and 16). They are not



found in the upper zones. Going through the main gate of the public zone and crossing the transitional area and the horizontal yard of living quarters through the secondary gate and the covered entrance along the walkway paved with stone, one reaches the sanctuary zone built on raised ground. On the same raised courtyard, there stands another building on the right. Hidden behind a tree, this building is presumably a worship hall that enshrines another deity, which is reminiscent of the *Sillok* record about the annexation of the Hall of Arhats in the Jasugung in the previous section.

The costumes and headgear of the figures and the depiction of the buildings and trees have led scholars to date the painting to the sixteenth century.<sup>67</sup> In addition, the similarity of the roof-tiles—depicted in pale ink contoured with darker thick-ink ridges and red eaves (fig. I-17)—to those in the documentary paintings *Royal Banquet for Successful Candidates of the State Exam* (Gwageo euyeongyeondo 科學恩榮宴圖, 1580) in the Yōmei bunko 陽明文庫, Kyōto, and *Banquet for Retired Officials* (Giyeonghoedo 耆英會圖, 1584, figs. I-18 and 19) in the collection of National Museum of Korea, Seoul, also confirms the dating.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Hong Nayeong 홍나영 and Gim Sohyeon 김소현, “Gujung sungbuldo e natanan 16-segi boksik yeongu” 宮中崇佛圖에 나타난 16세기 복식연구 [A study of the costumes of the sixteenth century seen through the *Worshipping Buddha in the Palace*], *Boksik* 服飾 38 (1998): 305–21. An Hwijun 안휘준 maintains the painting was produced in the reign of King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545–67), when early Joseon Buddhism enjoyed restoration with the ardent patronage of Queen Munjeong. An Hwijun 안휘준, *Yet gunggwol geurim* 옛 궁궐그림 [Paintings of old palaces] (Seoul: Daewonsa, 1997), 24.

<sup>68</sup> For the *Royal Banquet for Successful Candidates of the State Exam*, see note 66.

The painting most likely depicts a palace Buddhist facility for women. A close-up of the figures scattered around the premises reveals that the majority of them wear gray robes. Some wear gray upper and lower robes and some wear gray upper robes with red trim (fig. I-20). Some are dressed in robes of subdued but different colors (figs. 1-9 and 20). Some don a monastic vestment over their gray robes as mentioned earlier (figs. I-7, 8, and 20). In terms of the figures' hairstyles, some wear hoods (figs. I-7, 8, and 11) and others wear the hairstyle of laywomen. It is difficult to determine the sex of the figures who wear a *gasa* and a hood, because monks also sometimes wore a black hood as we know from their pictorial and sculptural portraits. However, the colored hoods (fig. I-8), mostly red or blue as seen in this painting, were most likely favored by nuns. The figures are also too tiny to describe the exact hairstyle, but it seems to be the style of wearing the hair around the shoulders, loosely tied behind the neck (fig. I-20). This hairstyle conforms to the fashion of early Joseon women as often found in early Joseon documentary paintings. The hairstyles of the female servants in the painting *Banquet for Celebrating the Longevity of the Mothers of the High-Ranking Officials in King Seonjo's Administration* (Seonmyojo jejae gyeongsuyeondo 宣廟朝諸宰慶壽宴圖, 1605/ ca.1655 copy, figs. I-21 and 22) in the collection of the Hongik University Museum, Seoul, show that the hairstyles of the figures in gray robes in the *Palace Scene* is in accord with the hair fashion of the day. Thus the figures in the Buddhist compound look to be either nuns or non-tonsured laywomen. Various attires and hairstyles of the figures in the premises likely reflect the diverse status of the members of the institution.

From the discussion above, the *Palace Scene* surely shows a Buddhist facility for royal women in the palace of the sixteenth century. It might be either the Jasugung Cloister or the Insugung, which was built on the site of the Jeongeobwon and later had its name changed back to Jeongeobwon, as noted above.<sup>69</sup> The *Sillok* indicates that the Jasugung was located in the northwest corner of Gyeongbok Palace,<sup>70</sup> and an old map of the mid-eighteenth century, *The Capital City* (Doseongdo 都城圖, fig. I-23), in the Gyujanggak Archives, Seoul, shows the Bridge of Jasugung (Jasugung gyo 慈壽宮橋, fig. I-24) in the northwest section of the Gyeongbok Palace, which corroborates the location of Jasugung in the *Sillok* records. In this case, the whole picture of the Joseon palace from which the *Palace Scene* was cropped must have depicted the Gyeongbok Palace before the Japanese invasion of the Korean Peninsula in 1592. But if the cropped painting shows the Insugung/Jeongeobwon of the late sixteenth century, then the whole painting must have depicted the Changdeok Palace, because the Jeongeobwon Convent was located adjacent to the Changdeok Palace.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Jeongeobwon was located outside the palace premises during the first half of the sixteenth century. See p. 14.

<sup>70</sup> *Seongjong sillok*, gwon 19, Seongjong 3 [1472].6.16 (*sinsa* 辛巳). The entry indicates that Jasugung is located to the west of the Gate of Welcoming Autumn (Yeongchumun 迎秋門), the west gate of the Gyeongbok 景福 Palace.

<sup>71</sup> *Yeonsangun ilgi*, gwon 23, Yeonsangun 3 [1497].5.18 (*gimi* 己未).

## I.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided historical and cultural context for the Buddhist nuns named as patrons in the inscriptions of the three paintings discussed in the following chapters. It has described their social identity, the institutions to which they belonged, and Buddhist practice, providing interpretative background for the paintings.

To briefly recapitulate, the nun-patrons were royal concubines who took the tonsure after their husbands died and stayed in a common residence, or nuns from non-royal families who joined the tonsured royal women. Literary sources inform us that widowed royal concubines took the tonsure collectively, at least until the end of the fifteenth century, wore grey monastic robes, and dwelled in the palace Buddhist facilities.<sup>72</sup> Since no record about their formal ordination or dharma names has yet been found,<sup>73</sup> they were likely self-ordained or simply took the bodhisattva path. The nuns from non-royal families were likely either court servants who followed their mistresses to the cloisters or officially ordained practitioners from outside the palace who joined the

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<sup>72</sup> The morning elegy for the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong Family, one of the major patrons of *The Painting of King Sāla* and the woman to and for whom *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* was dedicated, indicates that she wore the grey robes for the rest of her life after her husband died. See Chapter Three.

<sup>73</sup> Among Goryeo nuns from royal or aristocratic families, there were cases of a royal woman taking formal ordination but not being recorded with her dharma name. See Gim Yeongmi, “Jeonghwa taekju Wang-ssi ui sam gwa bulgyo sinang” 靜和宅主 王氏의 삶과 불교 신앙 [The life and Buddhist faith of Lady Wang of the Residence of Serenity and Harmony], *Ihwa sahak yeongu* 이화사학연구 37 (2008): 209–32.

other women in the cloisters. This ordained nuns are very likely the nuns with the Dharma names given in the inscriptions on the paintings.

There were two types of institutions for these royal nuns in the palace: the official convent, Jeongeobwon, and the royal-residences-turned-Buddhist-cloisters represented by Jasung and Insung. The Jeongeobwon accommodated court women from the beginning of the dynasty. It went through cycles of abolition, reinstatement, and relocation, and finally merged with the Insung Cloister in the late sixteenth century. In the mid-fifteenth century, when the Jeongeobwon was closed temporarily, the system of arranging a common residence for tonsured surviving royal concubines of each king was established and thereafter maintained for generations. After the early sixteenth century when a royal edict prohibited royal concubines of deceased kings from taking the tonsure, records of royal women taking the collective tonsure were not included in the *Sillok*, but other documents indicate that the practice continued through the end of the century.

The common residences for tonsured concubines became de facto Buddhist cloisters. They enshrined icons for worship, held Buddhist rites and Dharma lectures, and, like typical monasteries, were equipped with auxiliary buildings such as a bell tower and halls dedicated to other deities. Around the mid-sixteenth century, fully ordained nuns from non-royal families gradually joined the surviving royal concubines in these cloisters.

The image of the Buddhist cloisters constructed from literary sources, is confirmed by the *Palace Scene*, a section cropped from a larger painting of the Joseon palace. The painting appears to capture a lively moment of devotional activity in a

Buddhist cloister for women in the palace. The style of the buildings and the figures' costumes and hairdos are in accord with those of late sixteenth-century documentary painting. If this identification is correct, *Palace Scene* depicts the type of setting in which the paintings examined here were enshrined and used.

Even for nuns who were former royal concubines, living in a male-centered patriarchal Confucian society involved many layers of marginalization—as a woman, as a secondary wife, as a Buddhist, and also as a Buddhist nun. Being a secondary wife put them on marginal standing in the marriage and family systems of a patrilineal society. After their royal husband died, royal concubines were moved from their residence in the inner quarters and forced to live with other surviving concubines in a common residence on the outskirts of the palace grounds. Such a marginal standing led them to seek comfort and hope in their faith. The following chapters explore the relationship between their standing and the nature of the paintings that they sponsored.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**Prayers for Salvation from Suffering:**  
***Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell (1575–77)***

**Introduction**

The painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1) in the collection of Chion'in 知恩院, Kyōto 京都, exemplifies the Buddhist worship and patronage of court female Buddhists in the early Joseon palace cloisters. The painting depicts the solemn assembly of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (K. Jijang bosal 地藏菩薩) and his extensive entourage on the upper half of the picture plane (fig. II-2) and various diminutive scenes of retributive punishments in hell on the lower half (fig. II-3). Mediating between the two realms visually and thematically, the offering scene (fig. II-4) in the upper center of the lower section represents the donors embracing all the suffering beings in hell below and supplicating Kṣitigarbha above, the savior of hell, to bestow his compassion on them. Since the inscription gives critical information on the painting's place of enshrinement, Joseon palace cloister of Jasugung, this painting makes a key monument for the discussion of the topic of this dissertation.

Having been housed in a Japanese collection for centuries, this painting met the fate of many Korean Buddhist paintings in Japan. Only in recent years have scholars

rediscovered its true national and chronological origin, and renamed its title.<sup>1</sup> The painting was formerly titled *The Transformation Tableau of the Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha* (J. Jizō bosatsu hongankyō hensōzu 地藏菩薩本願經變相図) in accordance with Japanese conventions of naming Buddhist paintings, and according to the conventional attribution system of Japanese connoisseurship was attributed to Lu Xinzong 陸信忠 (fl. early to mid-thirteenth century), a Southern Song painter in Ningbo 寧波 renowned for his Ten Kings paintings exported to Japan.<sup>2</sup> It was

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<sup>1</sup> According to the 1884 record by Junyo Tetsujō 順譽徹定 (1813–?) who was the seventy-fifth abbot of Chion'in, Shimazu Hisamitsu 島津久光 (1817–87), the de facto ruler of the Satsuma 薩摩 domain (now Kagoshima-ken 鹿児島県) and minister of the Meiji government in 1874–75, donated this painting to Junyo in 1879. See Yabuuchi Gensui 藪内彦瑞, ed., *Chion'inshi* 知恩院史 [The history of Chion'in] (Kyōto: Chion'in, 1937), 768. The provenance of the painting prior to Shimazu Hisamitsu is not yet known. Therefore it is not certain when this painting was taken to Japan. I suspect that it was looted along with *The Painting of King Sāla*, when the Japanese army invaded the Gyeongbok Palace in 1592. I think this likely because the two paintings were produced and originally enshrined in very similar circumstances. For the provenance of *The Painting of King Sāla*, see Chapter Three.

<sup>2</sup> Among the painting sets of *The Ten Kings of Hell* now in the Japanese collections, more than thirteen sets purportedly have the signature of Lu Xinzong. See Kajitani Ryōji 梶谷亮治, “Riku Shinchū hitsu jūō zu” 陸信忠筆十王図 [Paintings of *The Ten Kings of Hell* attributed to Lu Xinzong], *Kokka* 国華 1020 (1979): 22–38. For the Japanese connoisseurship of East Asian Buddhist paintings and the fluctuating national and chronological identities of them, see Ide Seinosuke, “Kyōkai bijutsu no *aidentiti*: shōrai butsuga kenkyū no tachiba kara.”



only in the early 1980s that the painting was reattributed to early Joseon Korea.<sup>3</sup> With the restoration of its Korean nationality, it was introduced to the Korean public. Korean publications entitled it *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha from the Jasugung Sanctuary* (K. Jasugung Jeongsa Jijang bosaldo 慈壽宮淨社地藏菩薩圖) or *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell from the Jasugung Sanctuary* (K. Jasugung Jeongsa Jijang siwangdo 慈壽宮淨社地藏十王圖), according to the Korean protocol of titling a Buddhist artwork on the basis of its iconography and, in this case, the place it originated.<sup>4</sup> However, even

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<sup>3</sup> Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan 京都国立博物館, *Chion'in to Hōnen Shōnin eden* 知恩院と法然上人絵伝 [Chion'in and the pictorial biographies of Monk Hōnen] (Kyōto: Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, May 1982), pl. 20; Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, *Rokudōe* 六道絵 [Paintings of the six paths] (Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, August 1982), pl. 33; and Nishigami Minoru 西上實, “Jizō hongankyō hensōzu” 地藏本願經變相図 [The transformation tableau of *The Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha*], *Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan Gakusō* 5 (Kyōto kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1983): 129–36.

<sup>4</sup> Mun Myeongdae 文明大 et al., eds., *Joseon bulhwa* 朝鮮佛畫 [Buddhist paintings of the Joseon dynasty], in *Hanguk ui mi* 韓國의 美 16 (Seoul: Jungang Ilbosa, 1984), pl. 114; Hoam misulgwan, *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 241; and Gim Jeonghui 金廷嬉, *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo yeongu* 朝鮮時代 地藏十王圖 研究 [A study of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Joseon period] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1996), fig. 102. I translate “Jasugung jeongsa” 慈壽宮淨社 given in the inscription into “the Jasugung Sanctuary,” whereas I use “the Jasugung (Cloister)” for Jasugung 慈壽宮 itself, since I am not sure whether the “jeongsa” in the inscription meant the Jasugung itself or a substructural sanctuary affiliated with the Jasugung.

after the restoration of its nationality and the renaming, Japanese publications have continued until today to call it *The Transformation Tableau of the Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha*.<sup>5</sup>

The painting is based on *The Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha* (C. Dizang pusa benyuan jing 地藏菩薩本願經, K. Jijang bosal bonwongyeong, hereafter *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*);<sup>6</sup> that it surely inspired the patrons to commission the painting is evident from the phrases in the dedicatory inscription taken directly from the sūtra.<sup>7</sup> However, the painting is not a literal illustration (J. *hensōzu* 变相図, K. *byeonsangdo*, “transformation tableau/painting”) of the content of the sūtra. The deities portrayed in the assembly scene are not among those named as present in the

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<sup>5</sup> Nakano Genzō 中野玄三, *Rokudōe no kenkyū* 六道絵の研究 [Studies in paintings of the six paths] (Kyōto: Tankōsha, 1989), pl. 49; Bak Eungyeong 朴銀卿, “Richō zenki butsuga no kenkyū: Jizō bosatsuzuzō o chūshin ni,” 57–93; Kikutake Junichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, eds., *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, *Chōsen ōchō*, pl. 127; Izumi Takeo 泉武夫, Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠, and Yamamoto Satomi 山本聡美, eds., *Kokuhō Rokudōe* 国宝 六道絵 [National Treasure: *Painting of the Six Paths*] (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2007), 243–44; and *Chōsen ōchō no kaiga to Nihon: Sōtatsu, Taiga, Yakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi* 朝鮮王朝の絵画と日本 宗達, 大雅, 若沖も学んだ隣国の美 [The paintings of the Joseon dynasty and Japan: The beauty of a neighboring country that Sōtatsu, Taiga, Yakuchū also learned] (Ōsaka: Yomiuri shinbun, 2008), pl. 103.

<sup>6</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing* 地藏菩薩本願經, T412.13.777c–790a, attributed to Śikṣānanda (C. Shichanantuo 實叉難陀, 620–710).

<sup>7</sup> This is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Buddha Śākyamuni's assembly at the Palace of the Trayastriṃśā Heaven (C. daolitian gong 忉利天宮, K. doricheongung) where he preached the sūtra; rather, they come from the standardized general pantheon of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. Moreover, the scenes of hell depicted in the painting are different from those listed in the sūtra. Thus here the painting will be referred to as *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* in accordance with the Korean appellation.

This chapter introduces the painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasung Cloister as a case-study to illuminate the worship and patronage of court Buddhist women in the Joseon palace cloister. Through an examination of the inscription, iconography, and composition of the painting, I shed light on the circumstances and intention of its patrons as well as on the pictorial characteristics and devices used to develop its theme. The primary issues to be addressed are: (1) the incorporation of a new iconography for one of Kṣitigarbha's attendants drawn from the contemporary Chinese Kṣitigarbha cult as an example of the advantageous position of the Buddhist patronage of court women to access the new culture, (2) the compositional and thematic emphasis on the donors' offering scene, and (3) the exceptionally synthetic composition, which I interpret as an device to visualize the patrons' religious aspirations. Finally, I discuss the nun-patrons' commission of the painting in the context of the worship of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell by early Joseon court women and elucidate the significance that the worship for Kṣitigarbha held for female Buddhists, especially for the socially marginalized nuns in the Joseon palace cloister.

## II.1 Inscription and Patrons

### II.1.1 The Inscription

The dedicatory inscription of the painting written in gold ink is divided on both edges of the adjacent zone of the upper assembly scene and the lower hell scenes (fig. II-5). The original text of the inscription and its annotated translation are found in Appendix I. The inscription identifies the subject matter, patrons, intentions of dedication, and circumstances of the production of the painting.

The inscription reveals that the painting was painted as a result of the vow initiated by a royal concubine named the Chaste Concubine of the Yun Family (Sukbin Yun-ssi 淑嬪 尹氏, d.u.) for the afterlife of Queen Insun 仁順 (1532–75). Nuns, represented by a nun whose Dharma name was Jimyeong 智明, joined in the dedication. The patrons hired a skilled artist to produce the painting and enshrined it in the sanctuary of the Jasugung Cloister, suggesting that they were closely related to this cloister. The patrons were most likely affiliated with the Jasugung Cloister, and the Chaste Concubine was also strongly connected with the nuns as well as with the cloister. The relatively large size of the painting (209.5 x 227.21 cm, approx. 82.5 x 89.5 in) for a Korean painting indicates that it must have been used in the Jasugung as an altarpiece or for special rituals such as funerary and memorial rites for the members of the royal family.

For the subject matter of the painting, the patrons chose the whole pantheon and purgatorial retribution of the underworld—Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, the Venerable Daoming 道明 (K. Domyeong), the Ghost King Poisonless, the Ten Kings of Hell, and

scenes of the Eighteen Hells. The inscription explains that the selection was determined by the patrons' faith in the efficacy of Kṣitigarbha's vows, made countless years ago, which would secure their rebirth in paradise in return for their devotion to and commission of any type of image of the bodhisattva—a faith derived from *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*.<sup>8</sup> This indicates that the patrons were well versed in and strongly inspired by the doctrine expounded in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*.

The patrons' understanding of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* is also made clear in the intentions of their dedication. The principal intention of the dedication was to pray for the soul of the deceased Queen Insun to be reborn in paradise without suffering retribution in purgatory. But the patrons also sought to transfer the merits of their dedication to the longevity and blessings of the primary royal family members—King Seonjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608); Queen Uiin 懿仁 (1555–1600); Queen Dowager Gongui 恭懿 (1514–77), the consort of King Injong (r. 1544–45); and the Virtuous Consort-Princess (Deokbin 德嬪, 1552–92), the daughter-in-law of Queen Insun.<sup>9</sup> The nun-patrons then added their final—and perhaps most earnest—prayers that the merit they accrued by dedicating the image of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha on behalf of others also benefit themselves, so that they might be reborn in paradise and attain salvation. *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* repeatedly emphasizes that the surviving relatives and descendants of the deceased can accumulate merit for the deceased during his/her time in purgatory by

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<sup>8</sup> See note 6 of the inscription in Appendix I.

<sup>9</sup> The royal family genealogy around this time is shown in Appendix II.

reciting or transcribing the scripture and worshipping or commissioning images of Kṣitigarbha. In addition, the sūtra says that one-seventh of such accumulated merit is dedicated to the deceased, and that the other six-sevenths returns to the living relatives who accrue it as good karma.<sup>10</sup> This must have been a strong attraction for the patrons to make the vow of dedication.

The year in which the painting was done is not given in the inscription. At the end of the inscription, the completion date of the painting is simply given as the ninth month of “this year” (K. *sise* 是歲). The inscription formula formed on other paintings produced during the same period begins with the specific date including year given in a Chinese imperial reign and cyclical year of the dedicatory vow or the initiation of the painting and ends with “this year.”<sup>11</sup> Thus the first line of the inscription of this painting, which contained this information and was likely written very close to the right edge of the picture plane, was probably trimmed off during a repair or remounting process. The painting can nonetheless be dated between the first month of 1575 and the ninth month of 1577 on the basis of the dates of Queen Insun’s and Queen Dowager Gongui’s deaths. “The ninth month” to which the inscription refers must be the ninth month of a year after Queen Insun’s death (in the first month of 1575) but before Queen Dowager Gongui’s death (in the eleventh month of 1577), because the painting was produced for the soul of

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<sup>10</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.784b8–12. For an English translation, see Buddhist Text Translation Society, trans., *Sutra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (2003), 62.

<sup>11</sup> See the inscriptions of the other two paintings studied here, *The Painting of King Sāla* (1576) and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (1582), in Appendix I.

the deceased Queen Insun and Queen Dowager Gongui was still alive at the time of the dedication, since she is invoked in the inscription with other living royal family for longevity and blessings.<sup>12</sup>

### II.1.2 The Patrons

Little is known about the initiator of the commission, the Chaste Concubine of the Yun Family (Sukbin Yun-ssi 淑嬪 尹氏),<sup>13</sup> although she appears in a brief entry of the *Sillok* designating the region for her food-supply in 1595.<sup>14</sup> The context of the *Sillok* record suggests that she was a concubine of a previous king. Within this time frame, the genealogy of the Papyeong Yun 坡平 尹 (the Yun clan of Papyeong in Gyeonggi-do 京畿道)—one of the most powerful descent groups and the major provider of royal spouses since the early Goryeo dynasty—lists her as a concubine of King Injong (r. 1544–45).<sup>15</sup> She was a daughter of Yun Wollyang 尹元亮, brother of Queen Munjeong

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<sup>12</sup> *Seonjo sillok*, gwon 9, Seonjo 8 [1575].1.2 (*imin* 壬寅); gwon 11, Seonjo 10 [1577].11.28 (*gyeongjin* 庚辰). Nishigami Minoru proposed this dating first in his article, “Jizō hongankyō hensōzu,” 130.

<sup>13</sup> “Bin” 嬪 is the title of the senior first-grade (*jeong ilpum* 正一品) rank, the highest rank in the king’s inner quarters (*naemyeongbu* 內命府) of the Joseon dynasty.

<sup>14</sup> *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, gwon 63, Seonjo 28 [1595].5.26 (*musul* 戊戌).

<sup>15</sup> Yun Seokhun 尹奭勳, ed., *Papyeong Yun-ssi sebo* 坡平尹氏世譜 [The genealogy of the Yun clan of Papyeong] (n.p.: Papyeong Yun-ssi Daejonghoe 坡平尹氏大宗會, 1959), 1: 275. The genealogy reads “Hyoreung hugung” 孝陵後宮 (a royal concubine of Hyoreung) for her entry.

who was one of the most determined proponents of Buddhism and most generous patrons of Buddhist art in the Joseon dynasty. With this information, she is traced in the *Sillok* to have been selected as a concubine of the crown prince (later King Injong) in 1537, despite controversy in the government about her eligibility to be a concubine of the heir apparent, who was a stepson of her aunt Queen Munjeong.<sup>16</sup>

Lady Yun's birth date is unknown, but she most likely lived until 1600 or 1601. An elegy in pentasyllabic regulated verse (K. *oeon yulsi* 五言律詩) for her, entitled “Mourning the Chaste Concubine” (Man Sukbin 挽淑嬪), is found in the collection of works by Hong Gasin 洪可臣 (1541–1615), a mid-Joseon scholar-official.<sup>17</sup> The poem does not give any concrete information on her life but it appears between the works of

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“Hyoreung” is the tomb designation (*neungho* 陵號) for King Injong. Oddly enough, the official genealogy of the royal family of the Joseon dynasty, *Seonwonnok* 璿源錄, does not list any contemporary wife and concubines or descendants for short-lived King Injong, presumably partly because of his very short reign of eight months and also because of the unfavorable succeeding regime ruled by Queen-Dowager Regent Munjeong who was his stepmother.

<sup>16</sup> *Jungjong sillok* 中宗實錄, gwon 81, Jungjong 31 [1536].2.6 (*sinmyo* 辛卯); gwon 86, Jungjong 32 [1537].11.9 (*gapsin* 甲申). When the Chaste Concubine was selected as a concubine of the crown prince, she was recorded in the *Sillok* as the Virtuous Beauty of the Yun Family (Yangwon Yun-ssi 良媛 尹氏). Her title *yangwon* was the title of the junior third-grade rank (*jong sampum* 從三品) in the royal inner quarters.

<sup>17</sup> Hong Gasin 洪可臣, “Man Sukbin” 挽淑嬪 [An elegy for the Chaste Concubine], *Manjeonjip* 晩全集 [The anthology of Manjeon], gwon 1, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊 (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 1990– ), 51: 443d.



1600 and those of 1601 in Hong's anthology. Because Hong's works are edited in good chronological order, the Chaste Concubine very likely lived until 1600 or 1601.

Given both the year she entered the palace (1537) and her presumed death date, she lived in the palace for more than sixty-three years, during which she was with her husband King Injong (1515–45, r. 1544–45), even as one of his secondary wives, for just less than eight years. Most of her long life in the palace was the one of a marginalized being as a former concubine of a king who died young without an heir, reigned for such a short period of eight months, and was so powerless as to be ignored even in the royal genealogy record.<sup>18</sup> She had no son or daughter, either.

Even though the *Sillok* gives no direct information about where Lady Yun lived after her husband died, it can be surmised from the place of residence of her fellow concubines. According to the *Sillok*, another concubine of King Injong, the Chaste Exemplar of the Jeong Family (Sugui Jeong-ssi 淑儀 鄭氏, later promoted to the Noble One or Guiin 貴人), moved into the Jasugung after his death.<sup>19</sup> The Chaste Exemplar of the Jeong Family seems to have soon moved again to the Insugung; her biography says that she had lived in the Insugung for around twenty years when she died in 1566.<sup>20</sup> The

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<sup>18</sup> See note 15.

<sup>19</sup> *Myeongjong sillok*, gwon 2, Myeongjong accession year [1545].12.19 (*musin* 戊申); 12.29 (*muo* 戊午). “Sugui” 淑儀 (Chaste Exemplar) is the title of the junior second-grade rank (*jong ipum* 從二品) in the king's inner quarters.

<sup>20</sup> Yi Yi 李珥 (1536–84), “Guiin Jeong-ssi haengjang” 貴人鄭氏行狀 [A brief biography of the late Noble One of the Jeong Family], *Yulgok seonsaeng jeonseo* 栗谷先生全書, gwon 18, in

elegy for yet another fellow concubine of Lady Yun, the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong Family (Hyebin Jeong-ssi 惠嬪 鄭氏) who was the major patron of *The Painting of King Sāla* and the person to whom the painting *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* was dedicated, reports that she spent her life as a nun in a palace cloister.<sup>21</sup> Thus Lady Yun's likely residence in the Jasugung is suggested by (1) the conventional practice of royal concubines living in a palace cloister after their royal husbands died; (2) records of residences of her fellow widowed concubines; and (3) the fact that the painting she commissioned was enshrined in the Jasugung Cloister. As a devout Buddhist, the Chaste Concubine of the Yun Family no doubt also stayed in or frequented the Jasugung in order to practice her faith during sixty-three-or-so years in the palace.

The other patrons of the painting—like the nun named Jimyeong 智明—were very likely from non-royal families. That they were able to participate in a Buddhist commission initiated by a royal concubine for the Jasugung indicates that they were affiliated with the cloister. Recalling the Confucian officials' complaint about the large number of nuns with no royal background inhabiting the cloister along with royal concubines, we can guess that these nun-patrons must have been among the non-royal nuns in question.<sup>22</sup> They were fully ordained, as evidenced by their Dharma names, and must have been the actual superintendents of Buddhist practices in the palace cloister.

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*Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊 44: 417b. “Stayed at the Insugung about more than twenty years” 居仁壽宮凡二十餘年.

<sup>21</sup> For details of her life, see Chapter Three.

<sup>22</sup> See notes 59 and 60 in Chapter One.

As noted above, the painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* was dedicated by the joint patronage of a royal concubine and nuns in the Jasugung Cloister for the salvation of a deceased court female authority, Queen Insun (1532–75) who was the consort of King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545–67) and a daughter-in-law of Queen Munjeong. Queen Insun concurred with her mother-in-law’s Buddhist policies, although records of her personal Buddhist devotional activities are rarely found. After the death of Queen Munjeong in 1565 and of her husband in 1567, Queen Insun became the guardian of the newly adopted young King Seonjo (r. 1567–1608) and heir to her mother-in-law’s support of court Buddhism, and she came under fire from Confucian officials who had been frustrated and enraged at Queen Munjeong’s Buddhist policies.<sup>23</sup> Queen Insun tried to arrange the special funerary and first-anniversary memorial services for King Myeongjong in a Buddhist temple, but her plan was impeded by government officials.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> When King Myeongjong died in 1567, there was no heir apparent appointed because his crown prince had died four years before. When Queen Insun chose Seonjo as the succeeding king, he was sixteen years old and had not been educated for the kingship because he had lived outside the palace as a second-generation prince, the grandson of King Jungjong (r. 1506–44) and his concubine the Prosperous Concubine of the An Family (Changbin An-ssi 昌嬪 安氏, 1499–1549) (see the Royal Genealogy of the Early Joseon Dynasty in Appendix II). Thus Queen Insun participated in politics as the queen-dowager regent for King Seonjo for the short time of eight months. For the regency of Queen Insun, see Gim Ugi 金宇基, “16-segi jungyeop Insun wanghu ui jeongchi chamyeo wa suryeom cheongjeong” 16세기 중엽 仁順王후의 정치참여와 垂簾聽政 [Queen Insun’s participation in the politics behind the bamboo curtain in the mid-sixteenth century], *Yeoksa gyoyuk* 歷史教育 88 (2003): 147–85.

<sup>24</sup> *Seonjo sillok*, gwon 2, Seonjo 2 [1568].6.25 (gyemyo 癸卯).

Nevertheless, she maintained Queen Munjeong's support of Buddhist institutions. She protected the royal convent, the Jeongeobwon, when officials insisted on abolishing it,<sup>25</sup> and continued the management and patronage of the monasteries outside the palace through the eunuch-supervised Office of Court Treasury (Naesusa 內需司), the controversial channel established by Queen Munjeong to organize and finance her Buddhist projects.<sup>26</sup>

We do not know how Lady Yun, the Chaste Concubine developed her relationship with Queen Insun that led to commission the painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* for the queen's salvation. Whether she stayed in a palace cloister for the rest of her life after her husband died, or she followed the pattern in which some court women alternated their residences between the Jasugung Cloister and the inner quarters at a good interval of time, as we know from *the Sillok*, it may have been a factor that the queen died without her own descendant.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> *Seonjo sillok*, gwon 8, Seonjo 7 [1574].5.14 (*jeonghae* 丁亥).

<sup>26</sup> *Seonjo sillok*, gwon 8, Seonjo 7 [1574].10.13 (*gabin* 甲寅). For Queen Munjeong's support and management of Buddhist monasteries through the Office of Court Treasury supervised by eunuchs, see Gim Ugi 金字基, "Munjeong wanghu ui jeongchi chamyeo wa jeongguk unyeong" 文定王后의 정치참여와 정국운영 [Queen Munjeong's participation in politics and management of the political situation], *Yeoksa gyoyuk nonjip* 歷史教育論集 23·24 (1999): 798–823.

<sup>27</sup> For the practice of royal concubines' alternating their residences, see Chapter One, note 52.

## II.2 Iconography of the Painting

The artist(s) responsible for *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1) faithfully carried out the commission of the patrons as prescribed in the inscription, depicting images of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, the Venerable Daoming, the Ghost King Poisonless, the Ten Kings of Hell, and various scenes of the Eighteen Hells. The iconography of this Kṣitigarbha assembly is largely in line with the traditional iconography of Korean paintings of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*. However, this painting has iconographic and stylistic characteristics of sixteenth-century Korean Kṣitigarbha painting. Moreover, it also has an exceptional iconographic component that is not found in the tradition of Korean Kṣitigarbha painting and cult. In this section, a brief description of the assembly, focusing on the characteristics of sixteenth-century Kṣitigarbha painting, is followed by a detailed discussion of the iconography of each of Kṣitigarbha's attendants. This sheds light on the changes in Kṣitigarbha's attendants and the transformation of his worship between later Chinese and Korean Buddhism.

### II.2.1 Kṣitigarbha, The Ten Kings of Hell, and Other Deities

The assembly on the upper half of the painting (fig. II-2) centers on the bodhisattva triad and fans out to include other deities and functionaries. The principal deity of the triad commands attention with his overwhelming size, made even more imposing by sitting on

a high rectangular pedestal of Mount Sumeru. This, along with the effective device of the open space between his two attendants, draws the viewer's eye from the center of the painting upward to the bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha (K. Jijang bosal 地藏菩薩), recognizable by his bare head, holds a monk's bronze staff (Skt. *khakharaka*, K. *seokjang* 錫杖) in his left hand and a wish-fulfilling jewel (Skt. *cintāmaṇi*, K. *yeouiju* 如意珠) in his upturned right palm. His facial features are characteristic of sixteenth-century Korean Buddhist painting, with closely centered facial features, long, narrow eyes, and extremely small lips. The bodhisattva is flanked by two attendants—the Venerable Daoming (C. Daoming zunzhe 道明尊者, K. Daoming jonja) on his left, and the Ghost King Poisonless (K. Mudok gwiwang 無毒鬼王) on his right. Because these two attendants, along with an elderly gentleman in the far left of the second row in the painting, raise important questions, they are featured in the next section.

The Ten Kings of Hell stand in the front two rows on either side of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, wearing dragon-and-cloud-embroidered ceremonial robes and various types of royal crowns (fig. II-2). Each holds a scepter in two hands, respectfully joined in front of his chest. Despite their formal frontal posture, the Ten Kings' gestures are varied and lively. Some of them are distracted from the solemn assembly. The two kings in the second row on the bodhisattva's left turn their eyes beyond their party, while the king on the far left is breaking his reverential hand gesture and signaling something with wide open arms (fig. II-6). The fifth king, Yama (fig. II-7), on the bodhisattva's immediate right, identified by his characteristic flat-topped crown (*mian* 冕) looks toward

his fellow kings nearby, who are also relaxing their formal postures. The painter(s) of the scroll introduced this variety and vivacity of gesture, breaking with rigid convention and imparting a more informal atmosphere to the religious scene. This informal depiction of deities is shared by other paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings attributed to sixteenth-century Joseon.<sup>28</sup> The posture and facial expression of King Yama are similar to those in the court-related painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Cheongpyeongsa 淸平寺 (1562, figs. II-8 and 9) in the Kōmyōji 光明寺 collection in Hiroshima-ken 広島県, suggesting that there was a model work (or draft sketch) that both of these paintings copied.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> There are eleven works of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* known to date from sixteenth-century Joseon, two of which were produced under court patronage while the others were all sponsored by commoners. For the list and sources of the reproduction of the paintings, see Appendix IV. The rich theatrical facial expressions of the Ten Kings in this period are discussed in Bak Eungyeong 朴銀卿, “Mabon bulhwa ui chulhyeon: Ilbon Suō Kokubunji ui Jijang siwangdo reul jungsim euro” 麻本佛畫의 出現—日本 周防 國分寺의 <地藏十王圖>를 중심으로 [The emergence of Buddhist paintings drawn on hemp: *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* in Kokubunji at Suō, Japan], *Misul sahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 199·200 (December 1993): 77–78.

<sup>29</sup> The Kōmyōji *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* was commissioned for the royal family by Monk Bou 普雨, the advisor and co-executive of Queen Munjeong’s Buddhist restoration, as well as the chief supervisor of the Meditation (K. Seon 禪) sect of Joseon Buddhism during the King Myeongjong’s reign.

In the next two rows above the Ten Kings are functionaries of the Underworld Court. Magistrates holding bundles of logbook scrolls, female servants holding stamp-boxes wrapped in cloth and gilt incense-burners, the Boys of Good and Evil carrying another scrolls of the logbook, demonic-looking jailers, and horse- and cow-headed wardens are all symmetrically deployed. On the viewer's far right is a standing guardian figure, but on the far left, unexpectedly instead of another guardian, we find a long-bearded, elderly bystander wearing a Chinese scholar's robe and hat and holding prayer beads or a rosary (K. *yeomju* 念珠, C. *nianzhu*, figs. II-2 and 26). This old layman is not usually found in the other Korean Kṣitigarbha assembly paintings known today. He seems to have made his debut in Korean Buddhist painting in this Jasugung piece and soon disappeared from the stage. The identity of this old lay believer is pursued in detail below in the section on Lord Min.

At the very top of the assembly are the Six Bodhisattvas (fig. II-2) encircled by ethereal red light-clouds and rays of colorful light radiating from the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. The grouping of the Six Bodhisattvas has its scriptural origin in *The Scripture Spoken by the Buddha on the Preparatory Cultivation for the Ten Kings at the Sevens during Life* (C. *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing* 佛說豫修十王生七經, K. *Bulseol yesu siwang saengchil gyeong*, hereafter *The Ten Kings Sūtra*).<sup>30</sup> They were

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<sup>30</sup> *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing* 佛說預修十王生七經, X21.1.408a–410c. This Taiwanese edition in *Xuzangjing* 續藏經 is a reprint of *Dainihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經, which transcribed a Korean edition of *The Ten Kings Sūtra* printed at Jeungsimsa 證心寺, Gwangju 光



among the throngs who traveled, riding rays of light, from their own abodes to join the Śākyamuni's assembly and praise him when the Buddha expounded the sūtra in the Palace of the Trayastriṃśā Heaven.<sup>31</sup> *The Ten Kings Sūtra* identifies the Six Bodhisattvas as Jijang 地藏 (Skt. Kṣitigarbha, C. Dizang), Yongsu 龍樹 (Skt. Nāgārjuna, C. Longshu), Gugo Gwanseeum 救苦觀世音 (Skt. Avalokiteśvara, C. Jiuku Guanshiyin), Sangbi 常悲 (Skt. Sadāprarudita, C. Changbei), Tarani 陀羅尼 (Skt. Dhāraṇī, C. Tuoluoni), and Geumgangjang 金剛藏 (Skt. Vajragarbha, C. Jingangzang).<sup>32</sup> The problem is that the Six Bodhisattvas in *The Ten Kings Sūtra* include Kṣitigarbha, whereas the Korean Kṣitigarbha paintings show Kṣitigarbha as the main deity in addition to six bodhisattvas, whose identification thus has yet to be clarified.<sup>33</sup>

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州, dated to 1469 of the Joseon dynasty. For the English translation, see Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 196–219.

<sup>31</sup> *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing*, X21.1.408c8–13. English translation is in Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 204–5.

<sup>32</sup> The list of bodhisattvas varies depending on the recensions of *The Ten Kings Sūtra* from three bodhisattvas to eleven. See Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 171–72 and 249.

<sup>33</sup> In the catalogue entries of other Korean Kṣitigarbha paintings, Gim Jeonghui 金廷嬉 replaces Kṣitigarbha with Jiji 地持 (C. Dichi) in the list of the Six Bodhisattvas and makes the Six Bodhisattvas the attendants of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. Mun Myeongdae 文明大, ed., *Joseon bulhwa* 朝鮮佛畫 [Buddhist paintings of the Joseon dynasty] in *Hanguk ui mi* 韓國의 美 16 (Seoul: Jungang Ilbosa, 1984/1991), 225. However, the textual source for this identification is not given.

The Six Bodhisattvas are regular members of Kṣitigarbha's entourage in the early Joseon paintings.<sup>34</sup> The painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas* (fig. II-11), attributed to the fifteenth century, at Yodadera 與田寺 in Kagawa-ken 香川県 obviously features the iconography of Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas. All of the known early Joseon paintings of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* such as those in Nanatsudera 七寺 in Aichi-ken 愛知県 (1558), Jihukuji 持福寺 in Tokushima-ken 徳島県 (1587), and Zenkōji 善光寺 in Yamanashi-ken 山梨県 (1589), include the Six Bodhisattvas in the assembly.<sup>35</sup> This tradition was inherited by late Joseon paintings. The presence of the Six Bodhisattvas in the painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* under discussion in this chapter is in accord with the general development of sixteenth-century Kṣitigarbha assembly painting.

## II.2.2 Kṣitigarbha's Attendants: Iconography and Cult

### II.2.2.1 The Venerable Daoming

To the left of Kṣitigarbha stands the Venerable Daoming 道明 (K. Domyeong jonja 道明尊者) dressed in a monastic robe (fig. II-10). He is the Tang monk Daoming from

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<sup>34</sup> The Six Bodhisattvas were illustrated in the long procession of the attendees at the Śākyamuni's assembly in the frontispiece of *the Ten Kings Sūtra* (1246) in the Haeinsa Repository, but they did not appear in the Goryeo Kṣitigarbha assembly paintings.

<sup>35</sup> For the reproduction information of these paintings, see Appendix IV.

the famous story of the ninth- or tenth-century Dunhuang manuscript “Record of a Returned Soul” (*Huanhun ji* 還魂記).<sup>36</sup> The story relates a returned-from-death experience of a monk Daoming of Kaiyuan si 開元寺 purportedly in 778. He was mistakenly summoned to the underworld because of the confusion of the dark court with another monk of the same name, but finally released to return to this world. This narrative has drawn art historians’ attention for the Kṣitigarbha’s iconography revealed in his conversation with the bodhisattva whom he encountered on his way back.<sup>37</sup> Later he became known as a compassionate guide to souls who recently arrived in hell.<sup>38</sup> Often accompanied by a golden-haired lion-dog (K. *geummo saja* 金毛獅子), Daoming has been one of the main attendants of Kṣitigarbha in images of the Kṣitigarbha assembly across East Asia ever since the tenth century.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> The facsimile-copy of the original text of the fragmentary Dunhuang manuscript in the British Library, see *Huanhun ji* 還魂記 (S 3092) in Huang Yongwu 黃永武, *Dunhuang baozang* 敦煌寶藏 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1980), 25: 667–68.

<sup>37</sup> This section of the narrative is transcribed and translated in Stephen F. Teiser, “Having Once Died and Returned to Life: Representations of Hell in Medieval China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48.2 (December 1988): 447–50 and 464.

<sup>38</sup> Stephen F. Teiser, “Having Once Died and Returned to Life,” 450.

<sup>39</sup> The identification of the iconography of Priest Daoming and the lion-dog was first made by Authur Waley, based on the *Huanhun ji*, in his *A Catalogue of Paintings: Recovered from Tun-Huang by Sir Aurel Stein, Preserved in the British Museum, and in the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities*, Delhi (London: Quaritch, 1931). The earliest studies on this identification include Matsumoto Eiichi 松本栄一, “Hibō Jizō bosatsuzu” 被帽地藏菩薩図 [Paintings of the hooded

Daoming has also appeared as one of the attendants flanking the bodhisattva in Korean Kṣitigarbha paintings since the Goryeo period. In *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* from Jasugung as in Korean Kṣitigarbha assembly paintings attributed to the sixteenth century and later, he is portrayed as a young monk with puffed cheeks and no mustache (fig. II-10). He is portrayed this way in *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Cheongpyeongsa 淸平寺 (1562, fig. II-9).<sup>40</sup> However, in paintings prior to the sixteenth century, the Venerable Daoming is depicted as an old monk complying with the “Record of a Returned Soul,” where he is old enough to be summoned (albeit mistakenly) to the underworld because his lifespan is up. In the painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas* (fig. II-11) in the collection of Yodadera 與田寺, Kagawa-ken 香川県,

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Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha], *Tonkōga no kenkyū: zuzōhen* 燉煌画の研究: 図像篇 [Studies in paintings of Dunhuang: Iconography] (Tōkyō: Tōhō bunka gakuin Tōkyō kenkyūjo, 1937), 378–79.

<sup>40</sup> For other Kṣitigarbha assembly paintings of, or attributed to, sixteenth-century Korea, and information about their reproductions, see Appendix IV. An exception is found in *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (1586) in the Kokubunji 国分寺 collection, Yamaguchi-ken 山口県, where the monk Daoming has a beard and drooping eyebrows. However, the Kokubunji painting is believed to have been modeled on a Goryeo painting because of the iconography of the hooded Kṣitigarbha and the rigid, two-tiered arrangement of his retinue. For the Kokubunji painting, see Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 35. For a handy reference of comprehensive paintings of Kṣitigarbha assembly of the late Joseon period, see Gim Jeonghui 金廷禧, *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo yeongu* 朝鮮時代 地藏十王圖 研究 [A study of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Joseon period] (Seoul: Iljisa, 1996).

attributed to fifteenth-century Joseon, the priest Daoming is an elderly monk with long, drooping eyebrows, a moustache, and a beard (fig. II-12). In Goryeo Kṣitigarbha assembly paintings, the monk Daoming is also depicted as an aged disciple.<sup>41</sup>

The reason for this iconographic change in the description of the monk Daoming in Korean paintings is yet to be studied. Because post-tenth century Chinese images of Kṣitigarbha, especially in scroll paintings, are not well known, it is difficult to compare the development of Daoming's portrayal in China and Korea. However, the few known Chinese paintings of the Kṣitigarbha assembly suggest the same development, and the iconographic change in Korean paintings seems to reflect that of Chinese paintings, as will be discussed below.

The depictions of monk Daoming in the Dunhuang Kṣitigarbha scrolls of the tenth century are very sketchy and inconsistent.<sup>42</sup> Some show him as a young monk, while in other paintings he looks old. He was not, however, paired as one of Kṣitigarbha's flanking attendants in Dunhuang Kṣitigarbha scrolls as he was in later paintings.

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<sup>41</sup> For the Goryeo images of the Kṣitigarbha assembly, see Kikudake Jun'ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pls. 109–17.

<sup>42</sup> See British Museum, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vol. 2 (Tōkyō: Kodansha, 1983), pl. 23, and 24; and Musée Guimet, *Les arts de l'Asie centrale: la collection Pelliot du musée Guimet* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), vol.1, 98; vol.2, 63, 64, 66, and 67.

Kṣitigarbha paintings attributed to the Yuan dynasty represent Monk Daoming as an old monk. The *Kṣitigarbha Triad* (fig. II-13) in the Engakuji 円覚寺 collection, Kanagawa-ken 神奈川県, which is attributed to the thirteenth century, although traditionally attributed to Goryeo, is probably a Chinese.<sup>43</sup> In addition to elements foreign to Goryeo painting, such as less-packed patterns on the robe and hood of Kṣitigarbha and the pattern on the sūtra box held by the Ghost King Poisonless which is seen in Yuan sūtra boxes,<sup>44</sup> the imposing physique and broad shoulders of Kṣitigarbha

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<sup>43</sup> The *Kṣitigarbha Triad* is included in major comprehensive catalogues of Goryeo Buddhist painting as “a Goryeo piece.” See Kikudake Jun’ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, *Kōrai butsuga* 高麗仏画, pl. 56; and Kikudake Jun’ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 109. It was also introduced as a Goryeo painting in an exhibition and its catalogue, *Kamakura: Zen no genryū* 鎌倉: 禅の源流 [Kamakura: The origin of Zen] (Tōkyō: Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2003), pl. 77. However, even the scholars who attributed the painting to Goryeo acknowledge it is not Goryeo in style or other pictorial elements of the painting. The Goryeo attribution hangs on the presence of the Ghost King Poisonless, who has been thought to be a unique member of Korean Kṣitigarbha triad (This issue is addressed later). Youngsook Pak discusses the premise that the painting is a Goryeo work, though with a different conclusion about the identity of the Kṣitigarbha’s attendants, in her article, “The Role of Legend in Koryō Iconography (1): The Kṣitigarbha Triad in Engakuji,” in *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, ed. K. R. von Kooji and H. van der Veere (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), 157–65 (This is also discussed later). However, Stephen Little reattributes the painting to late thirteenth-century Yuan China. See Stephen Little, “A Korean Gilt-Bronze Sculpture of Kshitigarbha Bodhisattva,” *Orientalia* 34.7 (September 2003): 54.

<sup>44</sup> Yoshida Hiroshi 吉田宏志 and Kikudake Jun’ichi 菊竹淳一, *Kōrai butsuga* 高麗仏画 [Goryeo Buddhist paintings] (Tōkyō: Asahi shimbunsha, 1980), entry 56.

and the large size of the painting (239.4 x 130 cm, approx. 94 ¼ x 51 ⅞ in) for a Korean Buddhist triad scroll suggest a possible origin other than Goryeo. Here monk Daoming (fig. II-14), who holds Kṣitigarbha's staff with both hands, has the face of an old monk worn down by long ascetic practices. Three paintings of *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and His Attendants* in Hōfukuji 宝福寺, Okayama-ken 岡山県 (fig. II-15), in Eigenji 永源寺, Shiga-ken 滋賀県 (fig. II-16), and in the Yūgensai 幽玄齋 collection (fig. II-17) share the same iconography and composition and are also attributed to Yuan China. These paintings show the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha at the center, seated on a wide rectangular wooden throne with one leg folded and the other pendant, the foot resting on a lotus pedal. Circling the bodhisattva, symmetrically disposed, are two female servants standing in for the Boys of Good and Evil, two magistrates, and a messenger paired with the monk Daoming in the front, a lion-dog between them. The icons of rebirth are illustrated on each ray of the Six Paths radiating from the bodhisattva at the top. Priest Daoming is depicted as an old monk in these paintings. The fifteenth-century Joseon painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas* discussed above (fig. II-11 and 12), in which Monk Daoming is portrayed as an old disciple with a beard, very likely followed the tradition of this group of Yuan paintings, even though in the Korean painting the bodhisattva is surrounded by the Six Bodhisattvas.

In the Ming dynasty paintings of Kṣitigarbha, however, priest Daoming is depicted as a young monk. The *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (fig. II-18) illustrated in two scrolls of the *shuilu* painting set (ca. 1460) from Baoning si 宝宁寺,

Shanxi sheng 山西省, for instance, shows Daoming as a young priest (fig. II-19). In one scroll, Kṣitigarbha leads his retinue of two attendants and four kings; the other six kings appear in the second scroll. The young disciple Daoming stands on the bodhisattva's left, holding a monk's staff and an alms bowl. A mural depiction (dated to 1520s–30s) of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his retinue (fig. II- 20 and 21) on the northeast wall of the Rear Hall in Pilu si 毘盧寺 in Hebei sheng 河北省 also testifies to the new development.<sup>45</sup> The portrayal of a young Daoming continued in the Qing dynasty, as demonstrated by the *Kṣitigarbha Triad* (fig. II-22) of the Qing dynasty in the Náprstkovo Museum, Prague.

These paintings indicate a change in the portrayal of priest Daoming in Chinese Kṣitigarbha paintings of the Ming and Qing dynasties: he was portrayed as an old monk up to the Yuan period and as a young disciple thereafter. So noted above, his depiction in the Korean Kṣitigarbha paintings very likely reflects this Chinese development. The new Chinese pictorial convention of depicting the young Daoming found in the Ming paintings is seen in Korean Kṣitigarbha paintings dated to the sixteenth century and later. The Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* was produced in this new tradition.

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<sup>45</sup> The dating is in Sun Qixiang 孙启祥, "Introduction," in Kang Dianfeng 康殿峰, ed., *Pilu si bihua* 毘盧寺壁畫 [Mural paintings of Pilu si] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei meishu chuban she, 1998), 13.



### II.2.2.2 The Ghost King Poisonless

Across the pedestal from the Venerable Daoming, on Kṣitigarbha's left, is the Ghost King Poisonless (K. Mudok gwiwang 無毒鬼王, fig. II-10) who is identified in the inscription of this painting. The Ghost King Poisonless wears a Chinese ceremonial robe with large sleeves, the formal curling-cloud or “penetrating to heaven” crown (C. *tongtian guan* 通天冠), and a “square heart” curved collar (C. *fangxin quling* 方心曲領).<sup>46</sup> The attire is the highly formal ceremonial clothing worn by monarchs and high-ranking officials in grand rituals of the Chinese as well as Korean courts (fig. II- 23).<sup>47</sup> The clothing is also worn by the Ten Kings in Kṣitigarbha and the Ten King of Hell paintings (figs. II-2 and II-9), being suitable to their royal status.

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<sup>46</sup> In the depiction of Ghost King Poisonless in this painting, only a part of the curved collar is seen, not the entire collar with the square heart pendant. But the collars of the Ten Kings nearby help us assume the shape of the hidden collar of the Ghost King.

<sup>47</sup> See Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming, *5000 Years of Chinese Costumes* (San Francisco: China Books & Periodicals, 1987), 108–9; and Gim Yeongsuk 金英淑 and Son Gyeongja 孫敬子, *Hanguk boksik dogam* 韓國服飾圖鑑 [The illustrated handbook of Korean costume] (Seoul: Yegyeong saneopsa, 1984), 1: 30–33. The clothing seems to have been legislated in the Song dynasty. For a portrait of a Song emperor dressed in this clothing, see *The Portrait of Xuanzu*, the father of Taizu who was the founding king of the Song dynasty, from *Portraits of Song Emperors and Empresses from the Nanxun Palace* in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. The headgear that the figure wears in figure 23 is not the “penetrating heaven” crown.

The scriptural origin of the Ghost King Poisonless is in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*,<sup>48</sup> which recounts Buddha Śākyamuni’s preaching at a plenary assembly convened for his mother Lady Māyā in the Palace of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three (Skt. Trayastriṃśā). The topic of his sermon was the karmic power of the past vows that Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha had made for immeasurable eons to rescue all sentient beings from reincarnation in hell. Suitable to such a filial occasion, Śākyamuni included several of Kṣitigarbha’s past life stories in which pious female Buddhists, former incarnations of the bodhisattva, vowed to save all sentient beings for the sake of their deceased mothers suffering relentless retribution in hell. One is the story of a *brāhman* woman who wanted to help release her mother from the torments of the underworld and secure her mother’s rebirth in heaven as a reward for her accrued merit. When this woman was looking for her deceased mother in purgatory with the help of the Buddha’s power of spiritual penetration, the Ghost King Poisonless greeted her at the entrance of hell and told her where her mother was; this led her to make a grand vow to save all suffering beings. The Ghost King Poisonless was later reborn as Bodhisattva Wealthy Leader (K. Jaesu bosal

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<sup>48</sup> The scriptural origin of the Ghost King Poisonless was first made known by Nakano Teruo 中野照男 in “Chōsen no jizō jūōzu ni tsuite” 朝鮮の地藏十王圖について [On the paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell of the Joseon dynasty], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 佛教藝術 97 (1974): 133.

財首菩薩, C. Caishou pusa), possibly because of his good deed of leading the *brāhman* woman to take one of the great Kṣitigarbha's vows.<sup>49</sup>

The iconographic identification of the Ghost King Poisonless has been made only in Korean paintings. It had been based on his depiction accompanied by the occasional designation labels seen in later Joseon Kṣitigarbha paintings. However, with publication of the illustration of the earliest known Korean recension of *The Ten Kings Sūtra* (1246, fig. II-24), the identification of the Ghost King Poisonless in Goryeo and early Joseon Buddhist art acquired an earlier pedigree.<sup>50</sup> *The Ten Kings Sūtra*, housed at Haeinsa, opens with the assembly of Buddha Śākyamuni, which is followed by an extensive pantheon of the Underworld Court, all facing the Buddha with their hands respectfully together, except for the last one, a messenger who is about to set out to this world. Each figure is identified by the cartouche hanging above him. Leading the extended retinue of the underworld court are King Yama (who receives a prophecy from the Buddha Śākyamuni in this preaching), the King of the Various Great Countries, the King of Heavenly Dragon and Spirit, Asura King, and the Six Bodhisattvas, all of whom are recorded in *The Ten Kings Sūtra* as having been summoned to Śākyamuni's assembly.

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<sup>49</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.778b–779a. For English translation, see Buddhist Text Translation Society, trans., *Sutra of the Past Vows of the Earth Store Bodhisattva* (2003), 76–89.

<sup>50</sup> *The Ten Kings Sūtra* in question, which was the earliest Korean recension of the sūtra, makes up the extended corpus of original woodblocks of the *Tripitaka Koreana* (K. Goryeo daejanggyeong 高麗大藏經, dated to between 1236 and 1251) housed in Haeinsa 海印寺, Hapcheon 陝川, Gyeongsangnam-do 慶尙南道.

Following them are the Venerable Daoming, the Ghost King Poisonless, the Ten Kings of Hell, magistrates, generals, other ghost kings, the Boys of the Good and Evil, messengers, and the functionaries of the underground tribunal. The Ghost King Poisonless (fig. II-25) wears the same ceremonial robe and crown as the Ten Kings, and his cartouche verifies his identification.<sup>51</sup> The Ghost King Poisonless depicted in the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (fig. II-10), whose identification is verified by its inscription, testifies to the iconography represented in the early Joseon period.

The pairing of the Venerable Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless as Kṣitigarbha's flanking attendants has been thought to be a unique Korean convention dating back to the Goryeo period. No comparable pairing has yet been formed among the known Kṣitigarbha paintings from China and Japan, assuming the attributions of the known Kṣitigarbha paintings are correct. If Chinese or Japanese Kṣitigarbha paintings depict one of the two, it is only Daoming who appears as one of two attendants. In contrast, Goryeo paintings of the Kṣitigarbha assembly never fail to show them together

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<sup>51</sup> The illustration of the Haeinsa *Ten Kings Sūtra* is first mentioned in Tokushi Yūshō 禿氏祐祥 and Ogawa Kan'ichi 小川貫弑, "Jūō shōshichikyō sanzūken no kōzō" 十王生七経讚図圈の構造 [The structure of the scroll of the eulogized and illustrated Ten Kings Sūtra], *Chūō ajia bukkyō bijutsu* 中央アジア仏教美術 5, *Seiki bunka kenkyū* 西域文化研究 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1962), 275, and was later fully reproduced and briefly discussed in Gim Jeonghui, *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo yeongu*, 141–47. For more details of the Goryeo *Ten Kings Sūtra* and its illustration, see Cheeyun Lilian Kwon, "The Ten Kings at the Seikadō Library" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1999), 19–62; and Cheeyun Kwon, "A Repositioning of a Medieval Painting Monument: The Ten Kings at the Seikadō Library," *Oriental Art* 46.5 (2000): 64–72.

as the bodhisattva's principal attendants, and the tradition continues in paintings of the Joseon period. The Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* is such a work; it continues the convention of pairing of these figures.

### II.2.2.3 Lord Min

The elderly layman wearing the robe and hat (Dongpo mao 東坡帽) of a scholar and holding a rosary, on the viewer's far left in the second row (fig. II-2 and 26) is an unidentified member of the Kṣitigarbha's assembly that appears for the first time in Korean paintings.

The closest iconographic analogy to this elderly layman is found in an illustration of *The Kṣitigarbha Triad* (fig. II- 27) in a book written from the firsthand observance and study on Chinese Buddhism in the early twentieth century.<sup>52</sup> Here the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, wearing a Tibetan five-part buddha crown (C. wufoguan 五佛冠), is flanked by Daoming holding a monk's staff and alms bowl, and a long-bearded old man dressed in a scholar's robe and hat and holding a prayer beads and fly-whisk (C. fuzi 拂子), accompanied by a lion-dog in the front (fig. II-28). The elderly man in the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* undeniably comes from the Chinese Kṣitigarbha triad. The iconography of the elderly layman seems to have been rather flexible. He is also

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<sup>52</sup> Karl Ludvig Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism: A Study of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism*, trans. Kathrina van Wagenen Bugge (New York: Paragon Book Reprint, 1937/1968), 116.

paired with Daoming in the aforementioned painting *The Kṣitigarbha Triad* (fig. II-22) attributed to the Qing dynasty in the Náprstkovo Museum. This time he is holding the monk's staff and Daoming has only an alms bowl, and again there is a lion-dog between them.

Youngsook Pak identifies this scholarly lay believer in her study of two almost identical, undated, small bronze plaques of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, one in a private Japanese collection and the other in the collection of the Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin (fig. II-29).<sup>53</sup> Because the plaques are cast crudely, the images are not easy to read, especially in a photograph. Kṣitigarbha's attendant on his left is the priest Daoming holding a monk's staff. The other attendant, who wears a high angular hat and carries a large alms bowl, looks like and could be the elderly layman, given his iconographic flexibility. The versos of the plaques each have an inscription that identifies the subject, from which Pak concludes that the Chinese Kṣitigarbha cult evolved by incorporating the cult of Jin Dizang 金地藏 (K. Gim Jijang) popular around Mount Jiuhua 九華 in

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<sup>53</sup> Pak Youngsook [Bak Yeongsuk] 朴英淑, "Goryeo sidae Jijang dosang e boineun myeotgaji munjejeom" 高麗時代 地藏圖像에 보이는 몇가지 問題點 [Several issues seen in the iconography of Kṣitigarbha of the Goryeo period], *Gogo misul* 考古美術 157 (1987): 20–22; Youngsook Pak, "The Role of Legend in Koryŏ Iconography (1): The Kṣitigarbha Triad in Engakuji" (1995), in *Function and Meaning in Buddhist Art*, ed. by K. R. von Kooji and H. van der Veere (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1995), 157–65. For the image of the plaque in the Japanese collection studied in Pak (1987), see Kawahara Yoshio 河原由雄, "Tonkōga Jizōzu shiryō" 敦煌画地藏図資料 [Materials of Kṣitigarbha painting among Dunhuang paintings], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 97 (1974): 116.

southern Anhui 安徽 Province. According to this inscription on the plaques, Pak identifies the old man as Lord Min (C. Min Gong 閔公).<sup>54</sup>

The Jin Dizang cult originated with the eighth-century Korean monk Gim Jijang, whose secular name is given as Gim Gyogak 金喬覺 in later Chinese literature, a prince-turned-monk of Silla 新羅 (57 BCE–668 CE) in the Three Kingdoms, Korea. He moved to China and practiced his faith on Mount Jiuhua. With his rigorous asceticism during life and miraculous non-decay of his body after death, he attracted many followers and was said to be an earthly incarnation of Dizang Bodhisattva. His worship prompted the development of the Kṣitigarbha cult at Mount Jiuhua, which eventually became one of China's four sacred Buddhist mountains as a pilgrimage site for Kṣitigarbha worship.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> For the original text of the inscription, see Pak Youngsook, “Goryeo sidae Jijang dosang e boineun myeotgaji munjejeom,” 20–21, and for the English translation of it, see Youngsook Pak, “The Role of Legend in Koryŏ Iconography,” 162. With her finding of a sinicized Kṣitigarbha cult in later China, Pak reads the late Chinese development of a Kṣitigarbha cult back onto the earlier cult, and contends that the Ghost King Poisonless in Korean Kṣitigarbha paintings is none other than Lord Min. Youngsook Pak, “The Role of Legend in Koryŏ Iconography,” 161.

<sup>55</sup> The biography of Jin Dizang was first written by Fei Guanqing 费冠卿 in “Jiuhua shan Huacheng si ji,” 九華山化城寺記 (813, *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文, juan 694). Later, a short version of it, “Tang Chizhou Jiuhua shan Huacheng si Dizang zhuan” 唐池州九華山化城寺地藏傳 [The biography of Kṣitigarbha of the Huacheng Monastery in Mount Jiuhua at Chizhou of the Tang dynasty], was recorded in the *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (988, T2061.20.838c16–839a19) by Zanning 贊寧. In the Ming, he was included in *Shenseng zhuan* 神僧傳 (1417, T2064.50.1000b7–28) by Emperor Yongle 永樂. For more details of the hagiography of Jin

Apart from the hagiography of Jin Dizang, Lord Min is known from much later literature. Other than the inscriptions on the backs of the two bronze plaques of unknown date discussed above, the earliest known record of the full story of his connection with Jin Dizang is from the early twentieth century.<sup>56</sup> According to this account, Lord Min was a pious layman from Qingyang 青阳, where Mount Jiuhua was located. He was known as a generous donor to Buddhist monasteries and liberal provider of meals for monks. When Jin Dizang asked him to donate the amount of land that a monk's vestment (Skt. *kāṣāya*, C. *jiasha* 袈娑) might cover, Lord Min promised to do so. When Jin Dizang threw his vestment in the air and let it fall, it covered all nine summits of Mount Jiuhua. The doubtless amazed, Lord Min was not only willing to donate the whole mountain so that Jin Dizang could establish a monastery on it, but also had his son take the tonsure under Jin. His son's Dharma name turned out to be Daoming, and he became Jin's disciple, too.

Even though the earliest known literature about Lord Min is from the late Qing dynasty, he was incorporated into the Kṣitigarbha triad much earlier. As the local cult of

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Dizang, see Zhang Zong 张总, *Dizang xinyang yanjiu* 地藏信仰研究 [A Study of Kṣitigarbha belief] (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2002), 386–98. A very abbreviated English translation is found in Zhiru, *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva: Dizang in Medieval China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 216–17.

<sup>56</sup> Yirun 儀潤, *Baizhang qinggui zhengyi ji* 百丈清規證義記, X1244.63.402c6–16; and Desen 德森, comp., *Jiuhua shan zhi* 九華山志, juan 7 (Jiangsu 江蘇: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyin she 江蘇廣陵古籍刻印社, 1993), 307–24.



Kṣitigarbha grew into nationwide Kṣitigarbha worship and Mount Jiuhua gained renown as a holy pilgrimage spot, the Kṣitigarbha triad seems to have undergone a corresponding change: the Korean monk Jin Dizang was believed to be an incarnation of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, and Lord Min and his son Monk Daoming from the vicinity of Mount Jiuhua became the bodhisattva's attendants. Accordingly, the iconography of the Kṣitigarbha triad was also transformed: suitable to the story, Lord Min was represented as a pious layman in a scholar's robe and hat with prayer beads in his hands, while priest Daoming very likely began to be depicted as a relatively young monk to pair with his father, Lord Min. Furthermore, Lord Min very appropriately holds an alms bowl, as an important attribute for his unsparing charity.

The temporal and spatial courses of this transformation of the Kṣitigarbha cult have yet to be studied. However, scholars of Chinese Buddhism agree that the nationwide dissemination of the Mount Jiuhua Kṣitigarbha cult did not take place until the Ming dynasty, and that the promotion of Mount Jiuhua to one of the four Buddhist sanctums of China was facilitated by Emperor Shenzong's 神宗 (r. 1572–1619) patronage of Buddhism.<sup>57</sup>

The iconographic repercussions of this development are found in the two-scroll painting of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* from the Baoning si *shuilu* painting set (ca.

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<sup>57</sup> See Zhiru, *The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva*, 218–19; Zhuang Mingxing 莊明興, *Zhongguo zhonggu de Dizang xinyang* 中國中古的地藏信仰 [The Kṣitigarbha worship in medieval China] (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue wenxueyuan, 1999), 173.

1460) addressed earlier (figs. II-18 and 19). On the bodhisattva's right is Lord Min, wearing a scholar's robe and hat. His rosary is hanging around his neck. The lion-dog has not failed to come to the scene.<sup>58</sup> Other *shuilu* paintings corroborate this development. The woodblock-printed book of *Shuilu Ritual Painting* (Shuilu daochang tu 水陸道場圖, dated to the Chenghua 成化 era, namely, 1465–87) in the collection of the Beijing Library includes an illustration of *Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva* (fig. II-30) that shows Kṣitigarbha surrounded by Daoming holding an alms bowl, Lord Min with a folded scripture in his hand, a female servant holding a banner, and a lion-dog.<sup>59</sup> The mural depiction (dated to 1520s–30s) of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his retinue (figs. II-20 and 21) on the northeast wall of the Rear Hall in Pulu si 毘盧寺, Hebei sheng 河北省, also complies with the new development. The sinicized Dizang cult and iconography were well established throughout China by the mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth century at

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<sup>58</sup> The Jin Dizang legend at Mount Jiuhua has it that Jin came to China accompanied by a white dog named Shanting 善聽. Because Youngsook Pak applies this Jin Dizang legend to earlier Kṣitigarbha worship, she interprets the animal in Kṣitigarbha paintings not as a lion derived from *Huanhun ji* but as a lion-looking dog, Shanting, from the Jin Dizang legend. Youngsook Pak, “The Role of Legend in Koryŏ Iconography,” 162–63.

<sup>59</sup> The book of woodblock prints was later entitled *Shuilu daochang tu* 水陸道場圖, but the reproduction has the title *Shuilu daochang shengui tuxiang* 水陸道場神鬼圖像 in *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan er bian* 中國古代版畫叢刊二編, vol. 2 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994). The dating is by Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸, in Li Zhitan 李之檀, “Shuilu daochang shengui tuxiang ba” 水陸道場神鬼圖像跋, *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan er bian*, unpaginated.

the latest, from southern China to the capital, including the provincial Shanxi and Hebei areas.<sup>60</sup>

The few known surviving Chinese paintings of the Kṣitigarbha triad or assembly have led Korean and Japanese historians of Chinese Buddhist art to conclude that the pairing of priest Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless as the flanking attendants of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha did not originate in Chinese Buddhism but is a unique Korean combination. Since Chinese Kṣitigarbha painting had (1) only Daoming, accompanied by a lion-dog (as in the Dunhuang scrolls), (2) Daoming paired with a messenger (as in the paintings attributed to the Yuan dynasty in the Japanese collections), or (3) Daoming paired with Lord Min (as in Ming *shuilu* paintings and later images of Kṣitigarbha assembly), the change in Kṣitigarbha's attendants seen in Ming and later paintings can therefore be interpreted either as the addition of Lord Min to Kṣitigarbha's retinue or as Lord Min's seizure of the messenger's seat in accordance with his growing importance and popularity in the Chinese Kṣitigarbha–Jin Dizang–cult. Woodblock–printed books such as the *Shuilu Ritual Painting* in the Beijing Library are likely to have expedited the dissemination of the iconography. An early Qing painting, *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (1617, fig. II-31) in the collection of Saidaiji 西大寺, Nara, is basically in

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<sup>60</sup> The Baoning si *shuilu* painting set is believed to have been produced as a gift from the court to the monastery in Shanxi. See Marsha Weidner, “Buddhist Pictorial Art in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644): Patronage, Regionalism & Internationalism,” in idem, ed., *Latter Days of Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism 850–1850* (Lawrence, KS: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 1994), 57.

the tradition of the Kṣitigarbha assembly paintings attributed to the Yuan (figs. II-15–17) discussed above.<sup>61</sup> The Ten Kings are deployed in the front and the two principal attendants are right next to the bodhisattva. Lord Min is clearly substituted for the messenger in the Yuan paintings of this composition.

The illustration of the extended Buddhist pantheon in relief on the twin pagodas (fig. II-32) at Kaiyuan si 開元寺 in Quanzhou 泉州 is noteworthy in this respect. The two five-story octagonal towers were originally wooden pagodas during the Tang (618–907) and Five Dynasties (907–60) periods. They were rebuilt several times, after damage from natural disasters, and were reconstructed in stone during the Song period (960–1279). The West Pagoda (C. Xita 西塔, or Renshou ta 仁寿塔, fig. II-33) was rebuilt in 1228–37, and the East Pagoda (C. Dongta 東塔, or Zhenguo ta 镇国塔) was

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<sup>61</sup> The Saidaiji *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* was catalogued as a Korean painting in Kumagai Nobuo, “Chōsen butsuga shiryō shūi,” 66; and Nakano Teruo 中野照男, “Chōsen no jizō jūōzu ni tsuite” 朝鮮の地藏十王圖について [On the paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell of the Joseon dynasty], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 97 (July 1974): 129–30. It is reattributed to Qing, China, nonetheless oddly, in the book entitled *Seo Ilbon jiyeok Hanguk ui bulsang gwa bulhwa* 西日本지역 한국의 불상과 불화 [Korean Buddhist sculptures and paintings in the collections in the region of western Japan], ed. Bak Eungyeong 박은경 and Jeong Eunu 정은우 (Busan: Minjok munhwa, 2008), pl. 149. I am not sure about the country of origin of this painting with its poor reproduction, but the incomplete inscription found in Nakano Teruo rather convinces me that the painting is a Chinese product.

reconstructed in 1238–50.<sup>62</sup> On the exterior of each story of the pagodas, Buddhist deities are engraved in relief. On the east side of the fourth story of the East Pagoda, the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha stands on lotus petals with a lion(-dog) (fig. II-34). Priest Daoming and his companion are engraved on the west side of the second story of the West Pagoda (fig. II-35). The iconography of Daoming's companion is identical to that of the Ghost King Poisonless seen in Korean Kṣitigarbha paintings, including his ceremonial robe, penetrating-heaven crown, and square-heart curved collar—not to that of Lord Min in later Chinese paintings.<sup>63</sup> With this unmistakable identification, it may well be contended that the iconographic convention of pairing the priest Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless as Kṣitigarbha's attendants existed in China at least up to the mid-thirteenth century.

These Song pagodas are evidence that the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha was also once flanked by Monk Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless in Chinese art, and thus requires reconsideration of the issue of the national origin of the iconography of *The Kṣitigarbha Triad* in the Engakuji (fig. II-13). This painting has long been considered a

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<sup>62</sup> Wang Hanfeng 王寒枫, ed., *Quanzhou Dongxi ta* 泉州东西塔 [The East and West Pagodas of Quanzhou] (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chuban she, 1992), 14; and *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū* 世界美術大全集, Tōyōhen 東洋編 6, Nansō·Kin 南宋·金 (Tōkyō: Shōgakukan, 1999), 433–34.

<sup>63</sup> Wang Hanfeng identifies Daoming's companion as Lord Min (Wang Hanfeng, ed., *Quanzhou Dongxita*, 147, 167, and 173). I think this is a misidentification because the iconography of the image is obviously that of the Ghost King Poisonless, not that of Lord Min. This is a clear example of the prevalent modern Chinese concept that any companion of Daoming's must be Lord Min, regardless of how he actually looks.

Goryeo piece mainly because the combination of Kṣitigarbha's attendants was considered unique to Korea, despite scholars' acknowledgement of the painting's strong Chinese style and pictorial elements, as discussed earlier.<sup>64</sup> However, the pairing of the priest Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless in Chinese Buddhism suggests a reattribution of this painting to Yuan China, on the basis of its widely agreed-upon Chinese style. This, in turn, substantiates the presence of the Ghost King Poisonless in Chinese Kṣitigarbha triads up to the late thirteenth century. Thus the monk Daoming's counterpart in Song and Yuan Kṣitigarbha triads seems to have reflected the diverse regional/temporal development of Kṣitigarbha cult.<sup>65</sup>

It was probably around the early Ming dynasty when the popular Kṣitigarbha cult in the area of Mount Jiuhua gained nationwide popularity that the Kṣitigarbha triad was changed to include Lord Min and the young Monk Daoming. Korean Kṣitigarbha triads, having adopted Song and Yuan tradition of including the Ghost King Poisonless adhered

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<sup>64</sup> See pp. 101–02 and note 43 of this chapter.

<sup>65</sup> There is yet another form of Daoming's companion in the Song Kṣitigarbha triad. One of the attendants flanking Kṣitigarbha in *The Transformation Tableau of Hell* (*Diyu bianxiang tu* 地狱变相图)—a carved *Ten Kings of Hell* in niche 20 in Dafowan 大佛湾 at Baodingshan 宝顶山, Dazu 大足, dated to between 1174 and 1252 of the Southern Song dynasty—is neither a messenger nor the Ghost King Poisonless. His iconography is not exactly that of Lord Min (for he has neither a beard nor a scholar's hat), but he does hold a big alms bowl while Daoming holds a monk's staff. It requires more study to identify him but it is likely that he shows a pristine iconography of Lord Min. The Dazu *Transformation Tableau of Hell* is later discussed in detail for the compositional examination of the Jasugung piece.

to the traditional iconography, and thus preserved a cultic and iconographic formula that disappeared in later Chinese Buddhism.

Somewhat exceptional in this regard is the *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* from the Jasugung which include an elderly layman who can be identified as Lord Min. The artist certainly drew this figure from a Ming Kṣitigarbha painting. However, he did not position Lord Min as one of Kṣitigarbha's two principal attendants, as in Chinese paintings, but instead located him at the far left end of the assembly. Perhaps because the Ming Kṣitigarbha cult grew out of local folk beliefs not accepted in Korean Buddhism, the artist did not understand the new iconography of the Ming Kṣitigarbha painting. Nevertheless, he seems to have been unable to ignore the presence of Lord Min in Chinese paintings, and felt compelled to include him and thus squeezed him in as a visually weak presence on the far left. Thus the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* did not undergo an iconographic change fully comparable to Ming works but continued to show priest Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless as Kṣitigarbha's two principal attendants. Interestingly, Lord Min's posture matches his marginal position in Korean Buddhist painting (fig. II-2 and 26), he does not look fully engaged in the solemn assembly but seems to be a casual observer. He also stands waving his left hand as if he is pulling back from the assembly by waving his left hand.

Lord Min seems to have entered the Korean Kṣitigarbha pantheon for a short time in the late sixteenth century, but was a weak presence in it. The Kṣitigarbha assembly of the painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (1580, fig. II-36) in Seiganji 誓願寺,

Kyōto, is very similar to the Jasugung painting in the deities' constitution and arrangement. It includes an elderly layman wearing a different style of scholar's robe and headgear from those of Lord Min in the Jasugung painting, but stands in the same location. This man is most likely also Lord Min. These two examples thus suggest that this iconography of the Kṣitigarbha assembly circulated for a while in Korea before disappearing. No other known Korean Kṣitigarbha painting includes Lord Min in the assembly. Because the Chinese Kṣitigarbha cult involving Lord Min did not take root in Korean Kṣitigarbha cult and due to the conservative nature of Korean Buddhist art, the old iconography of Goryeo Kṣitigarbha painting was perpetuated into the modern age.

The fact that the Jasugung painting includes the new Chinese iconography of Lord Min is explained by the advantageous position that court women had in obtaining new imports from Chinese culture, and confirms the contribution of their patronage to enriching Buddhist art of the early Joseon period. Other evidence of such contribution includes The Frontispiece of the Lotus Sūtra (fig. II-37) sponsored in 1459 by Lady Sin 申, the widow of Prince Gwangyeong 廣平 (1425–44, the fifth son of King Sejong), was engraved after a Chinese version that she had obtained. This frontispiece shows a close similarity to that of *The Sūtra of the Names of Various Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Venerables, and Spiritual Monks* (C. *Zhu fo pusa zunzhe shenseng ming jing* 諸佛菩薩尊者神僧名經, datable to around 1420, fig. II-38) in the Ming Yongle period (1403–24) in its frontal composition and depiction of the Buddha, indicating that a copy of the Chinese



Lotus Sūtra must have been imported to Korea not long after it was made.<sup>66</sup> The Lotus Sūtra commissioned by Lady Sin was, in turn, a model for numerous Lotus Sūtras that were reprinted or re-engraved thereafter. Queen Dowager Jeonghui 貞憲 (1418–83), the consort of King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–68), ordered an emissary to Ming China to purchase Buddhist scriptures in order to continue to pursue her late husband’s projects of collecting and publishing Buddhist scriptures and amassing a complete set of Buddhist sūtras in the court.<sup>67</sup> Her acquisitions from China became models for many projects of reprinting and re-engraving as well. As a royal concubine-turned-nun in the palace cloister, the major patron of the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* was apparently likewise able to command both a new iconographic model and a highly skilled artist to copy it.

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<sup>66</sup> Bak Dohwa 박도화, “15-segi hubangi wangsil barwon panhwa: Jeonghui daewang daebi barwonbon eul jungsim euro” 15세기 후반기王室發願版畫—貞憲大王大妃發願本을 중심으로 [Prints commissioned by the court of the latter half of the fifteenth century: With a focus on sūtra prints commissioned by Queen Dowager Jeonghui], *Gangjwa misulsa* 講座美術史 18 (June 2002): 167–68.

<sup>67</sup> *Seongjong sillok* 成宗實錄, gwon 9, Seongjong 2 [1471].1.20 (*gyesa* 癸巳); 1.21 (*gabo* 甲午); 1.22 (*eulmi* 乙未); 1.25 (*musul* 戊戌); 1.27 (*gyeongja* 庚子).

### **II.3 The Donors' Offering Scene**

The donors' offering scene (figs. II-1 and 4) lies between the assembly of Kṣitigarbha and his extensive entourage on the upper half and the scenes of hell on the lower half of the painting. Positioned at the center of the painting, the scene mediates the two realms in composition as well as in subject. The donors embrace the sinners suffering in the underworld and implore the savior-bodhisattva in the upper realm for mercy on their behalf. The scene also illustrates the intentions of the votive commission by the patrons—the visual identification of their own merit-making. The distinct compositional and thematic emphasis on the scene is especially significant for interpreting the painting from the perspective of its patrons.

Around the karma scale and the red-lacquered offering tables, groups of donors gather to make offerings on behalf of their deceased ancestors who are suffering retributive punishments in the Eighteen Hells depicted below (fig. II-4). The dead souls are represented by a single helpless sinner in front of the karma scale, which weighs the logbook scrolls listing the sins of the deceased during his/her lifetime in order to determine that person's path in the next life. The distressed soul is looking up, begging for the compassion of Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva and the Ten Kings in the upper section of the painting.

The donors are arranged on either side of the karma scale and labeled in four groups.<sup>68</sup> The first type of donors is represented by a woman to the right of the scale (fig. II-39). Accompanied by a maidservant who holds an umbrella for her, she wears an opulent costume and accessories, which displays her wealth, and holds a gilt incense burner and scrolls. Next to her is the label “the good people who draw images, copy scriptures, and build pagodas” (*hwasang sagyeong jotap seonin* 畫像寫經造塔善人). On the offering table nearby are stacks of scripture copies, a small gilt (or gold) pagoda, and a scroll of painting. Below this woman and maid are two worshippers in humble clothing designated “people who make a reverence and adoration” (*jangnye yeonmo in* 作禮戀慕人) (fig. II-39).<sup>69</sup> On the other side of the karma scale, donors are bringing a statue and a bolt of cloth to the table (fig. II-40). They are labeled “the good people who produce statues of buddhas and bodhisattvas out of gold, silver, bronze, or iron” (*geum eun dong cheol jak bulbosalsang seonin* 金銀銅鐵作佛菩薩像善人). Just above this group, to the left, two kneeling figures, a monk and a layman bow to the bodhisattva: The

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<sup>68</sup> Each of these four groups of donors is mentioned repeatedly in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* as good devotees who merit Kṣitigarbha’s salvation.

<sup>69</sup> On the benefits of the devotees making reverences to and adoring and yearning for the bodhisattva, *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* says, “If, in the future, good men or women, on hearing the name of this Bodhisattva Mahasattva Kṣitigarbha, hold their palms together, praise him, make a bow to him, or love and yearn for him, these people will overcome the thirty *kalpas* worth of offenses” 未來世中 若有善男子善女人 聞是地藏菩薩摩訶薩名者 或合掌者讚歎者 作禮者 戀慕者 是人 超越三十劫罪. *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.782c7–10; and Buddhist Text Translation Society, trans., *Sutra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (2003), 48.

monk joins his palms in devotion is labeled “people who wholeheartedly make offerings” (*jinsim gongyang in* 盡心供養人), and the prostrating layman is given the title of “people who alternates gazing upon and bowing to [the bodhisattva]” (*ilcheom illye in* 一瞻一禮人).<sup>70</sup> On the offering table are a gilt statue of a seated buddha, an incense burner, and a candle-stand already rest (fig. II-40). These offerings are the same items shown in Ten Kings of Hell paintings ever since the Dunhuang depictions.

The depiction of donors is a visual embodiment of one of the essential teachings of both *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* and *The Ten Kings Sūtra*, namely, to show a mercy for sin-bound sentient beings to avoid undergoing retribution in Hell, whether this is done on behalf of donors’ ancestors or, in advance, for those who are still living including the donors themselves. Thus the efficacy of making offerings by producing, commissioning, copying, or repairing Kṣitigarbha’s images or sūtras, and by building stūpas or monasteries, is repeatedly stressed in both of these sūtras.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> “To alternate gazing and bowing” (K. *ilcheom illye* 一瞻一禮) is often referred to as “to gaze and bow” (K. *cheomnye* 瞻禮) in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*. It is an abbreviation of “to gaze [upon the image of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha] in reverence and bow the forehead [down to the ground]” (K. *cheomsi jeongnye* 瞻視頂禮, T412.13.787a16–17), and is mentioned repeatedly as one of the practices to accumulate merit. *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* refers to the practice as the “offerings of gazing and bowing” (K. *cheomnye gongyang* 瞻禮供養) and the merit as the “merits of gazing and bowing” (K. *cheomnye gongdeok* 瞻禮功德, T142.13.788a22).

<sup>71</sup> To list a few: *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.778b6–7, 782c10–19, 783a22–24, 783a29–b1, 784a6–12, 786a3–4, 787a2–8, 787a23–27, 788a6–14, 788a18–24; *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing*, X21.1.408b18–19, 409b5–6, and 409c16.

Therefore, the depiction of donors is an important pictorial component in Ten Kings paintings. The paintings of the Ten Kings from Dunhuang or Ningbo never fail to include donors bringing offerings to the judgment courts, especially in the scenes where the weighing of evil deeds or passing of a verdict takes place. But other traditions of Ten Kings painting seem to have put even more emphasis on the efficacy of offerings by depicting larger numbers of donors in each scene of the Ten Kings' courts. Examples are the Goryeo *Transformation Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra* (1246) housed in the Haeinsa Depository in Gyeongsangnam-do 慶尙南道, the painting set of *The Ten Kings of Hell* purportedly commissioned by the Goryeo court in the twelfth or early thirteenth century and now in the Seikadō bunko 静嘉堂文庫 Art Museum in Tōkyō, and *The Transformation Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra* in Sejuin 聖寿院 on Kōyasan 高野山, which is assumed to be a Muromachi (1336–1573) copy derived from a Song-dynasty original or from the Goryeo Haeinsa edition.<sup>72</sup> All these paintings show the strong emphasis on donors in the Korean Ten Kings painting tradition. If this emphasis had Song dynasty roots, they were other than the Ningbo Ten Kings paintings, which illustrate donors on just one or two scrolls of a set.

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<sup>72</sup> For the reproduction of the Haeinsa *Transformation Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra*, see Gim Jeonghui, *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo yeongu*, fig. 31. For the reproduction of Seikadō set of *The Ten Kings of Hell*, see Seikadō bunko bijutsukan 静嘉堂文庫美術館, *Mihotoke no osugata Bukkyō no bijutsu* 仏教の美術 [The looks of buddhas: Buddhist art] (Tōkyō: Seikadō bunko bijutsukan, 1999), pl. 6. For the attribution and images of the Sejuin *Transformation Illustration*, see Tokushi Yūshō and Ogawa Kan'ichi, “Jūō Shōshichikyō Sanzūken no kōzō,” 274–75 and 290–95, respectively.

The Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* follows the Korean Ten Kings painting tradition in its emphasis on the depiction of donors. By placing the donors' offering scene at the compositional center of the painting, the painter gave it double significance, showing both (1) the doctrinal emphasis on the benefits of making offerings, and (2) the patrons' identification of their own donation with the depicted offering scene. Indeed, the benefits of making offerings of Kṣitigarbha images for the sake of the deceased or, in advance, for those who are still living including the donors themselves, which is reiterated in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, must have led the patrons to commission the painting in the first place. *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* expounds:

How much more will that be the case if the parents or relatives, using this dying person's house, property, jewels, and clothing, commission a sculpture or painting of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha's image? If [they] let that ailing person see or hear and know, when the person has not yet died, that his/her relatives—using the person's house, jewels, and so forth—have commissioned a sculpture or painting of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha's image for him/herself, then this person will inherit this merit and may quickly be cured and his/her lifespan prolonged, even though the person's karmic retribution was such that s/he should have undergone severe sickness. If this person's karmic retribution is such that s/he should fall into the evil path after the lifespan is over because of all of the offense obstacles and karmic obstacles, then the person will benefit from this merit, will be born among humans and gods, and will receive supremely wonderful bliss. All his/her obstacles of offense will be dissolved.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.788a6–14. Heng Ching, trans., *Sūtra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (NY: Buddhist Text Translation Society, 1974), 210 (slight modifications are mine).

*The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, moreover, promises the benefits not just for the deceased but for the donors themselves, who even receive much larger beneficial shares:

If a man or woman, who has not cultivated good causes during life and who has committed many offenses, has his/her close and distant relatives do all the holy deeds generating blessings and benefits for his/her sake after s/he dies, then the person will obtain one-seventh of the benefit and the other six-sevenths will return to those who accrued the merits themselves. Therefore, if good men and women of the future and the present hear [this] and cultivate themselves soundly, they have already secured their shares.<sup>74</sup>

The promise of insured benefits must have provided a strong motivation for patrons to commission a painting of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings. And as we have seen, the patrons of the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* did include their prayers for themselves in their dedicatory inscription, requesting that the merit of their commission secure them salvation in paradise:

Together with people who rejoice in sharing this common karmic connection, may she [the major donor, Sukbin Yun-ssi] be reborn in presence of the Buddhadharma and together be reborn in the same location, never forgetting the (*illegible*) of today's rejoicing. There is no doubt that she will receive Buddha's assurance [that she will achieve enlightenment in the future] and will broadly save all creatures.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.784b8–12. Heng Ching, trans., *Sūtra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (1974), 172.

<sup>75</sup> See the inscription in Appendix I.

## II.4 Composition of the Painting

### II.4.1 Synthetic Composition

The Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* shows the extended assembly of Kṣitigarbha and his entourage on the upper half, and the various scenes of dreadful retributions in purgatory on the lower half. To effectively present the theme of the painting, it presents the two subjects taking place in different spheres in different pictorial modes.

The Kṣitigarbha assembly in the upper section (fig. II-2) is represented in a formal mode, following the pictorial tradition of assembly depiction prominent since the Goryeo dynasty.<sup>76</sup> The Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, sitting on a high lotus pedestal, is highly iconic in his posture. Members of the flanking retinue stand in an orderly row, each holding a scepter or other attribute in their hands at chest level. Oriented slightly toward the principal deity at the center, they largely maintain the frontality and static quality of a traditional assembly painting, even though they have some individualized facial expressions and subtle variations in posture and orientation, reflecting the pictorial mode of the period, as discussed earlier.

Unlike the formal assembly scene in the upper section, the gruesome hell scenes in the lower section (fig. II-3) are rendered in a large mosaic of vivid snapshots of the

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<sup>76</sup> For images of Goryeo paintings of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, see Kikudake Jun'ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 111–17.



brutal punishments in the Eighteen Hells. The scenes are scattered over the earthy ground without any subsidiary device demarcating each scene. Compared to the static and iconic assembly scene above them, the fiery and bloody hell scenes are fully charged with animation and with the emotional intensity of the sinners' infernal ordeals.

The painting thus combines a solemn assembly scene in the heavenly realm with tumultuous infernal retributions in the underworld. The Kṣitigarbha's assembly in the upper section is set amidst floating clouds and colorful bands of light that radiate from Kṣitigarbha's halo against a dark sky, suggesting that the gathering is taking place in a heavenly realm. The gruesome hell scenes, full of motion and harrowing punishments, are dispersed over the earthy ground. However, unlike the clouds enclosing the bodhisattva's assembly, the rising clouds that the deities stand on are inconspicuously contoured with fine strokes of ink (fig. II-1), thus unifying the upper and lower depictions in the service of a single pictorial theme. Synthesizing the upper and lower realms, as well as the sacred and secular spheres, in the iconic and the animated pictorial modes that appear on a single picture plane, the *Jasugung Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* fuses multiple -layered syncretism in its composition.

#### **II.4.2 General Hell Depiction**

The small number of known paintings of later Chinese Buddhism has made it difficult to understand the precise pictorial and religious development of specific cults in East Asian Buddhism. What is known about the medieval Chinese Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings cult

in terms of its visual culture is intermittent and regional. The beginning of the cult can be glimpsed in tenth-century manuscripts discovered at the remote frontier region of Dunhuang. The next stage of development is seen in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century Ningbo Ten Kings scrolls thought to have been produced mainly for foreign export. The Ningbo *Ten Kings* had such a tremendous impact that they set the predominant and lasting formal and iconographic conventions for the later development of Ten Kings paintings in East Asia. The two sets of the Ten Kings pictures attributed to the Ming period, one of extant four scrolls attributed to the sixteenth century in Arthur M. Sackler Museum at Harvard University and the other in fine drawing in the Cleveland Museum of Art (earlier Junkunc Collection) follow the format set by Ningbo paintings.<sup>77</sup> Very few survivals are known of the later tradition of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings painting from China. The problem is to distinguish what never existed from what is lost—or from what remains undiscovered in China.

The Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* is distinctive in the comprehensiveness in illustrating the general retributive punishments in the Eighteen Hells in a single composition. This comprehensiveness is rarely found in the extant Korean hell painting tradition. However, we cannot be certain that it was unusual since very few earlier hell paintings of Korean origin are known. No extant Goryeo assembly painting of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings depicts hell below the assembly scene as in

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<sup>77</sup> For the images of *the Ten Kings* in the Cleveland Museum, see Fredrik Robert Martin (1868-1933), *Zeichnungen nach Wu Tao-tzu aus der Gotter-und Sagenwelt Chinas* (F.R. Martin, Munich, 1913).

the Jasugung piece.<sup>78</sup> The *Goryeosa* (History of Goryeo) reveals that the Ten Kings of Hell were painted by the beginning of the eleventh century and suggests that they must have included gruesome torture scenes.<sup>79</sup> However, no Ten Kings of Hell pictures of certain Goryeo date are known except for the illustrated woodblock prints of *The Ten Kings Sūtra* (1246) in the Haeinsa Depository. The Haeinsa *Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra* in hand-scroll format includes two torment scenes in the sections devoted to the eighth and ninth king's courts—a scene of pounding a sinner in a wooden, foot-pedaled mortar at the eighth king's court (fig. II-41), and a scene of grinding a sinner in a iron millstone at the ninth king's court (fig. II-42).

The hand-scroll format of the Haeinsa *Illustration* originated from the illustrated versions of *The Ten Kings Sūtra* found at Dunhuang datable to the tenth century. However, the Dunhuang illustrations focus more on the deceased's passage through the tribunal system to determine the path of his or her soul in the next life, than on the expiatory punishments in purgatory.<sup>80</sup> The hell scene, if any, was allotted to the last

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<sup>78</sup> For images of Goryeo paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings, see Kikutake Jun'ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 111–117.

<sup>79</sup> *Goryeosa* 高麗史, *sega* 世家 gwon 127, *yeoljeon* 列傳 gwon 41, Gim Chiyang 金致陽 (? – 1009): “In addition, established the Temple of the Ten Kings of Hell on the northwestern corner of the palace, the paintings of which was so outrageous that it was beyond description” 又於宮城西北隅立十王寺其圖像奇怪難狀. Gim Jeonghui, *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo yeongu*, 140.

<sup>80</sup> For Dunhuang examples of the *Transformation Illustration of The Ten Kings Sūtra*, see British Museum, *The Art of Central Asia: The Stein Collection in the British Museum*, vol. 2 (Tōkyō:

segment of the scroll and was a brief depiction of the underworld prison, sometimes with a simple torture scene showing a sinner lying tied to an iron bed (fig. II-43), after the tenth king has passed sentence as to which realm of existence the deceased will be reborn in. Therefore the Dunhuang illustrations of *The Ten Kings Sūtra* do not include any brutal torment scenes.

All of the other known Ten Kings of Hell paintings arguably attributed to the Goryeo or to the early Joseon period depict the kings in ten separate scrolls, as in the Ningbo paintings and their derivatives, and show the expansion of the hell scenes since the time the Dunhuang scrolls were made. Two sets of paintings attributed to the Goryeo period, one formally in the Packard collection and the other in the Seikadō Library Art Museum, include several infernal torture scenes.<sup>81</sup> The only extant hell depiction surely datable to early Joseon period is *The Ten Kings of Hell and a Messenger* now in the collection of Hōshōji 宝性寺, Kagawa-ken 香川県.<sup>82</sup> The Hōshōji *Ten Kings of Hell*

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Kodansha, 1983), pl. 63 and 64; and Musée Guimet, *Les arts de l'Asie centrale: la collection Pelliot du musée Guimet*, vol.2 (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1995), 92.

<sup>81</sup> Nine scrolls are known out of the ten-scroll set *Ten Kings of Hell* in the former Packard collection. For a handy reference to the reproductions of them, see Cheeyun Kwon, “The Ten Kings from the former Packard Collection: A Reassessment,” *Oriental Art* 55.2 (2005): 28–36. For the set in the Seikadō Library Art Museum, see note 72 of this chapter.

<sup>82</sup> Possible dates are 1532, 1544, or 1556. One character in the date on the scroll of *A Messenger* of the set is missing. It reads “Gajeong □jin sawol” 嘉靖 □辰 四月. The years of “imjin” 壬辰, “gapjin” 甲辰 and “byeongjin” 丙辰 in the Jiating era (1522–66) appears in ears corresponding to 1532, 1544, or 1556. See Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫, “Chōsen butsugachō” 朝鮮佛畫徵 [A collection of Joseon Buddhist paintings], *Chōsen gakuho* 朝鮮學報 44 (1967): 43–44. For

depicts the torture scenes on the bottom of each scroll as is found in the numerous later Joseon paintings of Ten Kings cult. These developments in the depiction of hell scenes in the Korean Ten Kings paintings show a growing interest in representing retributions, most certainly reflecting Chinese models. The Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings*, with its various torment scenes of the Eighteen Hells, must also be a product of the ever-increasing interest in the depiction of hell.

All of the extant Chinese or Korean Ten Kings painting-sets draw one or two torture scenes on each scroll. None shows all the infernal ordeals together in a single space, as does the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*. However, Chinese literature suggests that hell scenes as early as the sixth century were represented together on monastery walls. We learn that gruesome hell depictions from the episode of Monk Jingai 景愛 (534–78), who had decided to become a monk upon seeing a hell depiction in a temple, and Tang and Song accounts of the murals of the *Transformation Paintings of Hell* (*diyu bian* 地獄變) by Zhang Xiaoshi 張孝師 (fl. late seventh to early eighth centuries), Wu Daozi 吳道子 (ca. 713–55), Lu Lengqie 盧稜伽, Liu Azu 劉阿祖, Wu Jingzang 武靜藏, Chen Jingyan 陳靜眼, Zuo Quan 左全, and Zhu You 朱繇 on the walls of the temples around Chang'an 長安, Luoyang 洛陽, and Chengdu 成都, the centers of

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reproductions, see Gim Jeonghui, *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo*, fig. 108; and Suzuki Kei et al., eds., *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku* 中国絵画総合図録 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1982–83), 4: 143–44, JT 158–001.

Tang Buddhist culture.<sup>83</sup> The records do not reveal the specific contents or compositions of these paintings, but it is likely that the whole picture plane was dedicated to the depiction of hell scenes, representing the Ten Kings and various aspects of infernal punishments on the major portion of the paintings, as the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* painting does. This composition of comprehensive hell depiction may have formed one of the major threads of the Chinese hell painting tradition.

The best parallel known to date to the composition of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* from the Jasugung is found in the Japanese paintings of the Six Realms (*rokudōe* 六道絵). One of the earliest paintings of the Six Realms, *The Ten Realms* (*Jukkaizu* 十界図, (fig. II-44) in Zenrinji 禅林寺, Kyōto, dated to the late thirteenth century, consists of two scrolls that together are meant to be a complete picture. The scroll considered to be the righthand scroll (from the viewer's standpoint) depicts Buddha Amitābha at the center of the upper register (representing the realm of buddhas), with the realms of heavenly beings and titanic demons (Skt. *asuras*) on the his right and left. At the foot of Amitābha's pedestal sits a monk (representing the realm of *śrāvakas*, C. *shengwen* 聲聞, or direct disciples of the Buddha who actually heard his voice). The lower register is covered with the realms of humans and animals. The scroll considered to be the lefthand scroll (fig. II-45) represents the lower realms of existence on the bottom half of the

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<sup>83</sup> For the artists and locations of the murals, and for the source texts, see Takata Osamu 高田修, "Jigoku to jigokue" 地獄と地獄絵 [Hell and hell paintings], in idem, *Bukkyō bijutsushi ronkō* 仏教美術史論考 (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1969), 297–98; and Stephen F. Teiser, "Having Once Died and Returned to Life," 437–47.

picture (the realms of hungry ghosts and denizens of hell). Above them are the savior of hell and the commanders of the judicial system of the Underworld Court: Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings (representing the realms of bodhisattvas and *pratyekabuddhas*, *C. yuanjue* 緣覺 and *bizhifo* 辟支佛, or self-enlightened ones).<sup>84</sup>

The Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha sits at the center with one leg folded and the other pendant, flanked on either side by five kings positioned at their court desks. The judgment scenes in front of the kings' desks include such motifs of Ten Kings painting as the karma mirror, karma scale, and a female sinner wearing a cangue and being pulled by her baby found in Dunhuang and Ningbo Ten Kings paintings.<sup>85</sup> The infernal torture scenes are scattered on the large portion of the lower plane without any spatial device demarcating each scene from the others. The incorporation of the Chinese tradition of Ten Kings painting is also obvious in scenes such as the one of extracting a sinner's

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<sup>84</sup> The identification of each realm given here is one of the possible interpretations of the Zenrinji *Ten Realms*. Scholars classify the painting as a painting of the Six Realms with the additional depiction of the four realms of buddhas, bodhisattvas, *pratyekabuddhas*, and *śrāvakas*. See Ōgushi Sumio 大串純夫, “Jukkaizu ka” 十界図 下 [The Ten Realms 2], *Bijutsu kenkyū* 120 (1941): 27–29; and Nakano Genzō 中野玄三, *Rokudōe no kenkyū* 六道絵の研究 [Studies in paintings of the Six Realms] (Kyōto: Tankōsha, 1989), 145.

<sup>85</sup> For the repeated uses of this motif of “a female sinner wearing a cangue and pulled by her baby” in Ningbo Ten Kings of Hell paintings, see Lothar Ledderose, “The Bureaucracy of Hell,” in idem, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton University Press, 2000), 168–76.

tongue with large pliers and the one of demonic wardens pouring molten copper into a sinner's pried-open mouth.<sup>86</sup>

Another early painting of the same subject and composition is *The Six Realms* in Gokurakuji 極楽寺, Hyōgo-ken 兵庫県, dated to the early fourteenth century (fig. II-46). Here the Ten Kings are lined up in the top register of the painting, spanning all three scrolls. The Ten Kings, behind their desks (except for the fourth king at the left end of the first scroll) and backed by landscape screens, are passing judgment to determine the deceased's next life. Each king is attended by magistrates and Underworld Court clerks standing around his desk. To his left by a cartouche in which a hymn pertinent to the king from those for each king in *The Ten Kings Sūtra*.<sup>87</sup> On both the right side of the right scroll and the left half of the left scroll are the realms of humans, animals, hungry ghosts, *asuras*, and heavenly beings. Below the array of the Ten Kings' courts, the middle section is filled with panoramic views of underworld ordeals. Hell motifs such as crossing the River Nai 奈, mutilating a sinner's wrist on an iron block, demonic wardens

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<sup>86</sup> See the image on the middle left in the linear illustration of fig. II-43.

<sup>87</sup> The hymns in each cartouche are found in Sugamura Tōru 菅村亨, "Gokurakuji-bon 'rokudō-e' ni tsuite" 極楽寺本「六道絵」について [On the *Six Realms* in the collection of Gokurakuji], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 175 (1987): 70–71, note 19. *Foshuo yuxiu shiwang shengqi jing*, X21.1.409b14–c19; and Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings*, 211–16.



pouring molten copper into a sinner's pried-open mouth, and sawing in half a sinner tied to wooden boards are familiar from Chinese Ten Kings paintings.<sup>88</sup>

Some scenes in these two early paintings of the six realms indicate that they were produced after Japanese artists began to develop their own traditions for painting the Ten Kings of Hell painting had developed.<sup>89</sup> The scenes of breaking a cauldron and setting sinners free to be reborn, and of a woman enticing a man into climbing up and down a tree covered with blades, for example, both of which are found in the *Zenrinji Ten Realms* painting, became characteristics popular in the repertoire of Japanese Six Realms painting.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the accompanying cartouches are categorized based on *Collected Essays on Birth into Paradise* (*Ōjō yōshū* 往生要集, 985) written by the Tendai 天台

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<sup>88</sup> For the iconographic details of the Gokurakuji *Six Realms*, see Sugamura Tōru, “Gokurakuji-bon ‘rokudō-e’ ni tsuite,” 51–71; Hioki Munehiro, “Gokurakuji zō rokudo-e no gaiga yōshiki ni tsuite” 極楽寺蔵六道絵の絵画様式について [On the pictorial style of the *Six Realms* in the collection of Gokurakuji], *Akiyama Terukazu hakushi koki kinen bijutsushi ronbunshū* 秋山光和博士古稀記念美術史論文集 (Tōkyō: Benridō, 1991), 277–303.

<sup>89</sup> For the development of the Ten Kings painting in Japan, see Kajitani Ryōji 梶谷亮治, “Nihon ni okeru jūō zu no seiritsu to tenkai” 日本における十王図の成立と展開 [The formation and development of the Ten Kings of Hell painting in Japan], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 97 (1974): 84–95; and Nakano Genzō, “jūō zu no tenkai” 十王図の展開, in *Rokudōe no kenkyū*, 142–49.

<sup>90</sup> For the conventional uses and textual origin of the iconographic motif of “breaking the infernal cauldron” in Japanese Six Realms paintings, see Takasu Jun 鷹巢純, “Zenrinji hon jikkaizu no zuzō o meguru shōkōsatsu” 禅林寺本十界図図像をめぐる小考察 [A brief examination of the iconography of the *Ten Realms* in the collection of Zenrinji], *Bigaku bijutsushi kenkyū ronshū* 9 (1991): 94–96.

monk Genshin 源信 (942–1017).<sup>91</sup> However, compared with the extant earlier hell paintings in Japan, specifically the twelfth-century hand-scrolls of *Jigoku zōshi* 地獄草紙 in the Tōkyō and Nara National Museums, and the late thirteenth-century hanging scrolls of *The Six Realms* in Shōjuraigōji 聖衆来迎寺, Shiga-ken 滋賀県, the composition and imagery of the hell scenes in the Zenrinji and Gokurakuji paintings of the six realms likely reflect Chinese models with comprehensive compositions featuring Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings on the top and the general hell scenes on the bottom of the picture.<sup>92</sup>

A sculptural version of this comprehensive depiction of the underworld is found in Chinese Buddhist art tradition, for the (1) all-inclusive composition of (Kṣitigarbha and) the Ten Kings and various hell scenes in a single plane, (2) lining up of the Ten Kings in the top register, and (3) pairing of a hymn from *The Ten Kings Sūtra* with each king also characterize a carved tableau, *The Transformation Tableau of Hell* (*Diyu bianxiang tu* 地獄变相图, (fig. II-47 and 48) in niche 20 in Dafowan 大佛湾 at

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<sup>91</sup> The iconography and titles on the cartouche of each segment are: the Hell of Screams (叫喚), Hell of Black Ropes (黑繩), Great Hell of Screams (大叫喚), Hell of Incineration (焦熱), Great Hell of Incineration (大焦熱), the Unremitting Hell (阿鼻), Hell of Striking and Crushing (衆合), Hell of the Cold (寒), which indicate that the depiction of hell was basically based on Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū*.

<sup>92</sup> For images of various versions of *Jigoku zōshi* 地獄草紙, see Komatsu Shigemi et al ed., *Gaki zōshi, jigoku zōshi, yamaino sōshi, kusōshi emaki* 餓鬼草紙, 地獄草紙, 病草紙, 九相詩繪卷 (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1977), pp. 39–75. For *The Six Realms* in Shōjuraigōji, see Izumi Takeo 泉 武夫, Kasuya Makoto 加須屋 誠, Yamamoto Satomi 山本聡美, eds., *Kokuhō Rokudōe* 国宝六道繪 (Tōkyō: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 2007).

Baodingshan 宝顶山, Dazu 大足, dated to between 1174 and 1252 of the Southern Song dynasty.<sup>93</sup> This piece shows the Ten Kings and two court officials sitting side by side at their court desks at the top of the tableau. Above them are ten buddhas.<sup>94</sup> In the center of the rows of the Ten Kings and ten buddhas sits Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, flanked by Monk Daoming on his left and a figure holding an alms bowl on his right. Below are the scenes of the Eighteen Hells.<sup>95</sup> The tableau looks to be stratified into four sections by the row dividers, but it is not difficult to see that the carving into the cliff is in such high relief—nearly in the round—that it required grounds to support the spatial depth of the

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<sup>93</sup> Arami Hiroshi 荒見泰史, “Daisoku Hōchōsan sekkutsu *Jigokuhen gan seiritsu no haikai ni tsuite*” 大足宝顶山石窟「地獄変龕」成立の背景について [On the background of the creation of *The Niche of Transformation Tableau of Hell* at the Baodingshan Cave in Dazu], *Etoki kenkyū* 絵解き研究 16 (2002): 20.

<sup>94</sup> The depiction of the ten buddhas above the Ten Kings in this *Diyu bianxiang tu* has recently attracted scholars’ attention because it challenges the well-established Japanese conception that the *honjibutsu* 本地仏 floating above each king seen in Japanese Ten Kings paintings is uniquely Japanese. This is beyond the topic of this dissertation, so for more details, see Chen Zhuo 陈灼, “Dazu Baoding shike *Diyu bianxiang Shifo kaoshi*” 大足宝顶石刻“地獄变相·十佛”考识, *Foxue yanjiu* 佛学研究, 1997.00: 69–75; Arami Hiroshi, “Daisoku Hōchōsan sekkutsu *Jigokuhen gan seiritsu no haikai ni tsuite*,” 16–52.

<sup>95</sup> Twelve of the eighteen hells sculpted in the Dafowan *Transformation Tableau of Hell* are identical to the hells depicted in the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*. For the list of the hells in the Dafowan tableau and the inscriptions for each hell, see Liu Changjiu 刘长久 et al., *Dazu shike neirong zonglu* 大足石窟内容总录 [A comprehensive catalogue of the contents of the Dazu Cave] (Sichuan: Shehui kexue chubanshe, 1985), 215–24.

reliefs. Except for the horizontal dividers, *The Transformation Tableau of Hell* is a sculptural version of the Japanese hell paintings examined above. Moreover, like those in the Gokurakuji *Six Realms* painting, each king is accompanied by a hymn, inscribed on the ruffles of his desk skirt from *The Ten Kings Sūtra*.<sup>96</sup> This sculpted *Transformation Tableau of Hell* suggests the existence of similar paintings in China and these might have been models for the Japanese Six Realms paintings and the Joseon Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*.

### II.4.3 Compositional Significance

The Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* differs from the Chinese and Japanese comprehensive hell depictions in that it replaces the Ten Kings' judgment scene with the Kṣitigarbha assembly scene.

Typically, in Chinese and Japanese paintings, the standardized hell scenes, whether in ten separate picture-frames or in one, are set below a scene of the Ten Kings passing judgment in their infernal courts, indicating that the punishments are the immediate effects of the verdicts depicted above. Thus the paintings emphasize the

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<sup>96</sup> The rubbings of the hymns are published in Guo Xiangying 郭相颖 et al., *Dazu shike mingwen lu* 大足石刻铭文录 [The records of the inscriptions carved on Dazu sculptures] (Chongqing: Chongqing chuban she, 1999). The hymns inscribed here are not the same as those pertaining to the Ten Kings in *The Ten Kings Sūtra* that appear in the Gokurakuji *Six Realms* painting, but different hymns added to each paragraph of prosaic text in the sūtra. For the scriptural origin of each hymn, see Arami Hiroshi, "Daisoku Hōchōsan sekkutsu *Jigokuhen gan seiritsu no haikai ni tsuite*," 22–23.

infallible application of judgment to all aspects of the deceased's previous life and the inexorable requirement of atoning for them. They illustrate the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of "karma and retribution" (K. *eopbo* 業報), or "just retribution concomitant with cause and effect" (K. *ingwa eungbo* 因果應報), through this imagery of judgment and retribution to edify and warn the viewers.

The Jasugung painting, in contrast, dispenses with the traditional Ten Kings judgment scene in favor of the Kṣitigarbha assembly scene and thus has a different religious significance. Kṣitigarbha's solemn assembly was a manifestation of his compassionate vow to save all sentient beings from relentless retributions until Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future, comes. Kṣitigarbha and his retinue cast soteriological glances down toward the suffering sinners in the underworld. By setting the assembly scene above the scenes of infernal torment, the Jasugung painting represents a prayer for salvation from the anguish of retribution, rather than due atonement for a verdict passed in judgment, emphasizing "salvation from punishment" rather than "punishment through judgment."

The aspiration for salvation through Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha's compassion manifested visually in the painting also appears in the dedicatory inscription, which cites phrases from *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* and expresses the patrons' devout faith in the efficacy of the bodhisattva's compassionate vow:

The Three Thousand Great Thousand World Systems are all filled up with tiny dust, but even that cannot be compared with the long efficacy of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha's

testimony to the fruition of his enlightenment. People who listen to the name [of the Bodhisattva], people who pay homage to his statue, and people who draw paintings or carve sculptures all are able to attain rebirth in Heaven. . . . The great vow that the Chaste Concubine made was the one of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, and the vows of the Bodhisattva were the ones of the Buddhas as numerous as the grains of sand in the Ganges.<sup>97</sup>

Thus the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* is a visualization of the prayers for salvation of its patrons—the female Buddhists around the Joseon court Buddhist cloister. It combines a holy assembly and hell scenes, the celestial and the subterranean spheres of the world, and also the static, iconic mode of painting and the animated narrative painting mode to reveal the religious aspirations of its patrons.

## II.5 Kṣitigarbha Worship and Women

### II.5.1 The Worship for Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell in the Early Joseon Court

Eighteen extant paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell solidly attributed to the early Joseon period demonstrate that the belief in Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings was a full-fledged cult among people in all walks of life by the sixteenth century, at the latest.<sup>98</sup>

Two of these paintings, one in the collection of Kōmyōji 光明寺, Hiroshima-ken 広島県

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<sup>97</sup> See the Inscription in Appendix I.

<sup>98</sup> See Appendix IV for the list of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* of the early Joseon period.

(1562, fig. II-9), and the other in Chion'in (1575–77, fig. II-1), were produced in relation to court patronage of the late sixteenth century.<sup>99</sup> A painting probably from the fifteenth century, *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas*, now in the Yodadera collection (fig. II-11), was commissioned by members of the low-ranking official class, including local functionaries and a Chinese-language translator who must have possessed some wealth.<sup>100</sup> The remaining paintings were sponsored by commoners of the late sixteenth century, indicating the worship of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell had filtered down to the general populace in the sixteenth century Joseon society.

We might wish for more court-patronized Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings paintings to further our understanding of the Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings worship in the early Joseon court, but given its popularity among Goryeo aristocrats—testified to by the numerous exquisite extant paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell from fourteenth-century Goryeo—the tradition was presumably inherited into by the Joseon ruling class at the beginning of the new dynasty.<sup>101</sup> However, extant woodblock prints of

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<sup>99</sup> For the patron of the Kōmyōji *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, see note 29.

<sup>100</sup> For the patrons in the incomplete inscription of the Yodadera piece, see Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭, “Kagawa Yodadera no Jizō mandarazu ni tsuite: Richō jidai zenki butsuga no shosō” 香川 與田寺の地藏曼荼羅圖について—李朝時代前期仏画の諸相 [On the *Kṣitigarbha Mandala* in Yodadera at Kagawa-ken: Various aspects of the Buddhist painting of the early Joseon period], *Mikkyō bunka* 164 (October 1988): 40.

<sup>101</sup> Despite the long-established idea of dichotomy in the ideological, socio-economic, and religious backgrounds of the Goryeo and early Joseon ruling classes, recent studies maintain that

*The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* and *The Ten Kings Sūtra* commissioned by court Buddhists, records in the *Sillok*, and dedicatory statements about the royal family's commission of prints and paintings combine to suggest that Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings worship thrived in the early Joseon court, especially among the court female Buddhists.

Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell were a favorite subjects of images commissioned by court women in the fifteenth century. In 1482, Queen Dowager Sohye 昭惠 (1437–1504), mother of King Seongjong (r. 1469–94), commissioned a painting of *The Ten Kings of Hell* and fourteen copies of the woodblock prints of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* to pray for her deceased daughter, Princess Myeongsuk 明淑, to be reborn in the Western Paradise.<sup>102</sup> In 1488, Queen Jeonghyeon 貞顯 (1462–1530), consort of King Seongjong 成宗, commissioned a painting of *The Ten Kings of Hell* and fourteen copies

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the two groups in fact shared various aspects of their backgrounds, thus emphasizing the continuation rather than the reformation between the two periods. See.

<sup>102</sup> Along with the painting of *The Ten Kings of Hell* and copies of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, Queen Dowager Sohye commissioned paintings of *The Assembly at the Vulture Peak*, *The Baisajyaguru Assembly*, *The Assembly in the Western Paradise*, *The Thousand Buddhas*, *Eight Perils of Avalokitesvara*, and *The Sixteen Arhats*, and 14 copies each of *The Lotus Sūtra*, *The Sūtra of Amitābha's Penance*, *The Sūtra for Penance in the Rite of Compassion*, and *The Integrated Six Sūtras*. This is recorded in the dedicatory statement by Gang Huimaeng 姜希孟 (1424–83) at the end of fascicle 7 of the copy of *The Lotus Sūtra* that survives from this grand commission of Queen Dowager Sohye, now housed in Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul. For the text, see Cheon Hyeobong 千惠鳳, “Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon” 朝鮮前期佛書版本, *Gyegan seoji hakbo* 季刊書誌學報 5 (1991): 27, note 9.



of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* prints for the repose of the soul of her daughter, Princess Sunshuk 順淑.<sup>103</sup> In 1489, the Consort Prince Lady Bak of Prince Wolsan 月山 (1454–88), older brother of King Seongjong, commissioned a statue of *Kṣitigarbha* in platinum, a *Painting of Walking Amitābha and Kṣitigarbha*, and *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* for the soul of her deceased husband.<sup>104</sup>

*The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* was especially often dedicated for a dead soul in the early Joseon court.<sup>105</sup> We have records of twenty-one cases in which *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*

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<sup>103</sup> At this time Queen Jeonghyeon also had repaired the painting of *The Assembly of Perfect Enlightenment* that King Taejo had commissioned, as well as the paintings *The Asceticism of Śākyamuni*, *Bodhidharma*, *The Descent of Maitreya*, and *Avalokiteśvara*. She also commissioned a painting of *The Amitābha Triad* along with *The Ten Kings of Hell*, and 14 copies of woodblock prints of *The Lotus Sūtra* and *The Sūtra for Penance in the Rite of Compassion*. This is recorded in the dedicatory statement in *The Lotus Sūtra* that survives from this commission and is now collected in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul. The text of the dedicatory colophon is found in Cheon Hyebyong, “Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon,” 27, note 10.

<sup>104</sup> For the dedication, Consort-Princess Wolsan also commissioned statues of Amitābha, Śākyamuni, Bhaiṣajyaguru, and Avalokiteśvara in platinum, and paintings of *The Śākyamuni Assembly* and *The Amitābha Assembly*. She also commissioned *Amitābha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas* and *Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara* in gold ink. She had 15 copies printed of *The Lotus Sūtra*, *The Integrated Six Sūtras*, *The Sūtra of Amitābha Penance*, *The Sūtra for Penance in the Rite of Compassion*, *The Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra*, and *Bumo eunjung gyeong* 父母恩重經. In addition, she had four copies of *The Diamond Sūtra* transcribed in gold ink. The dedicatory statement in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* is reproduced in Cheon Hyebyong, “Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon,” 33, note 24.

<sup>105</sup> There are 29 known prints of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* from the Joseon period, of which nine are from the fifteenth century, six from the sixteenth, five from the seventeenth, five from the

was either hand-copied or printed in the early Joseon period (Appendix V). Fifteen cases of these concern the production of the sūtra in the fifteenth century; twelve refer to publications produced under court patronage. All of the court commissions, except for the printing at the Superintendency for Scripture Publication (Gangyeong dogam 刊經都監) in 1462, which was an official government project, were dedicated to deceased royal family members.

Among these court commissions, are important examples by court women (see Appendix V). In 1469, Princess Jeongui 貞懿, second daughter of King Sejong (r. 1397–1450), had the woodblock of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* carved and printed for the afterlife of her deceased husband, An Maengdam 安孟聃 (1415–62).<sup>106</sup> In 1472, Queen Dowager Sohye launched a grand publication project and printed 2,815 volumes of Buddhist scriptures from existing woodblocks, including forty copies of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, to pray for the souls of royal family members and for the longevity of Great Queen

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eighteenth, two from the nineteenth century, and two of unknown date. Bak Dohwa 박도화, “Joseon sidae ganhaeng Jijang bosal bonwongyeong panhwa ui dosang” 朝鮮時代 刊行 地藏菩薩本願經 版畫의 圖像 [The iconography of the print of the *Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha*], *Gomunhwa* 古文化 53 (1999): 7–8.

<sup>106</sup> The colophon for Princess Jeongui’s dedication, written by Gim Suon 金守溫 (1410–81), a pious Buddhist scholar-official, is found in the end of the copy, all the pages of which are digitized at <http://www.memorykorea.go.kr>.

Dowager Jeonghui 貞憲 (1418–83), and of King and Queen Seongjong (r. 1469–94).<sup>107</sup> When Queen Gonghye 恭惠 (1456–74), first consort of King Seongjong, died young in 1474, Great Queen Dowager Jeonghui and Queen Dowagers Sohye and Ansun 安順 (?–1482), along with many royal concubines and princesses, sponsored the carving and printing of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* for the deceased queen.<sup>108</sup> In the same year, Palace Matron Sangui 尙儀 Jo-ssi 曹氏 commissioned a print of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* for her deceased parents,<sup>109</sup> and Queen Dowager Ansun also sponsored the printing of the sūtra for her late grandparents in 1481.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Some copies survive from this print project. The dedicatory statement, also written by Gim Suon, is found in one of them, *The Excerpt from the Dharma-Words of Monk Mengshan* (K. Mongsan hwasang beobeo yangnok 蒙山和尚法語略錄), in the collection of the Memorial Institute of King Sejong the Great, the whole volume of which is also digitized at <http://www.memorykorea.go.kr>.

<sup>108</sup> Gim Suon was also the author of the dedicatory colophon for this edition. For reproduction of the colophon, details of the print, and analysis of the frontispiece illustration, see Bak Dohwa, “15-segi hubangi wangsil barwon panhwa: Jeonghui daewang daebi barwonbon eul jungsim euro,” 162–64, and 174–75. The digitized images of the whole copy, including the dedicatory colophon, are found at <http://www.memorykorea.go.kr>.

<sup>109</sup> “Sangui” was a senior lady-in-waiting of the senior fifth-grade rank, who was in charge of the ceremony and rites of the queen’s inner quarters. The dedicatory statement is found in the copy of *The Lotus Sūtra* that was first commissioned with, and later discovered in, the statue of Vairocana in Girimsa 祇林寺, Gyeongju 慶州.

<sup>110</sup> Queen Dowager Ansun commissioned seven copies each of *The Lotus Sūtra*, *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, and *The Sūtra for the Penance in the Rite of Compassion*. The dedicatory text is found in a surviving volume of this commission, *The Sūtra for Penance in the Rite of Compassion* in the

*The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* editions known from the sixteenth century were all produced at the initiative of local monasteries (see Appendix V). Except for the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings* in 1575–77, we do not know about the female Buddhists’ worship of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell in the sixteenth-century court. However, we have evidence that by the early sixteenth century, court women’s faith in the Ten Kings was extending beyond the palace wall to the support of local Buddhist practices. The *Sillok* says:

Literary Licentiate Gim Wi from Wonju, Gangwon Province, memorialized . . . .  
Recently two or three monks and nuns wearing a pigtail and secular clothes, secretly claiming [to act on] an order of the court’s inner quarters, frequent monasteries in the mountain. They often bring loads of rice and commodities and feed the monks officiating at Buddhist rites. They make streamers and canopies, and suspend them all over the valley. They also set up painted images of the Ten Kings and hang paper banners for each [king’s court]. In one place they pile up more than one hundred bundles of paper in a corner, on the evening of the rite they burn them all, and call it the Rite of Burning Banners. This so-called “inner quarters order” refers to the words of the court. If Your Majesty does not know about it but the court does it, then this is [a case of] the court deceiving Your Majesty. If the court does it but Your Majesty does not prohibit it, then this is Your Majesty instructing the court [to do it].

江原道原州人進士金渭上疏....近日以來，二三僧尼，辮髮俗服，潛稱內旨，出入山寺。多載米貨，飯佛齋僧，造爲幢蓋，羅絡山谷。又設十王畫像，各置牋幡，一處積紙

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collection of the National Library of Korea. For the text, see Cheon Hye bong, “Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon,” 31, note 17.

百有餘束，設會之夕，悉以焚之名曰燒幡齋。其所謂內旨者，指宮中之言也。殿下不知，而宮中之行，則是宮中欺殿下也。宮中之行，而殿下不禁，則是殿下教宮中也。<sup>111</sup>

Someone in the king's inner quarters, very likely Queen Munjeong of King Jungjong, had sent out proxies to perform the Ten Kings rite in a remote monastery in the mountains. The record testifies to the fact that the worship of the Ten Kings of Hell among the court women was so pious that they directed the performance of Ten Kings rites even in the mountain monasteries far from the palace.

The images and sūtras of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell were important commissions for the funerary dedication of court women. Even though no text about the ritual practice of the Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings cult in the court is yet known, the patronage of paintings and sūtra prints of the bodhisattva and his retinue by court women indicates the thriving faith in Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings among the female Buddhists in the court.

It is likely that at court, as elsewhere, paintings of the Ten Kings of Hell were set up at the altar for the Assembly for the Recitation of Buddhas' Names (K. Bulmyeonghoe 佛名會) held to expiate sins of the deceased. In medieval Japan, participants in this ritual reflected on the hell screen images to promote penance to compensate for sins and invoked many buddhas by reciting the liturgical text *The Sūtra of Buddhas' Names* (J. Butsumyōkyō 仏名經, K. Bulmyeonggyeong). The Ten Kings of Hell paintings

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<sup>111</sup> *Jungjong sillok* 中宗實錄, gwon 34, Jungjong 13 (1518).7.17 (*gabin* 甲寅).

produced as a funerary dedication for the deceased in early Joseon were likely used in similar rituals.<sup>112</sup>

In *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, the benefits of reciting buddhas' names for both the living and the dead are preached by Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha in the Assembly of Śākyamuni at the Trayastriṃśā Heaven. In the ninth chapter, "Chapter on Reciting Buddhas' Names" (K. Ching bul myeongho pum 稱佛名號品), Kṣitigarbha enumerates various buddhas' names, the hearing or reciting of which brings the boundless benefits, such as having one's sins pardoned, avoidance of evil paths, and rebirth in paradise.<sup>113</sup>

Given the apparent connection between the practice of hanging Ten Kings of Hell paintings and the ritual of reciting buddhas' names in Ten Kings rites, it is worth noting many copies of *The Chant of Reciting Various Buddhas' and Bodhisattvas' Names* (C. Zhu forulai pusa mingcheng gequ 諸佛如來菩薩名稱歌曲, K. Je bulyeorae bosal myeongching gagok) produced in Ming China. The scripture was bestowed in a large quantity on the Joseon government by Emperor Yongle 永樂 (r. 1402–24) on several occasions, and was widely disseminated in early Joseon Buddhist circles.<sup>114</sup> A print of

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<sup>112</sup> For the Japanese use of the hell screen painting in The Assembly of the Recitation of Buddhas' Names (*Butsumyōe*) and further Japanese scholarship on this matter, see Caroline Hirasawa, "The Inflatable, Collapsible Kingdom of Retribution: A Primer on Japanese Hell Imagery and Imagination," *Monumenta Nipponica* 63.1 (2008): 5–6.

<sup>113</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.785c22–786b10.

<sup>114</sup> Emperor Yongle granted *The Chant of Reciting Various Buddhas' and Bodhisattvas' Names* to Joseon envoys in order to promote it in Korea: 100 volumes in 1417 (*Taejong sillok*, gwon 34,

*The Sūtra for Penance in the Rite of Compassion* (C. Cibei daochang chanfa 慈悲道場懺法, K. Jabi doryang chambeop), which invokes various past and future buddhas for penance, was also one of the favorite commissions of the court women, as seen in the commission lists above.<sup>115</sup> Thus, as noted above, in Korea as in Japan, the Ten Kings of Hell paintings, including the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings*, were probably used in penance rituals at court wherein participants sought to expiate the deceased's sins, by reflecting on the retributions depicted in the paintings.

In sum even though very little visual material has survived to illustrate the worship of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell in the early Joseon court, it is documented by textual records concerning court women's patronage of both paintings and scripture prints. The zeal for Kṣitigarbha and Ten Kings of Hell worship and the patronage of it were surely prompted by the merits cultivated through these rites and commissions, both on behalf of the deceased and of the devotees themselves, for salvation from retribution and the promise of a better path in the next life. The frequent

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Taejong 17 [1417].12.20 [*sinchuk* 辛丑]), 300 volumes in 1418 (*Taejong sillok*, gwon 35, Taejong 18 [1418].5.19 [*mujin* 戊辰]), 1,000 volumes in 1418 (*Sejong sillok*, gwon 1, Sejong accession year [1418].9.4 [*sinhae* 辛亥]), and 30 boxes of the book in 1419 (*Sejong sillok*, gwon 6, Sejong 1 [1419].12.18 [*muja* 戊子]). The scripture was not what the Joseon government asked the Ming administration to offer, but the Joseon government could not but distribute it to monasteries across the nation out of respect for the Ming emperor's wishes.

<sup>115</sup> T1909.45.922b–967c. See the print lists commissioned by court women above, in notes 102–104 and 110. The sūtra commissioned by Queen Dowager Jeonghui is examined in the article given in note 108.

dedication and patronage of Kṣitigarbha images and scriptures by court women suggest a special significance of the worship for female Buddhists.

## II.5.2 Kṣitigarbha Worship and Women

The popularity of the Kṣitigarbha worship among female Buddhists can be attributed to the fact that the teachings of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* embrace women devotees by awakening them to their own salvific power and by promising them salvation. The stories of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha's past vows and the preaching of the Buddha Śākyamuni in the sūtra often exhibit its concerns for, and approval of, the devotion of female Buddhists, and also teaches women practical methods to attain salvation.

*The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* emphasizes maternal filial piety, both in terms of the preaching occasion and in its contents. The sūtra was preached by Buddha Śākyamuni for his deceased mother Lady Māyā at the Trayastriṃśā Heaven (the Heaven of the Thirty-Three), where he traveled right before his *parinirvāṇa*.<sup>116</sup> The stories of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha's previous lives that led to his grand vows to save all sentient beings also recount cases where the pious faith of filial children delivers their mothers from the suffering of retribution. In one of his previous lives, when the bodhisattva was a *brāhman* woman, she saved her blasphemous mother who fell into the Hell of No Interval (K. *mugan jiok* 無間地獄), so that the mother was instead reborn into heaven, thanks to

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<sup>116</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.777c9.



her merits cultivated through offerings and piety.<sup>117</sup> In another past life of Kṣitigarbha, a woman named Bright Eyes (K. Gwangmok 光目), a previous incarnation of the bodhisattva, delivered her mother from transmigration into the evil paths by making offerings of buddha images and taking a vow to save suffering beings.<sup>118</sup>

With these stories, the sūtra inspires female Buddhists with the soteriological power of their own devotion, which will eventually return to effect their own salvation. As recounted above, it was the merits of daughters' devout faith in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* that freed their mothers from endless transmigration in the evil paths. Furthermore, their accumulated meritorious virtues and vows enabled them to finally attain bodhisattvahood and become the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha. The stories of the Kṣitigarbha's past lives in the sūtra might therefore have been a profound inspiration to Buddhist women.

More than anything else, the sūtra opens up the possibility of “release from the woman's body” and offers practical methods through which female Buddhists can be liberated from current constraints and suffering, and achieve their religious goals. One of the supplications that the filial daughter Bright Eyes makes for her mother in the sūtra is that her mother not be reborn as a woman.<sup>119</sup> In addition, the sūtra lists one of the benefits of worshipping the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha as “the change of a woman to a

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<sup>117</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.778b18–779a28.

<sup>118</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.780c15–781b1.

<sup>119</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.781a18.

male body” (K. *yeojeon namsin* 女轉男身), which has also been expounded as prerequisite to a woman attaining buddhahood in other scriptures.<sup>120</sup> Furthermore, the sūtra repeatedly holds out to Buddhist women the promise of “release from the woman’s body” in return for their offerings to the bodhisattva:

If there are women who detest the body of a woman and who wholeheartedly make offerings to Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva’s image, whether the image be a painting or made of earth, stone, lacquer, brass, iron, or some other material, and if they do so day after day without fail, making offerings of flowers, incense, food, drink, clothing, colored silks, banners, money, jewels, or other items, then when the female retribution body of those good women is exhausted for hundreds of thousands of tens of thousands of aeons, they will never again be born in worlds where there are women, much less be one, unless it be through the strength of their compassionate vows to liberate living beings. From the power of the meritorious virtues resulting from these offerings to Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, they will not receive the bodies of women throughout hundreds of thousands of tens of thousands of aeons.<sup>121</sup>

To the nun-patrons living in the Buddhist cloister for royal secondary wives in the Confucian patriarchal society of sixteenth-century Korea, this must have been good news.

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<sup>120</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.789c11.

<sup>121</sup> *Dizang pusa benyuan jing*, T412.13.782c10–21; Buddhist Text Translation Society, trans., *Sutra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (2003), 49 (slight modifications added).

## Conclusion

The painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Cloister showcases the religious faith and patronage of Buddhist nuns in the early Joseon palace. The painting is not only extraordinary for its distinctive comprehensive composition and exquisite execution, but also significant as an embodiment of the Buddhist belief and practice of nuns in the Jasugung Cloister.

The discussion above analyzed the inscription and identified the patrons, examined the pictorial characteristics used to convey the theme of the painting, and placed the female patronage of this painting within the larger tradition of Kṣitigarbha worship among court women in the early Joseon palace and of the religious hopes of women in general.

The presence of an unidentified member of Kṣitigarbha's entourage in the painting, a bearded layman wearing a scholar's hat and holding prayer beads, led to analysis of the painting's eclectic employment of the iconography of the Kṣitigarbha cult of later Chinese Buddhism. This unprecedented and exceptional incorporation of the sinicized figure of Lord Min into Korean Kṣitigarbha painting was not ultimately accepted by Korean Kṣitigarbha worship. However, it demonstrates the early access that Joseon court women patrons had to the new iconography from China.

Placed at the center of the painting, the donors' offering scene matches the doctrinal emphasis of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* on the benefits of making offerings and suggests the patrons' identification of their own donation with this scene. The offering

scene represents their prayers to Kṣitigarbha in the heavenly realm above, made on behalf of sentient beings suffering in the underworld depicted below.

The distinctive composition of the painting, which combines graphic scenes of expiatory torments with a Kṣitigarbha's assembly scene instead of the usual judgment scene in the Ten Kings' courts, has been interpreted here as a means of effectively emphasizing the main theme of the painting. By setting the assembly for Kṣitigarbha's compassionate vows above the scene of infernal punishments, the painting becomes a tangible prayer for salvation from the anguish of retribution, rather than for atonement following a verdict passed in judgment. It thus shifts emphasis from "punishment through judgment" to "salvation from punishment."

The inscription, the donors' offering scene, and the overall composition of the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* combine to testify to nun-patrons' aspiration to attain the "salvation from suffering" promised by the sūtra.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**Aspiration for Women’s Salvation to Paradise:**  
***The Painting of King Sāla* (1576)**

**Introduction**

A painting dated 1576 and previously known as *The Transformation Painting of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* (Allakguk taejagyeong byeonsangdo 安樂國太子經 變相圖, fig. III-1) in the collection of the Seizan bunko 青山文庫 in Kōchi-ken 高知県 is another work commissioned by Buddhist nuns in a palace cloister of the early Joseon dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Here called *The Painting of King Sāla* (Sarasu taeng 沙羅樹幀), this painting is one of a handful of narrative paintings surviving from the early Joseon period.<sup>2</sup> It tells the story of

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<sup>1</sup> This title was originated in Kumagai Nobuo 熊谷宣夫, “Seizan bunkozō Anrakukoku taishikyō hensō” 青山文庫藏安樂國太子經變相 [The *Transformation Painting of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* in the collection of Seizan bunko], in *Gim Jaewon baksa hoegap ginyeom nonchong* 金載元博士 回甲記念論叢 (Seoul: Gim Jaewon baksa hoegap ginyeom saeop wiwonhoe, 1969), 1063–91.

<sup>2</sup> My reasons for proposing an alternative title are as follows: (1) the inscription identifies the painting as a copy to replace an “old *Painting of King Sāla*” (Sarasu gu taeng 沙羅樹舊幀); (2) none of the texts known to date as related to *the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* predate the painting except for the text in *Worin seokbo* 月印釋譜; (3) the text in *Worin seokbo* is not given any title; and (4) the paintings produced for a monastery that shares the narrative as its founding legend were still referred to as “*Sarawang taeng*” 沙羅王幀 or “*Sarasuwang taeng*” 沙羅樹王幀 in the eighteenth-century documents. Details of all these reasons are discussed in the “Literature of the Painting” section later in this chapter.

a royal family's hardships and the faith that brought about the family's salvation into the Western Paradise.<sup>3</sup> The whole story is laid out in detail in twenty-seven pictorial segments, with an explanatory text in *hangeul* added to each scene.

*The Painting of King Sāla* has drawn scholarly attention for its distinctive narrative of Amitābha's salvation, which has been considered to be the product of an indigenous Korean Amitābha cult, and also for the diffusion of the narrative into various literary traditions of the Joseon period, including scriptures in both classical Chinese and *hangeul*, the founding tale of a monastery, popular novels, and shamanistic ritual chants. This widely enculturated religious narrative disseminated the Amitābha faith among the Joseon populace. In this respect, the painting can be considered a visual embodiment of the organic interplay between religion and literature. Thus the narrative has long excited the curiosity of scholars in the field of Korean literature and religion, for the light it sheds on the formation, transmission, and popularization of a distinctive Amitābha cult.

The exceptional patron and production background of the painting, and its use of a distinct pictorial motif of the salvific dragon boat have also made scholars aware of the

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<sup>3</sup> In this regard, this painting has been known since 1960s to depict the Korean adaptation of the story of King Bimbisāra and Queen Vaidehī from the prefatory section of *The Sūtra on the Contemplation of Buddha Amitāyus* (C. Guan Wuliangshoufo jing 觀無量壽佛經, K. Gwan Muryangsubul gyeong, T365.12.340b–346b, hereafter *The Contemplation Sūtra*). Kumagai Nobuo first proposed the connection between the narrative of the painting and the prefatory section of *The Contemplation Sūtra*. See Kumagai Nobuo, “Seizan bunko-zō Anrakukoku taishikyō hensō,” 1067 and 1081–82. However, there is a huge difference between the characters of Prince Ajātaśatru of *The Contemplation Sūtra* and Prince Allakguk of the narrative of the painting.

potential significance of the painting that will reveal aspects of Korean Buddhism and Buddhist art that have hitherto remained veiled to us. However, because of the lack of known corroborating materials and the rich socio-religious heritage behind the painting that rather hampered a concrete understanding of the painting itself, there has not been much progress in researching the painting. With these intriguing questions in mind, this chapter studies the painting on the aspects of the textual source of its narrative, the iconographic origin of the salvific dragon boat, and the meaning of the narrative for the nun-patrons. The first two issues will propose reconsideration on the origins of the narrative and the cult and iconography of the salvific dragon boat, and the third discussion will illuminate the significance of the patronage and enshrinement of the painting for the patron-nuns.

### **III.1 Literature of the Painting**

*The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1) illustrates an episode from Buddha Śākyamuni's previous lives, a *jātaka* tale that is also related to the Amitābha triad's previous lives, rendering it into twenty-seven pictorial segments dispersed over the entire picture plane. Each scene is accompanied by an explanatory text in sixteenth-century *hangeul* written in gold ink. On the very top register, supposed to be the sky, is a dedicatory inscription also written in gold ink. A donation record of the painting (fig. III-2), possibly of the early twentieth century, recounts its transmission. These texts provide the primary information about the subject, the dedicative goal and background, and the provenance of the painting.

This section examines this information to build a fundamental understanding for the discussion of the pictorial, religious, and social significance of the painting in the following sections.

### **III.1.1 The Inscription, Patrons, and Provenance**

#### **III.1.1.1 The Inscription and Patrons**

The dedicatory inscription in the top register of the painting says that a group of nuns, including ones who had the dharma names Hyeguk 慧國 and Hyewol 慧月, initiated the dedication vow to reproduce (*gaeseong* 改成) a new painting to replace an old worn-out *The Painting of King Sāla*, which was very likely enshrined where they dwelled.<sup>4</sup> They raised the funds for the project in the court, and replaced the old painting with this present one. Considering the reason for the replacement, the new painting was most likely a faithful copy of the old. It took, at most, about a month to complete the new painting.<sup>5</sup> Assuming the old painting also had explanatory *hangeul* text, it probably did not predate 1447, since the *hangeul* alphabet was publicized in 1446 and the earliest

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<sup>4</sup> For the original and translated text of the inscription, see Appendix I.

<sup>5</sup> This time span is based on the date of starting the project—the sixth month of 1576—and the date of writing the inscription—the first ten days of the seventh month of 1576—which was presumably done upon completion of the new painting.



*hangeul* text of the narrative is translated in *Detailed Episodes of the Life of Buddha* (Seokbo sangjeol 釋普詳節) which has a preface dated to that year.<sup>6</sup>

In the dedication vow in the inscription, the nuns prayed that the merits of the vow be transferred to benefit the royal family: King Seonjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608) and his consort, Queen Uiin 懿仁 (1555–1600); the Great Queen Dowager Gongui 恭懿 (1514–77) of King Injong (r. 1544–45); the Virtuous Consort-Princess of the Yun Family (Deokbin Yun-ssi 德嬪 尹氏, 1552–92), consort of King Myeongjong's (r. 1545–67) Crown Prince, Sunhoe 順懷 (1551–63) who died young; and a royal concubine called the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong Family (Hyebin Jeong-ssi 惠嬪 鄭氏, d.u.).<sup>7</sup> Since the nuns sought donations for the painting from the court but specific donors are not named, all or some of the intended recipients of the merit must have been the donor(s) of the votive offering. The royal women are associated with other Buddhist art works, some of which survive today. Queen Uiin inherited her mother-in-law's patronage for the enshrinement of a painting *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Ship* for a local monastery in remote Mt. Geumgang 金剛.<sup>8</sup> Queen Dowager Gongui was the patron of two extant paintings, the *Thirty-Two Responsive Manifestations of Bodhisattva*

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<sup>6</sup> *Seokbo sangjeol* is addressed later in detail. It is likely that the explanatory text on the old painting was also written in *hangeul*, because this painting was used in and probably made for a Buddhist facility for nuns, and *hangeul* was the script mostly accessible to women at that time.

<sup>7</sup> For the genealogy of the royal family clan, see Appendix II.

<sup>8</sup> This is discussed in detail in the section of The Medium in Chapter Four.

*Avalokiteśvara* (Gwaneum samsibi eungsindo 觀音三十二應身圖, 1550) from Dogapsa 道岬寺, now in the Chion'in collection in Kyōto, and *Maitreya Preaching* (Mireuk seolbeopdo 彌勒說法圖, 1568) in Nyoirinji 如意輪寺 in Wakayama-ken 和歌山県.<sup>9</sup> Lady Yun, the Virtuous Consort-Princess, is also renowned as a pious Buddhist in the *Sillok* record.<sup>10</sup>

Even though the primary members of the royal family alive at that time were listed to receive blessings as a courtesy (as in the inscriptions of most paintings, as seen in the inscription of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Cloister, discussed in Chapter Two), the inclusion of the Gracious Concubine Lady Jeong of King Injong is somewhat exceptional, since no royal concubine of the current king is included

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<sup>9</sup> For the images of these paintings, see *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 190, and Jeong Utaek, “Joseon wangjo sidae jeongi gungjeong hwapung bulhwa ui yeongu” 朝鮮王朝時代 前期 宮廷畫風 佛畫의 研究 [A study of the court-style Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon dynasty], *Misul sahak* 美術史學 13 (1999), fig. 8, respectively.

<sup>10</sup> The Virtuous Consort-Princess of the Yun Family entered the palace as a consort of the heir apparent Prince Sunhoe at the age of ten. Her prince husband, however, died one year later and thus she lived as a widow in the palace for nearly thirty years. When she died in 1592, the court took to flight from the Japanese invasion, before her funerary service was completed. Her unburied coffin was known to have been burned by Japanese army who seized the palace. This was an unbelievable tragedy to Confucian scholars who believed that the body should be returned undamaged to the soil. However, the *Sillok* chroniclers comforted themselves by saying that the Lady had been a pious Buddhist and she ended up being cremated, which happened to be in accordance with her will during her life. *Seonjo sujeong sillok* 宣祖修正實錄 [The amended veritable records of King Seonjo], gwon 26, Seonjo 25[1592].3.3 (gyehae 癸亥).

in such a dedication. Perhaps she had a special relationship with the vow-initiating nuns or one of the patrons. In the inscription of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, which was dedicated to the repose of Queen Dowager Insun 仁順, prayers are invoked for the deceased soul first, then for the primary royal family members, and finally for the donor, the Chaste Concubine of the Yun Family. But since *The Painting of King Sāla* is not dedicated to a deceased soul, the primary royal family members are addressed first in its inscription, and no more prayers for a specific donor(s). This also leads to the conclusion that Lady Jeong was likely (one of) the major donor(s) of this painting. She was also involved in the production of another painting, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, the dedication of which was initiated by the nun, Hakmyeong 學明 in 1582 to her. This is discussed in Chapter Four.

The Gracious Concubine of the Jeong Family (d.u.) was a daughter of Jeong On 鄭溫 (d.u.) of the Gyeongju Jeong 慶州 鄭 family clan.<sup>11</sup> She was a contemporary of Lady Yun, the Chaste Concubine, in King Injong's inner quarters, who commissioned the painting *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* for the Jasugung Cloister. Lady Jeong is also briefly mentioned in a 1595 *Sillok* entry where she was allotted some land for her

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<sup>11</sup> *Gyeongju Jeong-ssi sebo* 慶州鄭氏世譜 [The genealogy of the Jeong clan of Gyeongju] (n.p.: 1955), 1: 16a. It says, “the Gracious Concubine of the Shrine for the late King Injong” (Inmyo Hyebin 仁廟惠嬪) in her entry. Jeong On is “Chanui Jeong-ssi” 贊儀鄭氏 (Ceremonial Assistant of the Jeong Family), the repose of whose soul is prayed for in the inscription of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* that is discussed in Chapter Four. See the inscription of the painting in Appendix I and the relevant section in Chapter Four.

support, which indicates that she outlived her royal husband by more than fifty years.<sup>12</sup> It is not clear when she died, but an elegy in septisyllabic regulated verse (*chireon yulsi* 七言律詩) written by the scholar-official Hwang Jeonguk 黃廷彧 (1532–1607) gives precious information about her life:

The pine trees in the graveyard of Hyoreung are desolate in the sunshine.<sup>13</sup>  
How many years did you spend wearing the monastic robe in a separate cloister?  
Crouching on the ground and crying out toward the sky, you followed the lofty  
misfortune.<sup>14</sup>  
With home wrecked and the state destroyed, you finally wandered around.

The invocation of your soul in the residential building of Suyang sounds wretched.<sup>15</sup>  
The water overflowing the new path to your grave makes your coffin detour.  
Bearing regrets, you passed your lifetime sleeping over worries.  
All along your ninety years largely held no joy.

孝陵松柏日蕭蕭      別院袈裟歲幾銷  
跼地號天從玉碎      家亡國破竟蓬飄

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<sup>12</sup> *Seonjo sillok* 宣祖實錄, gwon 63, Seonjo 28 [1595].5.26 (*musul* 戊戌).

<sup>13</sup> “Hyoreung” 孝陵 is the tomb title of King Injong.

<sup>14</sup> “Okswae” 玉碎 means that a fine object or person encounters a difficulty or misfortune. I interpret this line in the light of Japanese army’s invasion of the Joseon capital to mean that she followed King Seonjo’s refuge from the attack.

<sup>15</sup> I have not yet been able to clarify what the “residential building of Suyang” 首陽寓舍 means. From the context, it is likely the place where Lady Jeong stayed when she died. Then presumably it is another name of one of the palace cloisters.

首陽寓舍招魂慘      水濫新阡返櫬遙  
堪恨一生愁睡過      向來九十摠無聊<sup>16</sup>

Hwang Jeonguk's poem is full of melancholy sympathy for Lady Jeong's dreary ninety years. The second line indicates that she had been a nun for quite a long time in a separate cloister (*byeorwon* 別院) after King Injong died.<sup>17</sup> The separate cloister must have been either the Royal Residence for Benevolent (Elders') Longevity (Insugung 仁壽宮), which merged with the Jeongeobwon and was later also called Jeongeobwon, or the Jasugung Cloister, since these were the two Buddhist facilities for royal nuns in the latter half of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Lady Jeong seems to have followed King Seonjo in his flight from the Japanese invasion of 1592.

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<sup>16</sup> Hwang Jeonguk 黃廷彧, "Hyebin Jeong-ssi manjang" 惠嬪鄭氏挽章 [An elegy for the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family], *Jicheon seonsaeng munjip* 芝川先生文集, gwon 2, 2:15b, in *Hanguk yeokdae munjip chongseo* 韓國歷代文集叢書, (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 1998), 122: 73.

<sup>17</sup> Here "a separate cloister" (*byeorwon* 別院) may refer to the Jeongeobwon. *Byeol* 別 means "separated" or "independent," as used in *byeolgung* 別宮 (separate royal residence), and *won* 院 could come from the last character of Jeongeobwon 淨業院. If Lady Jeong was a nun of Jeongeobwon, this increases the probability that *The Painting of King Sāla* was produced and enshrined in the Jeongeobwon. However, I would like to avoid drawing a rash conclusion from the conformity of the characters. Since other residences for the former royal concubines were also perceived as Buddhist cloisters, the possibility that the character *won* 院 was loosely applied can not be excluded, as seen in a case where the Jasugung was referred to as *Jasuwon* 慈壽院.

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter One.

Hyeguk 慧國, Hyewol 慧月, and other nuns who vowed to dedicate the painting were officially ordained nuns with Dharma names.<sup>19</sup> They were in the position to be able to solicit donations from the court and to pray for their blessings. The nuns' relationship to Lady Jeong seems to have been particularly special. Given that Lady Jeong was a nun of either the Jeongeobwon or the Jasugung, these nuns must also have been affiliated with one of these two palace cloisters. Such women of humble family origin posed a serious concern to Confucian officials, who wrote memorials about their inhabiting the cloisters together with royal nuns and accusing them of being evil.<sup>20</sup>

The nuns prayed for further blessings for “Gim Eopga-ssi” 金業家氏 and “Gwon Mukseok-ssi” 權墨石氏. These were most likely either their relatives—possibly parents or other commoner donors affiliated with the palace or with a palatial Buddhist cloister.<sup>21</sup> The writer of the inscription is identified as a lay believer whose *ho* 號 (C. *hao*) was Daesong 對松. Except for the writer's name, the wording at the end of the inscription is identical to that of the end of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Cloister. After praying for blessings for the beneficiaries and the vow-takers, both inscriptions conclude: “There is no doubt about this. How gorgeous it is! On the first ten

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<sup>19</sup> I have exhausted all available materials within my reach to identify these nuns. Based on the common character “*hye*” 慧 in their dharma names, they may have been dharma sisters who took the tonsure under the same master.

<sup>20</sup> See note 61 in Chapter One.

<sup>21</sup> The name “Gim Eopga” 金氏業家氏 has a strong Buddhist nuance.

days of so-and-so month of this year, respectfully written.”<sup>22</sup> Along with the contemporaneous date of production, this raises the possibility that both inscriptions were written by the same hand—that of the layman Daesong.<sup>23</sup>

### III.1.1.2 The Provenance

*The Painting of King Sāla* was taken from its sanctuary soon after its completion in 1576. The painting was looted by Japan troops during Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s expedition to the Korean Peninsula in 1592 and is now in the collection of the Seizan bunko Library in Sagawa-chō 佐川町, Kōchi-ken. The Seizan bunko Library was established in the early twentieth century with donations from Tanaka Mitsuaki 田中光顯 (1843–1939), a politician of the Meiji (1868–1912) administration from Sagawa-chō.<sup>24</sup> The painting and a donation document (fig. III-2) were among the items he donated. It is not clarified in the document who wrote the donation document, but the document is kept in an envelope

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<sup>22</sup> The phrases are: “...不容擬疑吁, 其盛哉, 是歲九月上澣謹誌。” in *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, and “...必無疑矣吁, 其盛歟, 是歲秋七月上浣, 對松居士謹誌” in *The Painting of King Sāla*.

<sup>23</sup> The identity of Daesong, the writer of the inscription, has yet to be disclosed.

<sup>24</sup> The web site of Sagawa chōritsu Seizan bunko 佐川町立青山文庫:

[http://www.town.sakawa.kochi.jp/bunka\\_kanko/seizanbunko.html](http://www.town.sakawa.kochi.jp/bunka_kanko/seizanbunko.html) (accessed July 25, 2009).

Tanaka Mitsuaki was also involved in the taking-out of an early Goryeo stone pagoda, *The Ten-Story Pagoda from Gyeongcheonsa* 敬天寺 to Japan in 1906 during the Japanese colonial period. The pagoda was returned to Korea in 1960 and now stands in the central court of the National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

that has a stamp reading, “Donated in the third year of the Shōwa era [1928] to be housed in Seizan bunko, Tanaka Mitsuaki” (fig. III-3).<sup>25</sup>

Written in early twentieth-century Japanese and in cursive style, some blocks of characters on the donation document are illegible, and others look to have been erased on purpose. However, the incomplete reading of the document still provides valuable information about the painting. It reports that Chōsokabe Morichika 長曾我部盛親 (1575–1615), a daimyō 大名 in the Japanese Warring-States era, was defeated in the battle in Sekigahara 関ヶ原 (1600), and withdrew to Kyōto. His retainer Inagawa Chikanaga 蟪川親長 (1533–1610) went back to his home country of Toshū (Tosa 土佐, today Kōchi-ken) on his behalf to take care of his domain. A forebearer of the writer of this donation document was also a retainer of the Toshū feudal government along with Chikanaga. This forebearer brought his family arms and this painting that Morichika’s father, Chōsokabe Motochika 長曾我部元親 (1539–99), had plundered when he took part in the invasion expedition to Joseon, Korea. The objects were handed down in his family collection, and the writer gave the painting to Seizan bunko, or the former collector Tanaka Mitsuaki.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> “昭和第三年寄蔵于青山文庫田中光顕。” The existence of this document of donation was first mentioned in Gim Jeonggyo 金貞教, “Joseon chogi byeonmunsik bulhwa: Allakguk Taejagyeong byeonsangdo” 朝鮮初期 變文式 佛畫—安樂國太子經 變相圖 [A Buddhist painting of the early Joseon period in the mode of the transformation text: *The Transformation Painting of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk*], *Gonggan* 空間 208 (1984): 93–94.

<sup>26</sup> The provisional reading, which requires more refinement and corrections, is as follows:



It is not clear who wrote this document, though it may have been Tanaka Mitsuaki, who donated the painting to Seizan bunko. Whoever the author of the document was, the painting was handed down in his family collection from the early seventeenth century (before 1615), when the writer's forebearer brought it to his home.<sup>27</sup> Before that, the painting was brought to Japan by Morichika's father, Chōsokabe Motochika (fig. III-4), a daimyō who unified the Shikoku 四国 area and who later submitted to Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He joined Hideyoshi's campaigns to the southeast region of Japan and the Korean Peninsula. He led his army on both invasions of Joseon in 1592–93 and 1597–98. However, it must have been during the first invasion, when Japanese troops devastated

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[ ] illegible and unrecognizable how many characters are missing

□ illegible but recognizable how many characters are missing

長曾我部盛親ハ関ヶ原陣ニ而無クシテ京都ニ引退キ

其家臣蜷川親長ハ[ ]シヲ以テ[ ]家ニ共□

申上[ ]其砌盛親ノ為ニ此本国土州へ上候カ先代

[ ]上]ハ親長ト同断シテ右国ノ家臣[ ]

元□へツナセリ其時父長曾我部元親 カ朝セン役ノ時ニ

分□セシ武器并此幅ヲ我家ニ持帰エテ今ニ伝フ此

[ ]ニ此一軸ヲ[ ]

I would like to thank Mrs. Fumiko E. Cranston, Cambridge, MA, and Ph.D.s in Japanese History Gim Seonghyeon and Bak Yangsin at Yonsei University, Seoul, for their suggestions for reading. However, I am responsible for this final form of proposed reading.

<sup>27</sup> This makes the assumption of Tanaka Mitsuaki as the author of this document more convincing, since the two families had the same hometown.

the entire Korean Peninsula, including the Joseon palace in the capital of Seoul, that the painting was taken to Japan.

How the painting was received in Japan has yet to be studied. However, that Chōsokabe Motochika kept the painting in his family collection until he died in 1599, and that he was a devout Buddhist who had a Buddhist name and patronized the construction projects of several temples and shrines, suggest that he may have treasured the piece.<sup>28</sup>

### III.1.2 The Narrative

This section studies the narrative of *The Painting of King Sāla*, which is illustrated in twenty-seven pictorial segments, each with an accompanying text, as mentioned above. The narrative has been of scholarly interest for its wide dissemination into various socio-cultural spheres during the late Joseon period. I first translate the texts on the painting in the order of the storyline to set up the narrative for further discussion and then examine the textual source of the narrative to illuminate the religious origin of the and iconographic origin of the painting.

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<sup>28</sup> For Chōsokabe Motochika's biography, see Yamamoto Takeshi 山本大, *Chōsokabe Motochika* 長宗我部元親 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1960). Chōsokabe Motochika 長曾我部元親 is also known as Chōsokabe Motochika 長宗我部元親.

### III.1.2.1 Translations of the Texts on the Painting<sup>29</sup>

The numbers below correspond to the diagram provided in fig. III-5.

① The Holy Man Gwangyu.

② The palace of Great King Sarasu (Skt. *sāla*) in Seocheonguk [or Western India].<sup>30</sup>

③ This is [the scene] in which Baramun (Skt. *Brāhman*) Seungyeol is standing to borrow eight court ladies for the first time.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> I translate the accompanying text here as it is written on the painting. The text is written in sixteenth-century medieval Korean, which is quite different from modern Korean in its vocabulary, orthography, and pronunciation, and is thus difficult to translate and type on a modern computer. I transliterate the sounds of the words in the modern Korean orthography according to the modern Korean pronunciation. For the translation, I referred to the modern Korean rendition of *Worin seokbo* in *Yeokju worin seokbo je 7·8* 역주 월인석보 제 7·8 [Translated and annotated *Episodes of the Life of Buddha like the Reflections of the Moon*], trans. by Gim Yeongbae 김 영 배 (Seoul: Sejong daewang ginyeom saeophoe, 1993), 92–112, where the same narrative is found (this will be discussed later). The accompanying text on the painting is in *hangeul* script, whereas the text in *Worin seokbo* uses Chinese characters for Sino-Korean words. I provide the Chinese characters from *Worin seokbo* in the notes below, when necessary to help readers understand.

<sup>30</sup> The name of the king, “Sarasu” 沙羅樹 [娑羅樹], is a transliteration of “*sāla* tree.” “Seocheonguk” 西天國 is an abbreviation for “Seo Cheonchukguk” 西天竺國. “Cheonchuk” 天竺 is a transliteration of Sindhu, an ancient name for India. Thus Seo Cheonguk literally means “Western India,” but it usually meant “India in the west region [of China].”

④ This is [the scene] in which Lady Wonang comes out to make an offering of rice for the first time.

⑤ This is [the scene] in which [Baramun Seungyeol] borrows eight court ladies and leaves for the first time.

⑥ This is [the scene] in which the monk (Skt. *bhikṣu*, K. *bigu* 比丘) [Seungyeol] brings the eight court ladies to meet [the Holy Man Gwangyu].

⑦ This is [the scene] in which Baramun Seungyeol goes to Western India for the second time.

⑧ This is [the scene] in which Baramun Seungyeol has come [to the palace of King Sāla for the second time and Lady Wonang comes out to offer rice.

⑨ This is [the scene] in which the three people, the King, the Lady, and Baramun Seungyeol, set out [to serve the Holy Man Gwangyu].

⑩ When the three people pass by Jungnimguk, the Country of Bamboo Groves, on their way, the lady becomes unable to move. She tells the other two, “Please find someone’s house and sell me. When you receive the money, please donate the money to the Holy Man in my name.” It was so sad to sell [her], as well as [to listen to] her words, that both [the king and the baramun] wept badly.

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<sup>31</sup> “Baramun” 婆羅門 is a transliteration of *brāhman*. “Chaenyeo” 嫖女 is either a king’s concubine or a lady-in-waiting. The narrative of *Seokbo sangjeol* 釋普詳節, reproduced in *Worin seokbo*, says that they were the eight out of 408 concubines of King Sāla.

⑪ This is [the scene] in which the monk points to an elder's house.<sup>32</sup>

⑫ This is [the scene] in which the three people sleep in the bush.

⑬ This is [the scene] in which [the three people] are going to the house of the elder, after sleeping in the bush.

⑭ This is [the scene] in which the three proceed to the house of the Elder Jahyeon and say that they want to sell a maid.

⑮ This is [the scene] in which, hearing [it], the Elder Jahyeon ushers in the three people and asks, "How much is the price of the maid?" The lady says, "My price is 1,000 *geun*<sup>33</sup> of gold," and adds, "The price of the baby I am pregnant with is another thousand *geus* of gold." [She] is paid 2,000 *geun* of gold for the price and gives it to the two people [i.e. her husband, the king and the monk].

⑯ After staying [at the house for] one night, the three go out of the gate and feel sad. The lady says, "If it were not in a dream, how could I see you again? If a man

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<sup>32</sup> "An elder" is *jangja* in the accompanying text, and Jahyeon Jangja 子賢長子 in *Worin seokbo*. *Jangja* means a layman, householder, or especially one who is just, straightforward, truthful, honest, advanced in age, and wealthy (*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, "jangja" 長子, article by C. Muller). However, the Elder Jahyeon in this narrative lacks the character of "just, straightforward, truthful, and honest."

<sup>33</sup> A *geun* is a measure of weight used during the Joseon dynasty, and even in modern Korea for some items. One *geun* is approximately 0.6 kilogram, or 1.3 pounds. The price in the accompanying text of the painting is different from that of its textual source of *Worin seokbo*. The narrative of *Worin seokbo* has 4,000 *geun* of gold for the price of both the lady and her unborn child—2,000 *geun* for each.

cultivates good deeds, he will receive benefits, so please teach [others] the “Gāthā for Rebirth [in the Western Paradise].” What would you like the baby’s name to be? Let’s decide on it, when there are both father and mother [together].” The King sheds tears and feels pity for the Lady, saying, “If a boy is born, name him Allakguk, [or Amitābha’s Western Realm of Peace and Bliss],<sup>34</sup> and if a girl is born, call her Hyoyang, [or Filial Nurturance for Parents].”<sup>35</sup> When they are outside the gate to leave each other, they fall down [in grief] and [then] leave crying.

⑰ This is [the scene] in which the monk has received the gold and leaves.

⑱ This is [the scene] in which both the king and the monk leave after selling the lady.

⑲ This is [the scene] in which the child runs away, but a servant of the elder sees him and takes him [to the elder].

⑳ This is [the scene] in which the child runs away [again] and goes riding on a sheaf of straw to meet his father.

㉑ This is [the scene] in which the child meets the court ladies on his way and is told that the king is coming.

㉒ This is [the scene] in which the child meets his father and weeps, holding his father’s legs. The king asks, “Who are you who are crying and holding my legs?” When

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<sup>34</sup> “Allakguk” 安樂國 in *Worin seokbo* .

<sup>35</sup> “Hyoyang” 孝養 in *Worin seokbo* .

the child recites the “Gāthā for Rebirth” without saying anything else, the father holds [his son].

㉓ This is [the scene] in which the king cries, holding his son.

㉔ The king says to his son, “Earlier, your mother separated from me and has lived in sorrow. Today she is parted from you and lives in tears.” Because the son sheds tears when he takes his leave and is about to part [from his father], the father is so sad that he sings a song as he sends his son off: “Whom did you come crying to meet in this deserted maze, where there is no trace of any traveler who knows the direction? The *wonang* bird of great compassion and I who am cultivating merits are sure to meet each other again on the path to the correct enlightenment.”<sup>36</sup>

㉕ This is [the scene] in which the child comes back.

㉖ On the way back, the child meets a cowherd. The cowherd is singing a song: “Even though Allakguk met his father, he cannot see his mother. So his sorrow will be very deep. When the elder became so angry that he was about to kill the lady, [she] sang, ‘Don’t say that now I will become a deceased soul after having lamented that I could not see my sweet lord.’”

㉗ The lady, dead and dismembered into three pieces, was thrown under a big tree. In deep sorrow, the son collected the three pieces [of his mother’s body] and joined his palms together [in prayer] toward the Western Realm. [At that time] the Forty-Eight

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<sup>36</sup> “The *wonang* 鴛鴦 bird” here means the Lady Wonang.

Dragon Boat<sup>37</sup> of the Land of Ultimate Bliss flew down from the sky and many great bodhisattvas who welcome and lead<sup>38</sup> all sentient beings to the Pure Land took him up onto a lion pedestal.

- ① 광슈성신.
- ② 셔턴국 사라슈왕궁.
- ③ 이는 승열바라무니 처섭 팔치녀 비호오라 셔 겨시니라.
- ④ 이는 원상부인이 처섭 즈미 받조오라 나와 겨시니라.
- ⑤ 이는 처섭 팔치녀 비스와 가시느니라.
- ⑥ 이는 비귀 팔치녀 드리습고 와 뵈습느니라.
- ⑦ 이는 승열바라무니 두 번째 셔턴구과 가시느니라.
- ⑧ 이는 승열바라무니 두 번째 와 겨시거늘 원양부인이 즈미 받조오라 나와 겨시니라.
- ⑨ 이는 대왕과 부인과 승열바라문과 세 부니 가시느니라.
- ⑩ 세 부니 길 네샤 독립국 디나실제 부인니 몸 뒤드시니 낭분씩 술오샤 디 사르미 지블 어더 내 몸을 폰라자이다. 빈바드샤 내 일흠조쳐 성인씩 받조오쇼셔. 폰롬도 설우시며 더 말도 슬프실시 낭부니 7장 우르시니라.
- ⑪ 이는 비귀 당자집 7르치시느니라.
- ⑫ 이는 세 부니 초망가니셔 자시느니라.
- ⑬ 이는 초망가니 자시고 당자의 지브로 가시느니라.
- ⑭ 이는 즈현당자지비 세 부니 나아가샤 겨집종을 폰라지이다 흥시느니라.
- ⑮ 이는 즈현당재 들고 세부늘 되셔드려 겨집종의 비디 언페잇짜. 부인이 니르샤디 내 모매 비디 일 천근 금이니아다. 또 니르샤디 비온 아괴 비디 또 일천근 금이 니이다. 이천근 금을 비드로 내야 낭분씩 받조느니라.

<sup>37</sup> “The Forty-Eight Dragon Boat” here obviously derives from the Forty-Eight Bodhisattva Vows of Dharmākara in *The Sūtra of the Buddha of Measureless Life* (C. *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經, T360.12.265c–279a). It does not mean forty-eight dragon-boats.

<sup>38</sup> This is *jeobin* 接引 in *Worin seokbo*. This term is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.



- ⑩ 흐릿밤 자시고 문밖피 나샤 세부니 슬프시니 부인이 슬오샤  
 더 꿈 곧 아니면 어느 길헤 다시 보소오리. 사르미 션을 닷썸면  
 리악글 슈흐느니 왕생계를 그르치습시고 아괴 일  
 호몰 엇제 흐리엇짜 아비 어미 이셔 일명흐사이다. 왕이 눈물 흘리시고  
 부인 쓰들 어엿제 녀기샤 아들옷 나가든 안락쪽이라 호고 쏘라커든 효양  
 이라 흐라. 문밖피 셔 겨샤 양 부니 여희실제 슬하디여 우르시느니라.
- ⑪ 이는 비귀 금 바다가지고 가시느니라.
- ⑫ 이는 부인느란 꼭르시고 대왕이 비구와 돌히 가시느니라.
- ⑬ 이는 아기 도망흐샤 가거시닐 당자집 종이 보고 자바가습느니라.
- ⑭ 이는 아기 도망흐샤 아바님 보소오라 답동 타고 가시느니라.
- ⑮ 이는 아기 나아가시다가 최녀 보시니 대왕이 오시느다 흐시느니라.
- ⑯ 이는 아기 아바님 만나시니 허튀를 안아 우르시니 왕이 무르샤디 네  
 엇던 아히완디 허튀를 아나 우논다. 아기 말 아니호고 왕싱계를 외오신  
 대 아바니미 안오시니라.
- ⑰ 이는 아기 아나 우르시느니라.
- ⑱ 대왕이 아기도려 니르샤디 아래 네 어미 나를 여희여 시름으로 사니거늘  
 오늘 네 어미 너를 여희여 눈물로 사느니라. 아기 하딕흐야 여희실제  
 눈므을 흘리시니 아바니미 슬흐샤 아기 보내실제 놀애를 부르시니 ‘아래  
 녀리 그흔 이런 이븐 길헤 누를 보리라 우리곰 온다 대즈대미 원앙도와  
 풍덕 닷는 내 몸이 정각길헤 마조보리이다.’
- ⑲ 이는 아기 도라오시느니라.
- ⑳ 아기 도라올제 길헤 쇼칠 아히를 보시니 놀애를 부르드니 ‘안락국기는  
 아비는 보와니와 어미 몸 보와 시르미 겁저다.’ 당재 노흐야 부인놀 주기  
 습드니 놀애를 부르시니이다. ‘고븐님 몸보스와 슬하 우니다니 오늘날애  
 녀지라 마로렛짜 흐야 니르느니라.’
- ㉑ 부인니 업스샤 삼동이 도외샤 즈게 아래 더뎃시니 아기 우르샤 삼동을  
 피호시고 셔방애 합장흐시니 극락세계엿 스십팔 룡셔니 공뎡에 느라  
 오시니 접인 중싱흐시는 계대보살들히 스즈좌로 마자 가시느니라.

### III.1.2.2 Textual Sources

The narrative recounted in the accompanying texts of the painting is found in much more detail in the mid-fifteenth-century *hangeul* compilation of the biography of Buddha Śākyamuni, *Worin seokbo* 月印釋譜 (*Episodes of the Life of Buddha like the Reflections*

of the Moon, prefaced in 1459).<sup>39</sup> *Worin seokbo* was a revised combination of two earlier versions: *Worin cheongang ji gok* 月印千江之曲 (*Songs of the Moon's Reflections on Thousand Rivers*, 1447–49), and *Seokbo sangjeol* 釋譜詳節 (*Detailed Episodes of the Life of Buddha*, prefaced in 1447).<sup>40</sup> The *Worin cheongang ji gok* consists of hymns composed by King Sejong 世宗 (r. 1419–50) in accordance with the *Seokbo sangjeol*, which is a prose biography of Buddha Śākyamuni compiled by Prince Suyang 首陽 (1417–68, later King Sejo 世祖, r. 1455–68) and others in order to pray for the repose of Queen Soheon 昭憲 (1395–1446), consort of King Sejong. These texts, which present the eight episodes of Śākyamuni's life, used the newly invented Korean alphabet, *hangeul*, to disseminate Buddhist teachings widely among the populace.<sup>41</sup> The extant volumes of *Seokbo sangjeol* and *Worin cheongang ji gok* do not include those that

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<sup>39</sup> The narrative recounted in the painting (and its variations in various genres) is hereafter referred to as the “King Sāla narrative.” The Japanese linguist of classical Chinese and Korean languages Kono Rokurō 河野六郎 first pointed out this connection between the narrative of the painting and the scripture in *Worin seokbo*. See Kumagai Nobuo, “Seizan bunko-zō Anrakukoku taishikyō hensō,” 1065–66.

<sup>40</sup> Thus the title of *Worin seokbo* is a combination of the two titles of *Worin cheongang ji gok* and *Seokbo sangjeol*.

<sup>41</sup> The process and goal of the publication of *Worin seokbo* are detailed in the preface, “The Preface of *Worin seokbo* Written by the King” (Eoje *Worin seokbo* seo 御製月印釋譜序), in *Worin seokbo gwon 1·2* 月印釋譜 卷 1·2, facsimile print (Seoul: Seogang University, 1972), 45–56. The details of the publication of *Seokbo sangjeol* are recorded in “The Preface of *Seokbo sangjeol*” (*Seokbo sangjeol* seo 釋譜詳節序), also in *Worin seokbo gwon 1·2*, 33–44.

contained the source text of the “King Sāla narrative” of the painting. The only remaining textual source is found in the *Worin seokbo*.<sup>42</sup>

The *Worin seokbo* allotted the section from the last entry of fascicle 7 through gwon 8 to scriptures related to Amitābha belief, including *The Sūtra of Buddha Amitābha*, Buddha Śākyamuni’s sermon to Queen Vaidehī on the sixteen visualizations from *The Contemplation Sūtra*, and Dharmākara’s forty-eight bodhisattva vows from *The Sūtra of the Buddha of Measureless Life*. These scriptures are followed by the full version text of the “King Sāla narrative” from which the narrative of the painting was derived.<sup>43</sup>

Both the text and depiction of the “King Sāla narrative” in the painting end with the scene of the salvation by the Forty-Eight Dragon Boat, but the narrative in *Worin seokbo* adds an epilogue that places the narrative in the context of the Buddha’s life story:

The Holy Man Gwangyu is the Buddha Śākyamuni, King Sāla is the Buddha Amitābha, Lady Wonang is the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Allakguk is the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta, monk Seungnyeol is the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, the

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<sup>42</sup> *Worin cheongang ji gok* was made up of three volumes, of which only the first volume survives. The whole volume of *Seokbo sangjeol* was composed of 24 fascicles (gwon 卷), of which gwon 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20, 21, 23, and 24 survive today.

<sup>43</sup> The first edition of *Worin seokbo* gwon 7 and 8 is in the collection of the Dongguk University Library, Seoul. For a facsimile-copy of these original volumes, see *Worin seokbo gwon je 7·8* 月印釋譜 卷第七·八, comp., Sejo 世祖 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1981); for both the movable-typed and annotated modern-Korean translation edition, see *Yeokju Worin seokbo je 7·8* 역주 월인석보 제 7·8, trans. Gim Yeongbae 김영배 (Seoul: Sejong daewang ginyeom saeophoe, 1993). An English translation of the full narrative in *Worin seokbo* is found in Allard M. Olof, “The Story of Prince Allakkuk: *Worin sokpo* vol. 8,” *Korea Journal* (January 1983): 15–20.

eight court ladies are the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, and the 500 disciples are the 500 arhats of the present day. The Elder Jahyeon was sent to the Hell of Unremitting Pain (K. Mugan jiok 無間地獄, Skt. Avīci).<sup>44</sup>

Thus this episode that involved the previous lives of both Śākyamuni and Amitābha was incorporated into the Buddha's biography of *Seokbo sangjeol*. In the context of the compilation where the story is edited in the section of Amitābha Buddha in fascicles 7 and 8, as in the painting, the featured figure of the story is King Sāla, who cultivates merit by forsaking his kingship and other privileges to serve the Holy Man Gwangyu, which will eventually culminate in his rebirth as Buddha Amitābha. Thus the reference to the original painting as “the old painting of King Sāla” in the inscription, rather than its hitherto title *The Transformation Painting of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk*, demonstrates that the narrative and its painting were understood in accordance with its textual source in the sixteenth century.

The “King Sāla narrative” of the painting was certainly derived from the *Worin seokbo*, but the title and specific source of the “King Sāla narrative” of the *Worin seokbo* are yet to be identified.<sup>45</sup> However, Korean scholars have generally agreed that the

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<sup>44</sup> *Worin seokbo gwon je* 7·8, facsimile-copy, 103a.

<sup>45</sup> No entry of the *Seokbo sangjeol*, *Worin cheongang ji gok*, or *Worin seokbo* gives either title or scriptural origin. Scholars of Korean Buddhism and paleography, however, have successfully identified the scriptural sources of each entry of extant volumes among the known *Tripitakas*, such as the *Goryeo daejanggyeong* 高麗大藏經 and *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. However, the scriptural source of the “King Sāla narrative” in the *Worin seokbo* has not yet been identified in the known *Tripitakas*. The most up-to-date studies on this issue are: Gang Sunae 강순애, “*Worin seokbo ui jeobon e gwanhan yeongu*” 月印釋譜의 저본에 관한 연구 [A study of

narrative was related to the original form of one of the following three Korean sources: *The Ancient Remains in the Jetavana Garden* (*Jirim gojeok* 祇林古蹟),<sup>46</sup> the founding legend of Girimsa 祇林寺 in *The Genealogical Account of Jirimsa* (*Jirimsa sajeok* 祇林寺事蹟),<sup>47</sup> or *The Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* (*Allakguk taeja gyeong*

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the source scriptures of *Worin seokbo*], *Seojihak yeongu* 書誌學研究 22 (2001): 63–96; and Gim Gijong 김기중, “*Seokbo sangjeol ui jeogyeong gwa jeogyeong suyong yangsang*” 釋普詳節의 저경과 저경 수용 양상 [The source scriptures of *Seokbo sangjeol* and the aspects of their reception], *Seojihak yeongu* 書誌學研究 30 (2005): 151–82.

<sup>46</sup> *The Ancient Remains of the Jetavana Garden* (*Jirim gojeok* 祇林高[古]蹟) is a hand-copied classical Chinese-version text. The text is bound together with nine other hand-copied supplementary texts—mostly episodes from Buddha’s *jātaka*—into *The Ten Stages of Practice of Buddha Śākyamuni* (*Seokga yeorae sipji suhaeng gi* 釋迦如來十地修行記), a compilation of ten stories of Śākyamuni’s bodhisattva practice in his past lives, that was woodblock-printed in 1660 at Deokjusa 德周寺, Chungju 忠州, Chungcheongbuk-do 忠清北道.

<sup>47</sup> Girimsa 祇林寺 is a subsidiary temple of Bulguksa 佛國寺 in Gyeongju 慶州, Gyeongsangbuk-do 慶尙北道. The monastery today called Girimsa 祇林寺 was recorded as Jirimsa 祇林寺 in the historical texts. *The Genealogical Account of Jirimsa on the Mountain Hamwol of the Silla Dynasty* (*Silla Hamwolsan Jirimsa sajeok* 新羅含月山祇林寺事蹟), a 1740 woodblock-print of a hand-copied text written by a monk Bulhye 不彗 in 1718, quotes the entire King Sāla narrative “according to an old record” (“an gogi” 按古記) and claims the story to be the founding tale of the monastery. An original woodblock-print copy of *The Genealogical Account of Jirimsa* is still kept in the monastery and reproduced in *Bulguksa ji* 佛國寺誌, *Hanguk saji chongseo* 韓國寺志叢書 11 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1983), 103–44. A modern typed version is reproduced in Gwon Sangno 權相老, *Hanguk sachal sajeon* 韓國寺刹事典 (Seoul:

安樂國太子經).<sup>48</sup> All three texts recount the same story as the “King Sāla narrative,” which so far has been found only in Korean Buddhist tradition that scholars suggest that both the narrative and the painting were products of an indigenous Korean Amitābha cult.<sup>49</sup> Problematically, however, the earliest extant versions of these texts postdate both the *Worin seokbo* and copy of *The Painting of King Sāla* by more than a century.

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Ihwa munhwa chulpansa, 1994), 1: 289–96. “The King Sāla narrative” headed by “according to an old record” is found in *Bulguksa ji*, 112–34 and in *Hanguk sachal sajeon*, 288–94.

<sup>48</sup> “The King Sāla narrative” entitled *The Sūtra of (Prince) Allakguk* is found in three renditions: 1) *The Sūtra of Allakguk* (*Allakguk gyeong* 安樂國經) bound into *Combined Volume of Various Sūtras* (*Jegyeong hapbu* 諸經合部), a collection of nine scriptures one of which has a 1735 print-date, in Dongguk University Library, Seoul (213.199); 2) Classical Chinese-version *The Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* (*Allakguk taeja gyeong* 安樂國太子經), in *Seokga yeorae sipji haengnok* 釋迦如來十地行錄 [The ten stages of the practice of Buddha Śākyamuni], ed., by An Jinho 安震湖 (Seoul: Beomnyunsa, 1936); and 3) *Hangeul*-version *The Sūtra of Prince Allakguk* (*Allakguk taeja gyeong* 안락국 태자경), in *Seoga yeorae sipji haengnok* 서가여래십지행록 [The ten stages of the practice of Buddha Śākyamuni], ed., by An Jinho 안진호 (Seoul: Beomnyunsa, 1941).

<sup>49</sup> Kumagai Nobuo, “Seizan bunko-zō Anrakukoku taishikyō hensō,” 1083–86; Yamamoto Shū 山本周, “Seizan bunko-zō Anrakukoku taishikyō hensōzu: Chōsen no setsuwaga ni okeru joji yōshiki no hatten” 青山文庫藏 安樂國太子經變相圖—朝鮮の説話畫における敘事様式の發展 [The Transformation Painting of the Sūtra of Prince Allakguk in the collection of Seizan bunko: the development of the narrative style in the narrative painting of the Joseon dynasty]. *Seizan bunko kiyō* 青山文庫紀要 5 (1997): 15. In the studies of Korean literature, the narrative has been recognized as one of the Korean-style “transformation texts” (*byeonmun* 變文). See Sa Jaedong 史在東, “Allakguk Taejagyong e daehayeo” 安樂國太子經에 대하여 [On *The Sūtra of Prince Allakguk*], *Gugeo gungmunhak* 國語國文學 91 (1984): 331–37.

The suggestion of a Korean origin is certainly not impossible, considering the corroborating materials known only from Korea, but we might ask why the compilers of the *Worin seokbo* included only this text from localized Amitābha lore, whereas all the other entries in the extant volumes came from Chinese-translated scriptures? Moreover, as noted above, none of possible Korean sources above predates *Worin seokbo* and *The Painting of King Sāla*. The question of national origin will only be answered when the narrative, or a prototype of the narrative, predating the painting and *Worin seokbo* is identified in the Chinese Buddhist tradition, or when an early edition of one of Korean textual sources is found.

The procedure of the compilation of the *Seokbo sangjeol*, the primary rendition of the *Worin seokbo*, gives some insight into the possible source texts. The *Seokbo sangjeol* was compiled with reference to many Buddhist texts, among which is the now-missing *Biography of Śākyamuni* (K. Seokgabo 釋迦譜) compiled by Gim Suon 金守溫 (1409–81), a pious Buddhist scholar-official and one of the co-compilers of the *Seokbo sangjeol*.<sup>50</sup> This text was an augmented compilation of the existent *Biography of Śākyamuni* by Sengyou made at the order of King Sejong in 1446, right before the compilation of the *Seokbo sangjeol* in 1447, which is thought to have been a preliminary

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<sup>50</sup> It includes *The Biography of Śākyamuni* (K. Seokgabo 釋迦譜, C. Shijia pu) by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518) of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–57), T2040.50.1a–84b and K1047; *The Biography of Buddha Śākyamuni* (K. Seokga-ssi bo 釋迦氏譜, C. Shijia shi pu) by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) of the Tang dynasty, T2041.50.84b–99a and K1049; and others.

version for the publication of *Seokbo sangjeol*.<sup>51</sup> Gim's *Biography of Śākyamuni* might have carried some texts that are not found among the known scriptures but that were derived from other textual or oral traditions of the Buddha's life story circulating among the Joseon Buddhist circles at that time.

One possible example is *The Sūtra of King Sahetan* 薩和檀王經 in the *Liuduji jing* 六度集經, a compilation of episodes about Śākyamuni's cultivation of the bodhisattva practice of the six perfections (K. *yuk baramil* 六波羅密 C. *liu boluomi*) in his previous lives.<sup>52</sup> In the *Sūtra of King Sahetan*, the king and his pregnant queen renounce their royal status and set out on a journey to serve a *brāhman* at the *brāhman*'s request. On their way the Queen cannot continue the journey and is sold as a slave. She delivers a baby boy and suffers hardship as a servant. The plot is similar thus far to that of the "King Sāla narrative," but it tells only the first half of the story, focusing on King Sahetan's practice of giving (K. *bosī* 布施, C. *bushi*), which is one of the six perfections. *The Sūtra of King Sahetan* may not be the immediate source of the "King Sāla narrative," but the two surely share the same narrative frame and theme. In other words, the "King Sāla narrative" may well have developed from this kind of *jātaka* story of Chinese Buddhist lore. In any event, it is sufficient for the purpose of this dissertation to know

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<sup>51</sup> *Sejong sillok*, gwon 114, Sejong 28 [1446].12.2 (*eulmi* 乙未).

<sup>52</sup> T152.3.7a23–c26 and K 206. This was first introduced by André Fabre at the first conference of Association for Korean Studies in Europe in 1977. No follow-up publication by Fabre is known to me. A very brief abstract of the paper presented at the conference is in *AKSE Newsletter* 1 (February 1978): 10.



that the “King Sāla narrative” of the painting was already circulating in Korea in *hangeul* by the mid-fifteenth-century, and that the Chinese or orally transmitted version of the narrative might have already circulated in Korea earlier than that.

### **III.2 Analysis of the Painting**

The “King Sāla narrative” is illustrated in detail in the twenty-seven pictorial segments of *The Painting of King Sāla*. Each scene is marked out with lobed cloud patterns drawn in thin ink line and accompanied by an explanatory text written in gold ink. The size of the painting is not that large (108 x 56.8 cm or roughly 42 ½ x 22 ¾ in), so each scene and accompanying text is rather small, inviting a close view.

The narrative is laid out making the best use of the whole picture space. The country of the Holy Man Gwangyu is at the top (① in the diagram in fig. III-5), and the Land of Western India of King Sāla (② in the diagram in fig. III-5) is at the bottom. By positioning the monastery building on the top left and the palace on the bottom right, the painting secures as much visual distance as possible for the King and Queen’s long journey in search of the Buddhist Law. Between these two geographic brackets of the journey, the travelers are depicted on the road. The house of the Elder Jahyeon on the middle left is set against the river where the salvation takes place, thus opposing the land of sorrow and suffering with the site of liberation. The narrative unfolds upward, toward the top of the painting, and terminates in the upper middle right, in the salvation scene. Monk Seungnyeol, making the two rounds of travel between the monastery and the

palace, comes down facing the viewer to get to the palace and leads the guests upward to the monastery. The journey continues oriented to the left, toward the monastery.

Probably because *The Painting of King Sāla* is a replacement copy of an old painting, it shows a wide range of stylistic traditions. It preserves fourteenth-century painting traditions in its composition, depiction of architecture, and women's costumes and coiffures, while incorporating contemporary elements such as use of certain decorative patterns and drawing techniques.

The setting of the painting with tall pine trees bracketing the foreground and the narrative unfolding around pavilions appearing in the spaces behind and above the trees is similar to the basic composition of *The Prefatory Story of the Contemplation Sūtra* (1312, fig. III-6) in the collection of Daionji 大恩寺 in Aichi-ken 愛知県 and another version of the same subject (fig. III-7) attributed to the fourteenth century in the collection of Saifukuji 西福寺 in Fukui-ken 福井県. The country of origin of these paintings has yet to be determined between Yuan China and Goryeo Korea. Compared to these paintings, *The Painting of King Sāla* has a more complicated plot that unfolds in many segments in the course of a journey on the road, the buildings and figures of *The Painting of King Sāla* are smaller in scale. The action takes place outdoors, whereas the paintings of *The Prefatory Story of the Contemplation Sūtra* emphasize actions in the interiors of the pavilions.

The depiction of the roofs also follows the fourteenth-century tradition, even though it is not so elaborate as in those earlier paintings. The roofs (fig. III-8) are tiled in green (now faded), with ridge tiles, rafter antefixes at the edge of the eaves, ornamental

animal figurines at the hip decorated in gold. The ridge tiles and the rafters are decorated with the repetitive pattern of a stud of gold and double concentric circles flanked by red gems, and are outlined in gold ink. The antefixes are drawn in the stylized pattern of double concentric circles in gold ink. This is the standard idiom for the roofs of grand buildings in Goryeo Buddhist paintings. The roofs of the palatial buildings in the paintings of *The Illustration of the Contemplation Sūtra* of the Goryeo period are all depicted in this manner, as seen in Amitābha's palace (fig. III-9) in *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (1323, fig IV-40) in Chion'in in Kyōto.

The roofs of the palatial buildings in Joseon Buddhist paintings of fifteenth-century lack the decorative patterns at the ridge and edge of the eaves. Another *Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-41) dated 1465 of the Joseon dynasty in the Chion'in collection shows the roof simply outlined in a darker color (fig. III-10). This simplification in the roof depiction is also seen in two scrolls of *The Eight Episodes of the Buddha's Life* attributed to the fifteenth century: *Śākyamuni at Birth* (fig. III-11) in Hongakuji 本岳寺, Fukuoka-ken 福岡県, and *The Great Departure* in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne.<sup>53</sup> However, the ornate sculptures on both ends of the ridge in *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-8) are in the geometric shape seen in fifteenth-

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<sup>53</sup> The two scrolls are considered to be from the same set of *The Eight Episodes of the Buddha's Life*. For the image of the entire *Śākyamuni at Birth*, see Yamaguchi kenritsu bijutsukan, *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 28. *The Great Departure* is found in Soyoung Lee, *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), cat. no. 41.

century paintings (figs. III-10 and 11) rather than having the jeweled lotus or eagle-head designs seen in the fourteenth-century paintings (fig. III-9).

Obviously, the court ladies' costumes and coiffures (fig. III-12) are not Korean, but follow the fashion of Yuan China. The ladies wear short jackets and tight-fitting skirts girdled at the waist, with short aprons tied by flowing ribbons. Long scarves flutter from their shoulders. Their hair, arranged in a voluminous topknot behind the pate, is adorned with jeweled hair-bands and delicate hair ornaments strung with pearl beads. The same women's costumes are also found in the aforementioned painting *Śākyamuni at Birth* (fig. III-13) from the set of *Eight Episodes of the Buddha's Life*, attributed to the fifteenth century, and in murals in the Water God's Temple (Shuishen miao 水神廟) at Guangsheng si 廣勝寺 (fig. III-14) in Shanxi sheng 山西省. The style of hairdo strung with pearls is also found in the image of a female donor in *The Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (fig. III-15) of the fourteenth century in the collection of Daitokuji 大徳寺 in Kyōto. The fact that the costumes and coiffures of the figures are in accordance with the Chinese mode opens the possibility that the original painting might have had Chinese inspiration.

*The Painting of King Sāla* also reflects the style of sixteenth-century painting. The slender and limber bodies of the court ladies, who have narrow shoulders and little substance (fig. III-12) are like other figures in late sixteenth-century paintings, such as the bodhisattvas in the set of 400 *Buddha Triads* (1565, fig. III-16) patronized by Queen Munjeong, which epitomize the style of the period. The clouds are executed in the same technique as in *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Cloister (1575–

77). The cloud patterns scalloped in fine ink line that demarcate each scene (fig. III-17) are so similar to the line of clouds dividing the realms of the heavens and the netherworld in *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (fig. III-18) that they could have done by the same hand. The cloud bands in the sky of the two paintings are also done in the same technique: the colorful cloud bands are elongated with bent heads and obscured ends, and the white string of bright clouds is tucked into them (compare figs. III-19 and 20).

The elaborate fabric patterns illustrated on the garments, one of the distinct characteristics of Goryeo Buddhist painting, became loose and simpler in the early Joseon period and this change is clearly seen in *The Painting of King Sāla*. The small chrysanthemum pattern of short radial lines circling a tiny dot, seen in the middle on King Sāla's robe (fig. III-21), is prevalent on the figures' costumes. This pattern is seen in paintings from the Goryeo dynasty but was also very popular in paintings of the sixteenth century. It is found on the *kāśāyas* of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and the Venerable Daoming in the painting of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* in the Kōmyōji, Hiroshima-ken (1562, figs. II-9 and III-22), and on the robes of the deities in *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Jasugung, to name two examples. The pattern of sprouting grasses on Monk Seungryeol's robe (fig. III-21) is apparently a sixteenth-century invention. It is also seen in the inner robe of one of the Ten Kings standing next to Monk Daoming in the *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* in Kōmyōji (fig. III-22).

This analysis of the stylistic and formal elements of the painting demonstrates that it combines the traditions of fourteenth-century Goryeo and sixteenth-century Joseon paintings. It draws on Goryeo traditions, inspired by Yuan Chinese models, in its

composition, depiction of architecture, and women's costumes and coiffures. At the same time, the painting displays elements of contemporary sixteenth-century painting in the style of the figures, the depiction of clouds, and the garment patterns. Assuming that the accompanying *hangeul* texts of the painting were also copied from the original painting, the original painting was most likely a fifteenth-century painting that maintained the strong Goryeo painting tradition.

### **III.3 Salvific Dragon Boat: Iconography**

The highlight of the narrative—that is, the moment of salvation—is visualized in the scene of the dragon boat steered by Buddha Amitābha (fig. III-23). This climax is laid out at about the middle height of the picture, where it effectively draws the viewer's attention. The dragon boat ferries Prince Allakguk and his mother Lady Wonang to the Western Paradise. The colorful decoration and the cheerful dragon, with its head raised and forelegs animated, accentuate the hopeful sense of movement toward the salvation moment. The iconography of the dragon boat as a salvific carrier to paradise has not yet been found in other traditions of Buddhism, and thus has been thought as a unique product of the Korean Amitābha cult.

This section features this climactic moment of salvation by dragon boat. An examination of the iconographic tradition of the dragon boat is followed by discussion of the pictorialization of the salvific dragon boat in East Asian Buddhist culture. Finally,

the significance of the narrative to female Buddhists, as the embodiment of both their own religious inspiration and aspiration, is addressed.

### **III.3.1 Iconographic Tradition of the Dragon Boat**

The vehicle ferrying Lady Wonang and Prince Allakguk over to Amitābha's Pure Land in the painting is lavishly decorated wooden, single-masted sailboat (fig. III-23). The bow of the boat is in the shape of the front part of a yellow dragon (either carved or real), with red dorsal fins along the sides. The raised head of the dragon is described in detail, with a mane standing on end, branched horns, and long feelers on the long nose. The long, wavy feelers above the closed mouth and wide-open forelegs, with five spiral claws on each, convey an atmosphere of full of life, as though the dragon is humming while paddling with two forelegs. The dragon carries a flat deck with low railings on both sides and stylized double-lotus-patterned bars under them. Two hind legs are visible underneath the back of the platform. The whole boat looks like a raft with a sail on the back of a real dragon. It is painted in red and yellow, with white and blue accents on the railings.

The depiction of a salvific dragon boat sailed by Buddha Amitābha is also found in *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* in Hōrinji 法輪寺 (now kept in the Nara National Museum), Nara, dated to the fifteenth century, Joseon (fig. IV-43).<sup>54</sup> The painting is so severely damaged—especially around the dragon boat at the bottom of the

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<sup>54</sup> The dating of this painting based on the composition and iconography is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

painting—that it is difficult to describe the exact shape of the boat, but the dragon-headed boat certainly has a flat midship with low, red grided railings (fig. III-24). Standing on the back of the boat, Amitābha brings a number of devotees, who sit in front of him, to be reborn in his Pure Land, which is exactly the same salvific moment in *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-23). Whether Amitābha is steering an oar is not clear, but the boat is also single-masted (difficult to recognize because of damage), like the boat in *The Painting of King Sāla*. The stern that is not visible in *The Painting of King Sāla* is complete here. At the stern, both keels, carved into a curved shape, extend past the structure and are connected to each other with crossbeams.

The closest iconographic analogy to these Korean salvific dragon boats is found, unexpectedly, in Japanese *emaki* paintings that documented the lavish lives of the Heian (794–1185) aristocracy. *The Illustrated Handscroll of the Imperial Horse Race* (Komakurabe gyōkō emaki 駒競行幸繪卷), in the collection of the Kubosō 久保惣 Memorial Museum, Ōsaka 大阪, is a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century illustration of a festive horserace held at the residence of the celebrated Fujiwara 藤原 family in 1024.<sup>55</sup> The scroll includes the music performance on a pair of boats (fig. III-25) in the pond of the residence to welcome the emperor and prince who attended the race. The boat above, where three musicians are playing instruments with four boat boys

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<sup>55</sup> For the full illustration and study on the scroll, see *Izumi-shi Kubosō kinen bijutsukan Komakurabe gyōkō emaki kenkyū* 和泉市久保惣記念美術館 駒競行幸繪卷研究 [Studies in *The Illustrated Handscroll of the Imperial Horse Race* in the collection of Kubosō kinen bijutsukan in Izumi City] (Izumi-shi, Ōsaka: Izumi-shi Kubosō kinen bijutsukan, 2001).



pulling oars, looks very similar to the dragon boats of the Korean paintings discussed above. In the Japanese scroll painting, the boat is rowed (fig. III-25), instead of having a sail like the one in *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-23), but the shape of the boats is identical, with a dragon-headed bow and the flat-bottomed midship with low railings and lotus-leaf (or dragon-scale) patterned lower black bar. The Japanese dragon-bow has salient wings, and the side of the boat is draped with a curtain. The hind legs seen in *The Painting of King Sāla* are not visible here (seemingly hidden by the drapes in the Japanese scroll). The double-keeled stern is similar to that in the Hōrinji *Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. III-24). The two extended keels are more visible in this Japanese scroll. They are decorated with bird-feather patterns in bright colors. Another dragon boat (the bottom one in fig. III-26) from the visual expression of the splendid culture of the Heian aristocracy, *The Illustrated Handscroll of the Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* (Murasaki Shikibu nikki emaki 紫式部日記絵巻),<sup>56</sup> attributed to the early thirteenth century, has no railings but still decorates the midship with lotus (or fish-scale) patterns, and the sculpting style of the energetic dragon conveys a similar sense as the Korean dragonhead of *The Painting of King Sāla*.

In boat entertainments of the Heian period, the dragon boat was always paired with another boat with a bird-head bow, as seen in the two Japanese scrolls above. The bird is an imaginary water-bird named *geki* 鷁 (C. *yi*, K. *ik*), believed to bring the water

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<sup>56</sup> For the whole image and dating of the scroll, see Komatsu Shigemi, 小松茂美, ed., *Murasaki Shikibu nikki ekotoba* 紫式部日記絵詞 [The illustrated handscroll of the *Diary of Murasaki Shikibu*] (Tōkyō: Chūō kōronsha, 1978).

god under its control as well as to be very wind-resistant.<sup>57</sup> These boats with the two imaginary animal heads were called the “boats of the dragon and *geki*-bird heads” (*ryōtō gekishu shū* 龍頭鷓首舟). Musical and dancing performances by entertainers aboard the elaborately sculpted and opulently decorated boats were well received by the elegant Heian aristocrats, who also sometimes themselves enjoyed boating in these crafts on the ponds of their palatial mansions.<sup>58</sup>

The dragon- and *geki*-headed boats of the secular cultural sphere of the Heian aristocracy are also found in the Buddhist sphere, which demonstrates that they were shared by both the secular and religious culture of medieval Japan. Pairs of the dragon- and *geki*-headed boats drifting in a palatial setting are found in Japanese paintings of Amitābha’s Pure Land. *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-27) in Saizen’in 西禅院 on Kōyasan 高野山, Wakayama-ken 和歌山県, is one of the early Japanese so-called Amitābha Pure Land Mandalas (Amida jōdo mandara 阿弥陀浄土曼荼羅) attributed to the mid-twelfth century.<sup>59</sup> On the lotus pond of the magnificent Amitābha’s palace in the

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<sup>57</sup> Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, *Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典, 12: 865c–d.

<sup>58</sup> The cultural events related to *ryōtō gekishu shū* 龍頭鷓首舟 found in Heian literature and historical documents are comprehensively put together in Sasaki Hiroyasu 佐々木 博康, “Chūsonji konritsu kuyō gannon’ kakusho” 「中尊寺建立供養願文」覚書 [A note on the dedicatory statement of building Chūsonji], *Iwate daigaku kyōiku gakubu kenkyū nenpo* 岩手大学教育学部研究年報 48.1 (1988): 76–82.

<sup>59</sup> For the details and dating of the scroll, see Ajima Noriaki 安嶋紀昭, “Saizen’in shozō Amida jōdozu ni tsuite” 西禅院所蔵阿弥陀浄土図について [On the *Amitābha’s Pure Land* in the collection of Saizen’in], *Bukkyō geijutsu* 169 (November 1986): 11–48.

foreground, the two boats sliding in toward the middle of the painting have a dragon and a bird head each (fig. III-28). A close look at the boat on the right (fig. III-29) shows a dragon boat of the same construction and decoration as the one in the Heian *emaki* paintings (fig. III-25).<sup>60</sup>

This sharing seems to have been part of the grand plan to embody Amitābha’s paradise in this world, as pictured in the paintings of Amitābha Pure Land. The pair of boats seems to have been an extremely valuable item. Even Fujiwara Yorinaga 藤原頼長 (1120–56), from the most prestigious family of medieval Japan, borrowed a pair of dragon- and *geki*-headed boats from the Byōdōin 平等院 at Uji 宇治 when he had a grand celebration at his mansion, Higashisanjō-dono 東三条殿, Kyōto, in 1152.<sup>61</sup> This implies that the Byōdōin owned its own pair of boats for use at festive ceremonies in its compounds. The imaginary animal-headed boats sailing through the pond of the Byōdōin—the replica of Amitābha’s palace in this world—with heavenly music played

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<sup>60</sup> Boat pairs of the same iconography are also found in the frontispieces (of fascicles one and two) of The Lotus Sūtra in the Chūsonji 中尊寺 *Tripitaka* of the late twelfth century in the collection of Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 in Kōyasan; the late twelfth-century mural *Amitābha’s Pure Land* in the Great Hall of Fukiji 富貴寺, Ōita-ken 大分県; and in *Amitābha’s Pure Land* in the Nara National Museum, attributed to the early thirteenth century.

<sup>61</sup> *Daiki* 台記, Ninhei 2 [1152].1.27. Re-cited from Ōta Seiroku 太田静六, “Ryōtō gekishu shū” 龍頭鷁首舟 [Boats with the dragon- and geki-headed bows], in *Shindenzukuri no kenkyū* 寝殿造の研究 [A study of the style of [Heian] aristocratic mansions] (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1987), 865.

and danced to by well-dressed ladies aboard them, may have represented exactly the same image of Amitābha Pure Land in this world as was depicted in the paintings.

A Korean painting recently introduced to the public attests to the fact that the pairing of the boats was also accepted in Korean Buddhism.<sup>62</sup> Though not a painting of Amitābha's Pure Land, *The Descent of Maitreya* (Mireuk hasaenggyeong byeonsangdo 彌勒下生經變相圖, 1294, fig. III-30) by Yi Seong 李晟 in the collection of Myōmanji 妙滿寺, Kyōto (now kept in the Kyōto National Museum), shows a pair of dragon- and possibly *ik-* 鷓 (J. *geki*) headed boats sailing in toward the middle of Maitreya's Paradise (fig. III-31), as seen in the Japanese *Amitābha Pure Land* in Saizen'in.<sup>63</sup> The iconography of the dragon boat on the left (fig. III-32) is identical to that of Korean and Japanese dragon boats. Because it is a very small image, the depiction of the Myōmanji dragon boat is not as exquisite as the ones in *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-23) and the Heian scrolls (figs. III-25 and III-26). In this respect, it is closer to the one in the Hōrinji painting (fig. III-24). Thus the iconographic tradition of the dragon boat in Buddhist art is confirmed at least in thirteenth century Korea and in twelfth century Japan.

The popularity of the dragon- and *geki*-headed boats among the Heian aristocracy was due to the exoticism of the Chinese Tang culture of the period. Japanese scholars contend that the dragon- and *geki*-headed boats were the two favorites of the Heian

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<sup>62</sup> This painting was first introduced in the exhibition of *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō* 日蓮と法華の名宝 held at the Kyōto National Museum in October through November 2009.

<sup>63</sup> In this small size reproduction, it is difficult to affirm that the boat on the right has a *ik*-bird headed bow. However, the boat on the left is certainly a dragon boat, as seen in figure III-32.

Japanese, chosen among the many animal-shaped boats that were imported from Tang China, and that the pairing of the two boats by the Japanese was an expression both of the exotic attraction of Tang culture (*karamono* 唐物) and of the Japanization of it (*wayōka* 和様化).<sup>64</sup> The Saizen' in *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-27) is also believed to be a work that shows the Japanization of such Chinese paintings of Amitābha's Pure Land as that seen in Dunhuang paintings, especially in the depiction of the foreground, including the sandbank, even though it was modeled on Chinese paintings.<sup>65</sup> Because no Dunhuang paintings of Amitābha's Pure Land or *The Illustration of the Contemplation Sūtra* represent boats on the lotus pond in the foreground, it is difficult to decide whether or not the dragon- and *geki*-headed boats in the foreground of the Saizen' in scroll are an

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<sup>64</sup> Ōta Seiroku, "Ryōtō gekishu shū," *Shindenzukuri no kenkyū*, 860–66; and Nagada Yūjirō 永田雄次郎, "Ryōtō gekishu-sen to bijutsu: Fujiwara Kamakura jidai no ikoku shumi" 龍頭鷁首船と美術—藤原・鎌倉時代の異国趣味 [Dragon- and geki-headed boats and art: the exoticism of the Fujiwara and Kamakura periods], *Bijutsushi o tanoshimu: tasai na shiten: Iso Hiroshi Sensei kinen ronbunshū* 美術史を愉しむ 多彩な視点—磯博先生記念 論文集, ed. Kansei gakuin daigaku bigaku kenkyūshitsu 関西学院大学美学研究室 (Kyōto: Shibunkaku shuppan, 1996), 111–26.

<sup>65</sup> Ajima Noriaki. "Saizen' in shozō Amida jōdozu ni tsuite," 11–48. For the *Amitābha Pure Land* in the Nara National Museum that is very close to the Saizen' in painting in its expression of the palatial setting and the pair of boats, as well as in the date of the early Kamakura period, see Kitazawa Natsuki 北澤菜月, "Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan shozō Amida jōdozu no zuyō to hyōgen" 奈良国立博物館所蔵 阿弥陀浄土図の図様と表現 [The iconography and representation of the *Amitābha Pure Land* in the collection of the Nara National Museum], *Rokuon zasshū* 鹿園雑集 9 (March 2007): 1–25.

inventive Japanese addition. However, it is certain that the dragon boat was from Chinese culture, and it has a long tradition, as we know from the famous old tradition of Chinese dragon boat festival and regatta.

The known records on the boats with dragon and *yi* 鷁 (J. *geki*) heads in Chinese literature render them/it as “the dragon boat with the *yi*-bird head” (*longzhou yishou* 龍舟鷁首), rather than as boats of “the dragon and *yi*-bird heads” (*longtou yishou* 龍頭鷁首), as in the Japanese literature. The earliest known record comes from the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 by Liu An 劉安 (179–22 BCE) of the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE–24 CE). It says, “Float the dragon boat with the *yi*-bird head with the wind and enjoy it.”<sup>66</sup> Later, the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (547), by Yang Xuanzhi 楊銜之 of the Eastern Wei 魏 (534–50), records Emperor Xuanwu’s 宣武 (499–515) boating on a dragon boat that had a *yi* head.<sup>67</sup> It says: “Upon the days of the purification ceremony in the third month [the third day of the third month] and of *jichen* 己辰 in the late autumn, the Emperor rode the dragon boat with the *yi* head and sailed aboard it.” Especially from this record of *Luoyang qielan ji*, the “*longzhou yishou*” 龍舟鷁首 was interpreted as one boat rather

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<sup>66</sup> *Huainanzi* 淮南子, Benjingxun 本經訓, “龍舟鷁首 浮吹以娛.” Re-cited from Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, 12: 1134. The note for the entry in *Dai kanwa jiten* goes: “The dragon boat is a large boat. It is decorated by engraving the pattern of a dragon. *Yi* is a water-bird, the image of which is drawn and attached to the bow of the boat” (龍舟大舟也刻為龍文以飾之鷁水鳥也畫其象著船首).

<sup>67</sup> *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記, T2092.51.1004.b13–14. “至於三月禊日季秋己辰. 皇帝駕龍舟鷁首遊於其上.”

than two.<sup>68</sup> It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to pursue the historical development of the dragon boat with a *yi*-headed bow. Even though there has been no known visual parallel to the dragon boat of *The Painting of King Sāla* from Chinese visual sources, and the analogy is found in Japanese culture, what matters is that there was a dragon boat with a *yi*-headed bow from early on in China's history, so that the dragon boat as it was, or its developmental variation into boats of dragon and *yi* heads, might have been transmitted to Japan, presumably in the Tang period.

However, a much later Chinese image of the dragon- and *yi*-headed boats suggests that the pairing of the dragon- and *yi*-headed boats must have existed in Chinese culture, and that they were also embraced and developed into the visual representation of Amitābha's paradise. A linear engraving *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (Xifang jile shijie tu 西方極樂世界圖) on a stele (fig. III-33) now in the Shanxi 陝西 Provincial Museum in Xi'an 西安, shows one of the rare late developments of Chinese Amitābha Pure Land picture. The verso of the stele is engraved with "The Record of the Renovation of Amitābha Monastery" (Chongxiu Mita Chansi zhi

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<sup>68</sup> Ōta Seiroku, "Ryōtōgekishushū," in *Shindenzukuri no kenkyū*, 863. There is another interpretation of "a dragon boat with the *yi*-bird head" (*longzhou yishou* 龍舟鷓首) as "a dragon boat with the stern decorated with the *yi*-bird head" from other archeological and anthropological evidence of boats decorated with bird-feathers. This seems to be related to the decoration of the stern bars of Japanese boats with the dragon- and *geki*-heads with the bird-feather pattern. See You Zhengqun 游正群 and Zhang Lundu 张伦笃, "Renwu yulong bohua de zaitantao" 人物御龙帛画的再探讨 [Reexamination of *A Figure Riding a Dragon*], in Li Ruiqi 李瑞岐 et al., eds., *Zhonghua longzhou wenhua yanjiu* 中华龙舟文化研究 [Studies in the Chinese dragon-boat culture] (Guiyang: Guizhou minzu chubanshe, 1991), 227–34.

ji 重修彌陀禪寺之記, fig. III-34), dated 1462 of the Ming 明 dynasty.<sup>69</sup> A rubbing of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* on the stele (fig. III-35) shows an elaborate depiction of Amitābha's paradisiacal palace in fine linear engraving. On the lotus pond in the foreground, four boats are floating. On the two smaller boats in the front (fig. III-36), seven young boys are vigorously pulling oars. The boat on the right has the dragon-headed bow, while the one on the left has a *yi*-bird head. The pairing of the dragon- and *yi*-headed boats seen here indicates the pairing is most likely indigenous to China, though this example is later than the Japanese paintings above. However, the dragon boat on the stele is quite different from the one in *The Painting of King Sāla*. The whole boat is carved into a full dragon, with sharp curves in the dragon-head bow and in the dragon-tail stern, and with no musicians or dancers (though the boat boys are aboard). The two boats in the back are much larger (fig. III-37). Spanning above the two dragon boats is a tall pavilion where Buddha Amitābha and other bodhisattvas are seen.

The dragon boat on the Ming stele finds its visual parallel in Chinese paintings of dragon-boat regattas. It looks as though the popular festive racing of dragon boats has been incorporated into the Buddhist paradisiacal scene. The famous paintings of an imperial dragon-boat regatta by Wang Zhenpeng 王振鵬 (fl. first quarter of the

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<sup>69</sup> The Amitābha Monastery (Mituo Chansi) was in Xianning 咸寧 in the suburbs of Xi'an, Shanxi sheng 陝西省. The stele is now in the yard of the Shanxi Provincial Museum, Xi'an.



fourteenth century) illustrate dragon boats of the Yuan period (fig. III-38).<sup>70</sup> The presence of many boatmen pulling oars and also the shape of curved boat, complete with an erect head and tail, are the same with those of the Ming stele. The larger dragon boats with tall pavilions in the stele (fig. III-37) are similar to the ones in Wang Zhenpeng's painting (fig. III-39), where a majestic pavilion is nested in a magnificent dragon boat. However, the shape of the dragon boats in the Ming stele and in Wang Zhenpeng's paintings above are much more curved, and the entire boats are carved into a whole dragon from head to tail, which is different from the flat-bottomed Korean and Japanese dragon boats.

However, other Chinese dragon boats in the secular culture suggest that the dragon boat with a flat midship and less-curved bow and stern might have been also depicted in Chinese Buddhist context. For example, the depiction of a dragon boat assumed to be of the Northern Song period (960–1127) shows a different shape. The painting in which it appears, entitled *Competing for the Prize on the Golden Bright Pond* (Jinming chi zhengbiao tu 金明池爭標圖, after 1127, (fig. III-40), now in the Tianjian 天津 Municipal Museum of Art, is thought to be a twelfth-century memorial

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<sup>70</sup> Five paintings of dragon boat that have Wang Zhenpeng's signature and/or seal are known: *Taking the Prize on the Golden Bright Pond* (Jinming chi duobiao tu 金明池奪標圖, 1323) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY; *Dragon Boat* (Longzhou tu 龍舟圖, 1323) in the Detroit Institute of Arts, Michigan; *Boat Race on the Dragon Pond* (Longchi jingdu tu 龍池競渡圖, 1323); *Boat Race in the Precious Streams* (Baojin jingdu tu 寶津競渡圖, 1310); and another *Dragon Boat* (Longzhou tu 龍舟圖), all the last three in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. Figure III-38 is a reproduction of the three paintings in the National Palace Museum collection.

representation by a Southern Song artist of the dragon-boat race in the imperial garden's Jinming Pond, located in the Northern Song capital, Bianjing 汴京.<sup>71</sup> The dragon boats (fig. III-41), both the large one with pavilions and the racing boats alike, are built like a whole dragon, with the head and tail bent upward, as in the Yuan and Ming boats. However, the midship of the Southern Song dragon boat is much longer and flatter than those discussed above. The late Ming painting by You Qiu 尤求 (active ca. 1540–90) *Enchanting Spring at the Han Court* (Hangong chunxiao tu juan 漢宮春曉圖卷, 1568) in the Shanghai Museum includes a scene of court entertainment in the dragon boat (fig. III-42).<sup>72</sup> The dragon boat here also has a wide and less-curved bow and stern. Given the iconographic analogies between the dragon boats of the Ming stele and of the Yuan imperial regatta, and between the dragon boats of Japanese Heian aristocratic and of Kamakura Buddhist culture, Chinese Buddhist culture likely shared this shape of the dragon boat with a flat midship with the Chinese secular culture.

### III.3.2 Salvific Dragon Boat: Carrier for Crossing Over to Paradise

Buddha Amitābha and his bodhisattvas delivering deceased souls to his paradise is the topic of numerous paintings of Welcoming Descent (K. *naeyeongdo* 來迎圖, C. *laiying*

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<sup>71</sup> Luo Zhewen 罗哲文, “Yifu Songdai gongyuan jianzhu xieshihua: Jinmingchi zhengbiao xiyantu” 一幅宋代宫苑建筑写实画—金明池爭標錫宴圖, *Wenwu* 文物 (1960.07): 33–34.

<sup>72</sup> For the complete scroll, see Li He and Michael Knight, *Power and Glory: Court Arts of China's Ming Dynasty* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2008), pl. 133.

tu, J. raigōzu). The storyline and visual representation of *The Painting of King Sāla* also climax with the deliverance of its leading characters by Buddha Amitābha. As discussed above, a special aspect of the deliverance in *The Painting of King Sāla* is that it is made via a distinctive dragon boat. The dragon boat transporting the soul to Amitābha's Pure Land assumes several premises: (1) the location of paradises overseas in Buddhist geography, (2) the ship as transportation to cross over the sea to paradises, and (3) the exploitation of the dragon boat as the salvific ship. This section examines the exploitation of the dragon boat for salvific transportation represented in the visual materials. Doctrinal aspects of this concept are studied in Chapter Four.

The representation of Buddhist geography on the location of pure lands overseas is found in Japanese painting. The fourteenth-century screen painting *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (Jigoku gokuraku-zu byōbu 地獄極楽図屏風, fig. III-43) in the Konkaikōmyōji 金戒光明寺 collection in Kyōto shows a boat carrying souls over the sea to Amitābha's land. This four-panel screen depicts a bird's-eye view of Amitābha's palace on a remote island on the top, spanning all four panels, with scenes of hell in the left bottom corner and of "this world," or "this shore," of *saṃsāra* in the right bottom corner.<sup>73</sup> Between the three lands expands the billowing dark sea. The Amitābha triad is sitting on a podium in the central court of the palace, looking over the sea as though

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<sup>73</sup> This screen is considered to be a set together with another screen *Buddha Amitābha Going over the Mountain* (Yamagoshi Amidazu 山越阿弥陀図), which is believed to be the central piece. The image of *Buddha Amitābha Going over the Mountain* is found in Nakano Genjo 中野玄三, ed., *Raigōzu no bijutsu 来迎図の美術* (Kyōto: Dōhōsha, 1985), pl. 31.

awaiting the arrival of new inhabitants (fig. III-44). On the lotus pond surrounding Amitābha’s land, a pair of boats of a dragon and a *geki*-bird heads (fig. III-45) sails toward the center, as seen in the paintings of *Amitābha Pure Land* in the Saizen’ in collection (fig. III-27). A third boat approaches the paradisiacal land on the second panel from the right (figs. III-43 and 46).<sup>74</sup> The direction from which it approaches indicates that it has journeyed from “this world.” This boat looks similar to the dragon-boat with the flat midship, but its bow is not dragon-headed. On board are Amitābha in the front, two bodhisattvas sitting in the middle (very likely the one holding a lotus pod in the front is Avalokiteśvara and the other is Mahāsthāmaprāpta), and a third steering bodhisattva standing on the back of the boat. Clearly they are on their way back, bringing a soul to the Western Paradise. The painting visually testifies to the faith within East Asian Buddhism in salvation by crossing the sea by boat to Amitābha’s Pure Land. It is a visual representation of the common Buddhist metaphor of crossing over the “sea of suffering” (K. *gohae* 苦海) of life to reach the “other shore” (K. *pian* 彼岸) of paradise.

Another Kamakura painting, the *Amitābha Pure Land* (Amida jōdozu 阿弥陀浄土図, fig. III-47) in the Yoshida 吉田 family collection, Tōkyō, demonstrates the

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<sup>74</sup> For detailed discussion of the painting, see Kasuya Makoto 加須屋 誠, “Konkaikomyōji shozō Jigoku gokurakuzu byōbu shiron: so no zuyō kosei to shudai no mondai” 金戒光明寺所蔵地獄極楽図屏風試論—その図様構成と主題の問題 [A preliminary discussion of the screen *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss*: The issues of its iconography and subject], *Kyōto daigaku bigaku bijitsu shigaku kenkyu kiyō* 京都大学文学部美学美術史学研究室研究紀要 12 (March 1991): 60–87.

adaptation of the dragon boat as the carrier of saved souls. The painting is distinctive in its composition. Amitābha's palace is positioned diagonally, not with the usual frontality and symmetry, and looks to be a close-up of the central court of the palace. However, the setting is similar to that of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (fig. III-43) in Konkaikōmyōji, though the two were drawn from different perspectives. Here the Amitābha triad sits surrounded by other bodisattvas, on a podium on the shore. On the pond (based on the composition of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss*, it should be a pond rather than the sea), a dragon-boat (not a pair of the boats) sails toward the shore. Details of the dragon boat (fig. III-48) display five people on board: two in the front facing each other, with a big drum between them; another two sitting; and the last one standing, pulling the steering rudder. These voyagers look different from the musicians and dancers on the boats with dragon and *geki*-bird heads, who are elegantly dressed and positioned (figs. III-25 and 28). The two in the middle are sitting huddled together, and the woman on the right seems to wear some kind of headpiece and to hold her hands together. The overall atmosphere is not that of a festive and cheerful entertainment, as in the pairs of boats in other *Amitābha Pure Lands*. The drum seen here is also a prop often carried by the Amitābha's retinue in *Welcoming Descent*. The orientation of the boat, the single appearance of the dragon boat, and the atmosphere aboard the boat all suggest that it is bringing the deceased to the Amitābha's land. Thus the journey to Amitābha's paradise is visually constructed as one over the horizon and the paradise can be reached by sailing over the ocean, in this and other cases, on a dragon boat.

The Korean painting of *The Descent of Maitreya* in Myōmanji (1294, fig. III-30) extends this belief to the whole Buddha realms. The dragon boat in this painting is paired in the same iconography as the festive entertainment boats in the Japanese *Amitābha Pure Land* in the Saizen'in (fig. III-27). However, the passengers on the pair of boats in this Korean *Descent of Maitreya* (fig. III-32) are not dancers nor musicians but all appear to be delivered souls. They are sitting with palms joined in gestures of reverence and crowded together on the dragon boat. Among the souls are monks dressed in *kāṣāya*. Here the dragon boat is ferrying the souls of pious devotees to Maitreya's Pure Land. Both of the boats are represented as a salvific boat in this painting. When compared with the Japanese painting *Maitreya's Ascension to Tusita Heaven* (fig. III-49) attributed to the Kamakura period, in the Enmeiji 延命寺, Ōsaka 大阪, where the pair of boats ferry dancers and musicians (fig. III-50), the *Descent of Maitreya* demonstrates the strong aspiration in Korean Buddhism to cross over to Buddhist paradises, and their notion of using a dragon boat.

Despite the identical iconography of dragon boats and the employment of the dragon boat as a means of transport to salvation in Korean and Japanese Buddhist art, the Chinese images of dragon boats known thus far exhibit a different iconographic tradition, as examined in the preceding section, even though there may be a lacuna in the known visual materials. However, the exploitation of the dragon boat in Buddhist paradisiacal imagery is confirmed in *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35) of the *Stele of the Renovation Record of Amitābha Monastery* (1462) discussed earlier. This linear engraving of Amitābha's palace in his Pure Land displays

four boats on the lotus pond in the foreground (two single boats and two double-dragon boats each supporting a pavilion). A close look at the heads of the boats (fig. III-51) reveals that the single one in the front left has the crest of a bird, whereas the other five dragons all have rolled beards. Thus the two single in the front are the boats of dragon- (on the right) and *yi*-bird heads, while the two pavilioned-boats in the back, spanning two dragon boats each, are different in character from the front two. A close-up of the left boat in the rear (fig. III-52) shows Buddha Amitābha and his bodhisattvas on board, some of whom are steering. Between the steering bodhisattvas, along the balustrade, sits a non-haloed person holding his hands together. This image of a non-deity, sitting with hands together in prayer on a dragon boat steered by Amitābha or his retinue, is very likely that of a saved soul. This stele illustration thus testifies to the Chinese faith in Amitābha's deliverance of the pious soul to his paradise by dragon boat in Ming Buddhism.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> If the dragon boats in Chinese Amitābha Pure Land imagery, where Amitābha and his retinue are on board, are taken to be the carrier by which Amitābha Buddha takes the soul to his paradise, then the boats where the Amitābha triad is aboard in the foreground on the ponds in Japanese Taima mandalas must be reconsidered. Because scholars agree that the so-called *Konpon Mandala*, the prototypical tapestry of woven silk, was produced in China in the second half of the eighth century and imported to Japan shortly thereafter, the Chinese cult of Amitābha's deliverance by dragon boat can be dated back at least to the Tang period. The boats in Taima mandalas, shaped similarly to the Chinese dragon boats with curved bow and stern, are heavily ornate. However, they do not have dragon bows to my observation. They do have an architectural structure on the midship on the top of which the Amitābha triad sits, but I have not yet found any depiction of souls from the reproductions of or secondary literature about Taima mandalas. This is still open to more examination.

The image of crossing over to Buddhist Pure Lands on board a salvific dragon boat was shared by different strands of East Asian Buddhist culture. Literary and visual materials suggest that it was remarkably popular in Korean Buddhism. The images of the salvific dragon boat are found in paintings, prints, and murals from thirteenth-century Goryeo through the modern day in Korean Buddhist culture. The later development of the iconography of the salvific dragon boat in Korean Buddhism is discussed in Chapter Four.

#### **III.4 Visualization of the Aspiration for Women's Salvation**

The “King Sāla narrative” originally featured King Sāla and only later Prince Allakguk. King Sāla was the leading character in the story, when it was compiled as a *jātaka* story in the *Seokbo sangjeol* (prefaced 1447). The narrative was also entitled *The Ancient Remains of the Jetavana Garden* (Jirim gojeok 祇林高[古]蹟) and compiled into *The Ten Stages of the Practice of Buddha Śākyamuni* (Seokga yeorae sipji suhaeng gi 釋迦如來十地修行記), a woodblock-printed compilation of 1660 of ten stories of Śākyamuni's bodhisattva practice in his past lives.<sup>76</sup> However, King Sāla played a leading role only the first half of the story, where he practices the perfection of giving (K. *bosi* 布施, C. *bushi*) and this leads to his abdication of the kingship and his family's troubled journey. The second half of the story belongs to Prince Allakguk who takes flight to meet his father, thus putting the fate of his mother, Lady Wonang, at risk.

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<sup>76</sup> See note 46 of this chapter.



Greater importance was given to the roll of Prince Allakguk in the narrative during the late Joseon period, as suggested by the title given the story then, i.e. *The Sūtra of (Prince) Allakguk* (Allakguk (Taeja) gyeong 安樂國(太子)經).<sup>77</sup> This change can be attributed to the emphasis on filial piety rather than on the Buddhist merit of giving in Confucian society, and to the compatibility of the title, *The Story of Prince Allakguk*, with those of other *jātaka* stories of Buddha Śākyamuni, which are usually named *The Story of Prince So-and-So*, even though it was not meant to be the story of Prince Allakguk's past life. The shift of emphasis in the narrative may have facilitated the diffusion of the narrative among the general populace beyond Buddhist devotees. It was Prince Allakguk who prayed for rebirth in the Western Paradise and who made salvation by dragon boat happen in the last moment of the story; other than that, he was not the leading character who drove the plot or cultivated the merit that brought about the whole family's salvation.

Lady Wonang is the actual key figure in the narrative. Constantly accumulating merit by sacrificing herself, she guided the other members of her family in their search for the Law, eventually bring them all to salvation.<sup>78</sup> She encouraged King Sāla to

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<sup>77</sup> See note 48 of this chapter.

<sup>78</sup> When fascicle 8 of the *Worin seokbo*, which carries the “King Sāla narrative,” was facsimile-copied in 1981, the bibliographical introduction of the fascicle entitled the narrative *The Record of Conditions of Lady Wonang's Rebirth in the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (Wonang buin geungnak wangsang yeongi 鴛鴦夫人極樂往生緣記), presumably because the narrative was not titled in the *Worin seokbo* and the author of the bibliographical introduction understood that the leading figure was Lady Wonang. See Cheon Hyeobong 千惠鳳, “Chochambon *Worin seokbo* gwon je

abdicate and set out to serve the Holy Man by joining him on his journey, proposed that the king sell her and her unborn child and donate the money to the holy man, taught her husband to continually recite the “Gāthā for Rebirth” to cultivate merit, suffered hardship as a slave, and sacrificed her life to let her son meet his father.<sup>79</sup> Her earnest piety may have inspired many sincere Buddhists who read the narrative or viewed the painting.

Lady Wonang seems to have been an inspiring role model for female Buddhists of the early and mid-Joseon dynasty, especially nuns. A record of a nun named Yesun 禮順 (1587–1657) testifies to how the story of Lady Wonang was viewed by Buddhist women in early seventeenth-century Joseon society. Yesun was an extraordinary figure for a Buddhist nun of that time. She was a daughter of Yi Gui 李貴 (1557–1633), a high-ranking official and merit-subject (*gongsin* 功臣) of King Injo’s 仁祖 reign (1623–49), as well as a talented poet. She was married to Gim Jagyeom 金自兼 (?–1608), who was also from *yangban* family. Her husband was a pious Buddhist and enjoyed reading Buddhist scriptures with her. He let his Buddhist friend O Eongwan 吳彦寬 (d.u.) join them, and the three often engaged together in Buddhist study. After her husband died young in 1608, Yesun set out on a pilgrimage with O and took the tonsure with him in

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chil pal haeje” 初槩本月印釋譜 卷第七・八 解題 [The bibliographical introduction of fascicles seven and eight of the first edition of *Worin seokbo*], *Worin seokbo gwon chil pal* 月印釋譜 卷七・八 (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1981), 13b.

<sup>79</sup> For a more detailed narrative in *Worin seokbo* in English than the accompanying text of the painting translated in this chapter, see Allard M. Olof, “The Story of Prince Allakkuk: *Worin sokpo* vol. 8,” *Korea Journal* (January 1983): 15–20.

1614. On their pilgrimage, they were captured and accused of adultery by Confucian officials who were enraged that a widow from a *yangban* family had become a nun and traveled with an unrelated man. It was one of the most scandalous cases of the day.<sup>80</sup> Her statement at the court trial is recorded in *Unofficial Histories of Mr. Eou* (Eou yadam 於于夜談) written by the literatus Yu Mongin 柳夢寅 (1559–1623) around 1622. In this statement, Yesun explained why, as a woman, she could not but be a Buddhist in Joseon society, and then put her actions in historical perspective.

I recall: in the past Śākyamuni was a royal prince. He forsook his country and left his palace, practiced asceticism in the snowy mountains for ten years, and became a Buddha dwelling in this world. Mañjuśrī, who had been female in the last eon, also sought the Way unmindful of herself, and finally attained the correct awakening. Lady Wonwang [Wonang] was a queen. She set out on a long journey in search of the Law. [When] she could not reach [the destination] for herself, she ended up selling herself and suffering hardship. This [woman] was the former incarnation of Gwaneum (C. Guanyin). Besides, there were countless people in the past who practiced asceticism. During the Tang dynasty, the Buddhist Law did not flourish prosperously, but there were also many women from great families who left their

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<sup>80</sup> For Yesun’s brief biography, see *Gwanghaegun ilgi* 光海君日記 [The diary of Prince (deposed King) Gwanghae], gwon 81, Gwanghae 6 [1614].8.19 (*gihae* 己亥); Cheongnyongsa jipyeonchansil 靑龍寺誌編纂室 ed., *Cheongnyongsa ji* 靑龍寺誌 [The gazetteer of Blue Dragon monastery] (Seoul: Cheongnyongsa, 1972), 137–41; and Yi Hyangsun 이향순, “Joseon sidae biguni ui sam gwa suhaeng” 조선시대 비구니의 삶과 수행 [The lives and practices of bhikṣuṇīs in the Joseon period], in Jeonguk bigunihoe, ed., *Hanguk biguni ui suhaeng gwa sam* 한국비구니의 수행과 삶 [The practices and lives of Korean bhikṣuṇīs] (Seoul: Yemun seowon, 2007), 112–24.

homes to become nuns, about whose deaths nothing was known. Even though past and present are different, how can [religious] aspiration be distinct?

自念，昔釋迦王之太子也。棄國踰城，苦行於雪山十年，爲住世之佛。文殊於曩劫女身也，亦忘軀參道，終成正覺。願王夫人王之后也。求法遠行，不能自達，至於自賣辛勤。是乃觀音前身也。其餘歷代辛勤者，不可勝數。至於唐朝，佛法不至大興，而門閥婦女，爲尼出家，不知所終者亦多。古今雖異，志豈有殊。<sup>81</sup>

By giving examples of women from noble families who gave up a life of privilege to search for the Law and who finally attained enlightenment, Yesun asks what is wrong with her becoming a nun. Furthermore, she clearly declares her firm belief that a woman can attain enlightenment by her own ascetic practice. This was an audacious statement, considering the anti-Buddhist ideology and the gender roll of the time, as well as the Buddhist doctrine that women cannot attain buddhahood in a female body. Prominent on her list of enlightened women is a Lady Wonwang 願王. This must be the Lady Wonang of the “King Sāla narrative,” judging from the similar Korean pronunciation of her and the description of her story. This statement shows that Lady Wonang was not merely a character from a *jātaka* story but was also canonized as a previous incarnation of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and became an inspiring model for Buddhist women, especially for nuns. This most likely explains the significance of the “King Sāla narrative” to the nuns of the palace cloister who patronized the painting of this subject. Moreover, given that the original painting was so old that it had to be replaced in 1576,

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<sup>81</sup> Yu Mongin 유몽인, *Eou yadam* 어우야담 [Unofficial histories of Mr. Eou], trans. Sin Ikcheol 신익철 et al. (Seoul: Dolbegae, 2006), 1: 209 (Korean translation) and 2: 105 (original classical Chinese text).

we can conclude that the story must have been available to generations of nuns in the palace cloister.<sup>82</sup>

Another painting that highlights the salvific moment of a Buddhist woman via the dragon boat, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, was commissioned by another nun in the cloister for one of the patrons of *The Painting of King Sāla*, the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong Family in 1582.<sup>83</sup> A literary source reveals that another Lady Jeong, who was the mother of King Seonjo, also commissioned a painting of *Welcoming the Dragon Boat* for a temple in a remote mountainous area in 1549.<sup>84</sup> These known Korean visual and literary materials suggest that the image of Amitābha's deliverance of the soul aboard a dragon boat particularly attracted court women of the early Joseon dynasty. Court women's attraction to the image likely developed out of *The Painting of King Sāla*, in which a woman's religious accomplishment was visualized.

Pictorializing the personification of their religious inspiration and visually identifying it with themselves, we can imagine that the patrons of *The Painting of King Sāla* identified their own religious aspiration with that of Lady Wonang. The climax of

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<sup>82</sup> When Yesun was released from prison, she wanted to stay in the Jasugung as a nun from a *yangban* family and her wish is known to have been granted. See Yi Hyangsun, "Joseon sidae biguni ui sam gwa suhaeng," 120. Though her stay in the Jasugung took place later than the patronage of *The Painting of King Sāla*, she may have strengthened the faith of her fellow nuns in Lady Wonang.

<sup>83</sup> This painting is the topic of Chapter Four.

<sup>84</sup> This is also addressed in detail in Chapter Four.

the story is illustrated in two scenes in the painting, with the following text in between them (fig. III-53).

The lady, dead and dismembered into three pieces, was thrown under a big tree. In deep sorrow, the son collected the three pieces [of his mother's body] and joined his palms together [in prayer] toward the Western Realm. [At that time] the Forty-Eight Dragon Boat of the Land of Ultimate Bliss flies down from the sky, and many great bodhisattvas who welcome and lead all sentient beings to the Pure Land took him up onto a lion pedestal.

In the source scripture in the *Worin seokbo*, this passage reads as follows:

Immediately the Forty-Eight Dragon Boat sets sail on the ocean of thusness from the Land of Ultimate Bliss and arrives before Prince Allakguk. The great bodhisattvas in the dragon boat tell him, “Your parents have already gone to the Western Realm and become buddhas. But they do not know what happened to you, so we came to lead you there.” Hearing that, the prince was delighted. He got on the lion pedestal and went to the Land of Ultimate Bliss across the air.<sup>85</sup>

In both texts, it is Prince Allakguk alone who is welcomed in person and led to the Land of Ultimate Bliss aboard the dragon boat. However, this scene (fig. III-53) in the painting illustrates both the prince and Lady Wonang aboard the dragon boat guided by Buddha Amitābha. The image of Lady Wonang was probably added for the benefit of the female audience. The patrons most likely had the very emblem of both their religious inspiration and aspiration clearly visualized by including the image of Lady Wonang at

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<sup>85</sup> Sejo et al., comp., *Worin seokbo gwon chil pal* 月印釋譜 卷七・八 (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 1981), 102b–103a.

the critical moment of salvation. The image of a woman's salvation must have spoken quite directly to the hope for salvation of the women patrons. The vivid image of a fellow court woman crossing over to paradise aboard the dragon boat must have reassured them about their own fate in the next life.

### **III.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on several significant issues: the origin of the painting in a palace cloister, the textual source of the narrative, the iconographic tradition of salvific dragon boat, the significance of the "King Sāla narrative" for Buddhist women, and the representation of the patrons' religious aspiration in the painting.

From the elegy for the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family who was a most likely patron, we learned that she was a nun for more than fifty years in a Buddhist cloister in the Joseon palace. Thus we can assume that the nuns identified by their Dharma names in the dedicatory inscription of *The Painting of King Sāla* must have been affiliated with the same palace cloister. The fact that the painting was taken away to Japan during the Japanese invasion suggests, along with the case of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell from the Jasugung Cloister, that the painting also came from a palace cloister.

Examination of the iconographic tradition of the salvific dragon boat shows that it was shared within East Asian Buddhist culture. Pictorial parallels of the dragon-boat motif are found in Japanese Buddhist and secular paintings, and the dragon boat as

transport to the Western Paradise appears in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist images. However, the extant visual materials indicate that the cult of the salvific dragon boat was particularly strong in Korean Buddhism. *The Descent of Maitreya* (1294) recently found in Japan dates the iconographic and cultic tradition of the salvific dragon boat back to the thirteenth century in Korea.

The significance of the “King Sāla narrative” to royal nuns in the palace cloisters is exemplified by the fact that an old *Painting of King Sāla* was enshrined in the cloister for such a long time that it literally wore out; by the offering of a new version of the painting to replace the old one; and by the canonization of Lady Wonang as a former incarnation of Guanyin. Lady Wonang seems to have become a source of their inspiration and an emblem of their religious aspiration, a fellow court woman who had attained salvation through Buddha Amitābha and, eventually bodhisattvahood through the cultivation of merit. By adding the image of Lady Wonang, who was not actually present at the climatic moment of salvation as described in the textual account of the “King Sāla narrative,” the nun-patrons visualized their hope for their won salvation. And more broadly, the vivid image of a fellow court woman crossing over to paradise aboard the dragon boat must have reassured the female Buddhists in the palace cloister about their own dreams of salvation. *The Painting of King Sāla* represents the visualization of the faith and hope of court Buddhist women in the early Joseon period.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### Featuring Personalized Women's Salvation: *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise (1582)*

#### Introduction

The painting *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise* (Seobang gupum yongseon jeobinhoe do 西方九品龍船接引會圖, 1582, fig. IV-1, hereafter abbreviated as *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*) in Raigōji 來迎寺 in Kagawa-ken 香川県 (now kept in the Marukame shiritsu shiryōkan 丸龜市立資料館 in Kagawa-ken), depicts Amitābha and his assembly welcoming the dragon boat in which Amitābha and his retinue ferry the deceased to be reborn in paradise.<sup>1</sup> The painting highlights the scene of Amitābha's salvation via dragon boat that was represented as one of the pictorial segments in *The*

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<sup>1</sup> This painting has been known as *Amitābha's Paradise* (*Amida jōdo hensōzu* 阿彌陀淨土變相圖) in Japan, or *Amita jeongtodo* 阿彌陀淨土圖 in Korea following the Japanese titling). The title by which it is introduced here is, however, the one given in the inscription of the painting. See note 54 about the translation of the original title. This original title was also used in Bak Eungyeong 박은경, *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu* 조선전기 불화연구 [Studies in Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon dynasty] (Seoul: Sigongart, 2008), fig. 1-51; and Bak Eungyeong and Jeong Eunu 정은우, ed., *Seo Ilbon jiyek Hanguk ui bulsang gwa bulhwa* 西日本지역 한국의 불상과 불화 [Korean Buddhist paintings and sculptures in the collections of the western Japan region] (Busan: Minjok munhwa, 2008), pl. 112.

*Painting of King Sāla* discussed in Chapter Three. This painting is distinctive in being executed in gold-line drawing on red silk, the technique and media that were especially popular during the early Joseon dynasty. It was commissioned by a nun in the early Joseon palace cloister and was dedicated to pray for blessings for the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family, the most likely patron of *The Painting of King Sāla*. Thus *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* is another painting that visually represents the belief and patronage of Buddhist women in the sixteenth-century Joseon court.

This painting remains understudied and incompletely understood in terms of its religious and iconographic significance. Even though it was known in Japan and attributed to Korea rather early by Kumagai Nobuō 熊谷宣夫 in 1967 and Mizobuchi Kazuyuki 溝淵和幸 in 1979,<sup>2</sup> others in Japan attributed it to Ming-dynasty China<sup>3</sup> until a full examination of the painting was published by Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭 in 1987.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Kumagai Nobuō, “Chōsen butsugachō,” entry 27; Mizobuchi Kazuyuki, “Sanuki no Chōsen butsuga 2-ten ni tsuite” 讃岐の朝鮮佛畫 2点について [On the two Joseon Buddhist paintings in Sanuki], *Seto naikai rekishi minzoku shiryōkan nenpō* 瀬戸内海歴史民俗資料館年報 4 (1979): 46–49.

<sup>3</sup> Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, *Jōdo mandara: Gokuraku jōdo to raigō no roman* 浄土曼荼羅—極楽浄土と来迎のロマン [The mandalas of the Pure Land: The Pure Land of Ultimate Bliss and the roman of the welcoming descent] (Nara: Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1983), fig. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Takeda Kazuaki, “Honjima Raigōji no Amida Jōdozu ni tsuite: Richō butsuga junkinga no seisaku haikai ni tsuite” 本島来迎寺の阿弥陀浄土図について—李朝仏画純金画の制作背景

Takeda examines the iconography in the pictorial tradition of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*. Inheriting Takeda's study, Jeong Utaek 鄭于澤 published the first Korean article of the painting in 1994 and attempted to interpret the religious significance of the painting.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter seeks to advance our understanding of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* by elucidating the iconographic and religious significance of the painting, which will, in turns, expand our understanding of the beliefs and patronage of female Buddhists in the sixteenth-century Joseon court. After addressing the background of the production of the painting given in the inscription, the chapter identifies its subject matter and iconographic tradition through a close reading of each pictorial element of the painting. The significance of the painting is then placed in the developmental context of paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* and of the Amitābha cult.<sup>6</sup>

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について [On the *Amitābha Pure Land* in the collection of Raigōji in Honjima: Regarding the production background of pure gold Buddhist paintings in the Yi dynasty], *Kagawa-ken bunkazai kyōkaihō* 香川県文化財協会報, 1987-nen tokubetsu-gō 1987年 特別号 (1988.3): 15–25.

<sup>5</sup> Jeong Utaek, “Naeyeongsa Amita jeongtodo” 來迎寺 阿彌陀淨土圖 [The *Amitābha Pure Land* in the Raigōji collection], *Bulgyo misul* 佛教美術 12 (1994): 51–71. A good reproduction finally appeared in 1999 in Kikutake Jun'ichi and Yoshida Hiroshi, ed. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

<sup>6</sup> *The Sūtra of the Contemplation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life Expounded by the Buddha Śākyamuni* (Skt. Amitāyur-dhyāna-sūtra, C. Foshuo guan Wuliangshou fo jing 佛說觀無量壽佛經, T365) is also rendered as *Guan Wuliangshou fo jing* 觀無量壽經, or *Guanjing* 觀經. The sūtra is referred to as *The Contemplation Sūtra* in this thesis. Among the illustrations of the

Next, revisiting the image of dragon boat, the doctrinal ground for the salvific boat, which was not addressed in Chapter Three that focused on its iconography, is discussed. The discussion of the development of the salvific dragon boat in the Buddhist literature and images of later Korean Buddhism will attest to the wide and enduring popularity of the early Joseon images of the salvific dragon boat.

#### IV.1 The Inscription and Patron

The inscription is written in gold ink on a wide rectangular cartouche, double-lined also in gold ink, in the middle at the bottom of the scroll (fig. IV-1). Some characters are illegible in the later half of the text, so that our understanding cannot be complete.<sup>7</sup> From the inscription, we can, however, conclude that the production of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* was wholly led by a nun named Hakmyeong 學明. She initiated the vow of dedication and sponsored the production of the painting with her personal funds. The main motive of her dedication was to pray for the blessings in this

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scripture, referred to as *The Illustration of the Contemplation Sūtra* (C. Guanjing bianxiang tu 觀經變相圖), the one only illustrating the prefatory story of the sūtra is *The Illustration of the Prefatory Story of the Contemplation Sūtra* (C. Guanjing xufen bianxiang tu 觀經序分變相圖), whereas the one illustrating the sixteen motifs for meditative contemplation is *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations of the Contemplation Sūtra* (C. Guanjing shiliu guan bianxiang tu 觀經十六觀變相圖, Shiliu guan bianxiang tu 十六觀變相圖, or Shiliu guan tu 十六觀圖), which is referred to as *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* in this dissertation.

<sup>7</sup> The translation of the entire inscription and its original text are in Appendix I.

life and for the rebirth in paradise in the afterlife of the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family (Hyebin Jeong-ssi 惠嬪 鄭氏, d.u.), one of the King Injong's concubines discussed in Chapter Three.<sup>8</sup> The identity of the nun Hakmyeong is yet to be determined.<sup>9</sup> Her earnest prayer for Lady Jeong suggests their close relationship. Given that Lady Jeong, the Gracious Concubine, became a nun in the palace cloister of either the Jeongeobwon or the Jasugung, and remained so for more than fifty years, until she died, the nun Hakmyeong must have been one of the ordained nuns in the cloisters. She might have been either a female servant of the former royal concubine who, after being officially ordained herself, continued to serve Lady Jeong in the cloister, or simply a nun who later joined the royal women in the cloister. The inscription refers to the “immaculate sanctuary” (*cheongjeong doryang* 清淨道場) where the painting was enshrined, but does not name it. Most likely it was most likely one of the Buddhist cloisters where Lady Jeong stayed.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> For the life of the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family, see the section “The Inscription and Patrons” in Chapter Three.

<sup>9</sup> A Buddhist disciple named Hakmyeong 學明 is mentioned in several Buddhist and secular pieces of literature within this time frame, i.e., the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. The disciple wrote the *Colophon for the Repair and Regilding of the Young Mañjuśrī* at Sangwonsa 上院寺 in Gangwon-do 江原道 in 1599. The name is also seen in poems by the literati Choe Rip 崔笠 (1539–1612) and Jeong Yunhae 鄭允諧 (1553–1612). The content of the texts suggests that this Hakmyeong (or two different figures?) in these texts was likely a monk.

<sup>10</sup> If so, the painting was likely taken to Japan along with the two paintings discussed in the previous chapters when Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army seized the Gyeongbok palace in 1592.

The inscription also prays that some of the merit accrued from the dedication of the painting be transferred to relatives of Lady Jeong and others who may have been relatives of nun Hakmyeong. Specifically, blessings in this life or in the afterlife are invoked for late King and Queen Injong, Lady Jeong’s husband and his primary wife; for the three primary royal family members still alive: the current King Seonjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608), Queen Uiin 懿仁 (1555–1600), and the Virtuous Consort-Princess of the Yun family (Deokbin Yun-ssi 德嬪 尹氏, 1552–92) who was the consort of the short-lived Crown Prince Sunhoe 順懷 (1551–63) of King Myeongjong 明宗 (r. 1545–67); and for the “Ceremonial Assistant of the Jeong Family and wife,” Lady Jeong’s natal parents.<sup>11</sup> The “Gim □□-ssi and wife” and another anonymous person must have been relatives of either Lady Jeong or Hakmyeong, more probably the latter. Finally, Hakmyeong added prayers for herself.

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According to the donation document of *The Painting of King Sāla* of Chapter Three, on their withdrawal from the invasion, the Japanese army distributed the booty and arms among the generals who had taken part in the maneuver. These paintings were very likely among them.

<sup>11</sup> “Ceremonial Assistant of the Jeong Family” (Chanui Jeong-ssi 贊儀鄭氏) is Jeong On 鄭溫 (d.u.), father of Hyebin Jeong-ssi. *Gyeongju Jeong-ssi sebo* 慶州鄭氏世譜 [The genealogy of the Jeong clan of Gyeongju] (Korea: s. n., 1955), 1: 16a. *Chanui* 贊儀 was the senior fifth-rank official at the Office of Comprehensive Rituals (Tongnyewon 通禮院) in the Joseon dynasty.

## IV.2 Analysis of the Painting

### IV.2.1 Identification of the Subject Matter

Distinct at first glance in the painting (fig. IV-1) are two Buddha assemblies laid out on the upper and lower picture plane. The linear drawing in gold ink depicting the background of the assemblies has faded throughout the picture, whereas the coloring of the deities—the gold pigment on the deities’ flesh, the dark blue on their hair, the light blue on the disciples’ heads, and the red on lips of all—remains intact, making the assemblies look detached from their settings.

The Buddha assembly on the upper plane (fig. IV-2) consists of a seated Buddha triad and an extended retinue. Ten disciples flank the Buddha, and six bodhisattvas, their hands joined together in respect, are arranged around each of the two attendant bodhisattvas. The Buddha (fig. IV-3) is seated in half-lotus posture on a high rectangular pedestal. He has a long, narrow *uṣṇīṣa* with a jewel on the top—a form that appeared in late fifteenth-century paintings and was popular in sixteenth-century paintings in Korea. The Buddha raises his right hand in an *abhaya* mudrā with his fingers are more bent than in the usual *abhaya* mudrā to show assurance and welcome. His left hand remains on his laps in the meditation mudrā.

The *dhyāna* mudrā is mostly associated with Buddha Amitābha, but the combination of hand gestures is not decisive enough to identify this Buddha. His identity as Amitābha is confirmed, however, by the presence of his two standard attendant bodhisattvas. The water bottle on the headdress of the bodhisattva on the Buddha’s right

(fig. IV- 4) is an attribute of the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta (K. Seji bosal 勢至菩薩).

The bodhisattva on Buddha's left (fig. IV- 5) is identified as Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (K. Gwaneum bosal 觀音菩薩) by the water container in his left hand and a willow branch in his right.

The Amitābha assembly takes place in the palatial setting of Amitābha's Western Paradise. The figures appear on a balustraded balcony nested between the palace pavilions. The palace roofs are elaborately depicted, one above the other, and symmetrically disposed on either side. This setting is typical of paintings of both *Amitābha Pure Land* and *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, and in this regard, The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat especially resembles fourteenth- and fifteenth-century paintings of latter subject.<sup>12</sup> The pond behind the assembly, the gleaming jeweled trees (fig. IV-6), and the railed deck leading to the lotus pond (fig. IV-7) are other pictorial elements also found in the *Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* paintings (figs. IV-35–43).

The Buddha assembly on the bottom (fig. IV-8) is that of Buddha Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas (K. Amita pal daebosal 阿彌陀八大菩薩). The Buddha holds up his left hand at the level of his chest, his thumb touching his middle finger. His right hand is extended downward with its thumb and middle finger also joined (fig. IV-9). Different from the standard mudrās of “coming to welcome” (K. *naeyeongin* 來迎印 or

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<sup>12</sup> No painting of *Amitābha Pure Land* is known from the Goryeo and early Joseon periods, contrary to a number of Chinese Dunhuang and Song, and Japanese paintings of *Amitābha Pure Land* and so-called *Taima Mandala*.




“welcoming descent” as usually translated), the palm of his left hand is facing up rather than outward, and the fourth and fifth fingers are slightly bent; however, his hand gestures here still make up one of the Amitābha’s mudrās of welcoming descent. Though the position of his hands, signifying “the middle-level of the lower-grade of birth” (K. *hapum jungsaeng* 下品中生) of the nine grades of rebirth, is reversed (the right hand is up and left hand down, in the normal “lower grade” gestures), this remains the predominant position of the “lower grade” (K. *hapum* 下品) mudrās in Amitābha paintings of medieval China and Korea, including the Goryeo *Amitābha’s Welcoming Descent* (1286, fig. IV-10) in the collection of the Japan Bank (now kept in the Tōkyō National Museum).<sup>13</sup> The welcoming-descent gesture of his right hand points directly at the female devotee that the Buddha assembly brings, clearly showing the efficacy of the mudrā for the soul. The orientation of the figures of the assembly, who turn slightly toward their right (fig. IV-9), is also in line with most of the Korean paintings of Welcoming Descent.<sup>14</sup>

As in the case of the Buddha assembly above, in the lower assembly the two bodhisattvas immediately next to the Buddha (fig. IV-9) confirm his identity as the Buddha Amitābha. The bodhisattva on the Buddha’s left, holding a lotus branch in his right hand and a handled bowl in his left, is Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. The bodhisattva

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<sup>13</sup> This mudrā is called “the welcoming-descent mudrā of the reversed hands” or *gyakute raigōin* 逆手來迎印 in Japanese studies of art history.

<sup>14</sup> For the comprehensive images of Goryeo paintings of *Welcoming Descent*, see Kikutake Jun’ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pls. 26–51.

on the Buddha's right holds a small seal engraved with the symbol  on its top, which is a unique attribute of Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta in Korean Amitābha paintings since the Goryeo period.<sup>15</sup> This iconography was also used in Joseon Amitābha paintings. The gold linear paintings attributed to fifteenth-century Joseon—the *Amitābha Triad* (figs. IV-11 and 12) in Sontaiji 尊躰寺, Yamanashi-ken 山梨県, and the *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (figs. IV-13 and 14) in Zenmyōji 善妙寺, Fukui-ken 福井県—show the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta holding this attribute. Each of the other six bodhisattvas in the lower assembly holds a long pole from which a banner hangs (fig. IV-15), like the Bodhisattva Guiding the Soul (K. Illo bosal 引路菩薩) in Korean Nectar Ritual Paintings (Gamnotaeng 甘露幀, (fig. IV-16), as well as in Dunhuang paintings of this bodhisattva (fig. IV-17).

Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas ride a dragon boat through a sea of gentle waves, backed and fronted by thick clouds (fig. IV-8). The dragon boat (fig. IV-18) is very similar to the one of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-23), though it is depicted solely in linear drawing in this painting. The bow of the boat is a dragonhead

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<sup>15</sup> For Goryeo images of Mahāsthāmaprāpta holding this attribute, see Kikutake Jun'ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pls. 9–14, 16, 18–22, 24, 38, 40–43, 45–46, and 49–50. Ide Seinosuke 井手誠之輔 suggests this object to be a seal incised with the symbolic design  of the Chinese character *fu* 黻, one of the twelve imperial symbols. Ide Seinosuke, “Kōrai butsuma no sekai: Higashi Ajia bijutsu ni okeru ryōbun to sono shosō” 高麗仏画の世界—東アジア美術における領分とその諸相 [The world of the Goryeo Buddhist painting: The extent and its various aspects in East Asian art], *Kokka* 国華 1313 (2008, 3): 27–28.

described in great detail with a raised head with long nose, long sinuous feelers, branched horns, tufts of beards and whiskers, and bulging round eyes. A clawed left foreleg that is extended forward is discernable. The stern of the boat is attached to the wavy tail of the dragon. The left hind leg is also seen extended. Fine scales cover the dragon's body, which the dorsal fins run through. The dragon looks to be robust and full of energy. The midship is a flat keel with a low double-stacked railing around it, with the upper railing being open and the lower being decorated with a rectangular pattern. The double-lotus patterns on the lower bar are more elaborately patterned here. The construction and decoration of the dragon boat are identical to those of the dragon boat in *The Painting of King Sāla*.

On the deck of the boat sits a laywoman (figs. IV-9 and 19) with an elaborate headdress, and her hands joined in prayer. As noted above, Amitābha's hand gesture of welcoming descent is pointed directly at her. Just as Lady Wonang and Prince Allakguk ride the dragon boat steered by Buddha Amitābha to cross over to paradise in *The Painting of King Sāla*, this woman is the portrayal of the soul whom Amitābha and his entourage are ferrying aboard the salvific dragon boat to his Pure Land.

The style of headdress of the soul portrayed in this painting is contemporary to the production of the painting itself. She has an elaborate coiffure, with hair touching her shoulders and two high, topknot-like protrusions atop her head. Depictions of women in early Joseon portraiture and documentary paintings reveal that this style was in vogue in the early Joseon period. The *Portrait of Madame Yi* (fig. IV-20) in the collection of Tenri

天理 University, Nara-ken, is one of the very rare extant portraits of a Joseon woman.<sup>16</sup>

The title written on the top right identifies her as “The wife of Gyeongjae and daughter of Yi Jono” (Gyeongjae buin Yi-ssi Jono nyeo 敬齋夫人李氏存吾女). Gyeongjae was the *ho* 號 (C. *hao*) of Ha Yeon 河演 (1376–1453), a high-ranking scholar-official in King Sejong’s administration, and Yi Jono 李存吾 (1341–71) was a late Goryeo literatus.

Madame Yi seems to wear a wig (or other supported hairpiece) of two topknot-like vertical decorations affixed to the top of her head from behind with a black hairpin, all of which looks very similar to the hairstyle and ornament of the female soul in *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*. Women’s hairstyles in contemporary documentary paintings also corroborate that the female devotee in the painting portrays a figure of the time. The coiffures of women entertainers at court (fig. IV-21) in *Banquet in Honor of Retired Officials of King Seonjo’s Administration* (Seonjojo giyeonghoe do 宣祖朝耆英會圖, 1585, fig. IV-22), in the Seoul National University Museum, are also identical to those both of the female soul depicted in *The Assembly for Welcoming the*

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<sup>16</sup> Mm. Yi also appears in three other *Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Ha Yeon*, housed in the family shrines of the Jinju Ha 晉州 河 family clan in Muju 茂朱, Jeollabuk-do 全羅北道; in Hapcheon 陝川, Gyeongsangnam-do 慶尙南道; and in Cheongwon 淸原, Chungcheongbuk-do 忠清北道. They are all full-length portraits of Mm. Yi and her husband and are all later copies, but the portrayal of Mm. Yi, including her hairstyle, is almost identical to the bust image in Tenri University shown here. I have not seen the Tenri portrait in person. The source book of this reproduction does not clarify whether or not it is a later copy, but it does look to be a later copy. However, the peculiar hairstyle and costume of the sitter shared by all the four portraits were very likely modeled on an original painting from the period.

*Dragon Boat* and of Madame Yi. Thus the female figure being delivered by Amitābha in the dragon boat is the portrayal of a court lady and most likely Lady Jeong, the Gracious Concubine, to whom the painting is dedicated.<sup>17</sup> Like the painting discussed in the previous chapter, this painting illustrates the principal goal of the patron's dedication, the salvation of a specific individual.

On the dragonhead bow of the boat a young acolyte (fig. IV-23) stands with knees bent, his head hanging slightly forward, and raising with both hands a round object tailed with several strips of ribbon. His wide sleeves and the streamers flutter in the auspicious tailwind that makes the salvific voyage smooth. Because of the current poor state of the painting, the exact description and meaning of this motif are difficult to determine. The depiction of a figure on the dragonhead bow is also found in *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* in Hōrinji, Nara (figs. IV-24 and 43) dated to fifteenth-century Joseon. This painting is also in such a poor condition that it is difficult to describe exactly the gesture of the acolytes on the bowheads. However, the traces of strokes of wind-fluttering clothes drapes and colorful streamer strips suggest that the figures taking a similar action to the one in *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*. The figure on the bow of the dragon boat is also seen in the Goryeo *Descent of Maitreya* dated to 1294 (figs. IV-25 and III-30) in the collection of Myōmanji, Kyōto. On the bow of both boats in the foreground a boy is dancing, with one of his bent knees slightly raised. He is

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<sup>17</sup> The identification of the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family as the soul carried in the dragon boat was first proposed in Takeda Kazuaki, "Honjima Raigōji no Amida Jōdozu ni tsuite," 18. It was later seconded by Jeong Utaek in "Naeyeongsa Amita jeongtodo," 63.

holding up a round object trailing colorful strips of ribbon that are blown into disorder by the wind. This round object is likely a prop held by the acolyte to beat time to his dancing. The streamers attached to the instrument are probably to indicate the direction of the wind. Because the acolyte in *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-23) holds the round object over his head with both hands, it appears to have a special use, but the shape and attached stripes of the object look identical to those held by the acolytes in *The Descent of Maitreya*. Accordingly the round object that the acolyte in *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* holds is very likely an instrument to beat time and/or to indicate the direction of wind.

The iconography of a young boy on the bow of the salvific dragon boat very likely originated from the boys on the traditional Chinese dragon boats used for amusements or regattas. For example, the motif is seen in the *Boat Race on the Dragon Pond* (Longchi jingdu tu 龍池競渡圖, 1323, fig. III-38) by Wang Zhenpeng in the National Palace Museum, Taipei. The boys on the dragonheads in this painting direct their crafts with ribboned flags (fig. IV-26). Its incorporation into the Buddhist context is also found in *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* from Amitābha Monastery in Xi'an (1462, fig. III-35) discussed above. On the head of each of the dragon and *yi*-bird boats (fig. III-51) in the lotus pond in the foreground of this painting sits a young boy looking back at another boy who holds a pole of flag presumably signaling the direction of the boat (fig. IV-27).

In terms of the visual and content composition of the painting, the male and female figures of monastic and lay Buddhists, kneeling with their hands together below

the balcony in the middle ground (fig. IV-28), mediate between the holy assembly above and the scene of the salvific dragon boat's arriving at the paradise below. These figures do not look like deities from their costume and hairstyle, but each still wears a halo. *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* of 1434 (fig. IV-42) in Chionji 知恩寺, Kyōto, also depicts a group of monastic and lay figures sitting in front of Amitābha's throne (fig. IV-29). The Goryeo paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* dated the fourth month of 1323 in Rinshōji 隣松寺, Aichi-ken 愛知県 (figs. IV-30 and IV-39), and another painting in Chion'in, Kyōto dated the tenth month of 1323 (figs. IV-31 and VI-40), also represent this mixed group of devotees. Among these paintings of the Sixteen Contemplations, only the figures in Rinshōji scroll have haloes, but they must be all in the same status.<sup>18</sup> These figures are possibly the souls of ardent devotees who have already achieved their rebirth in the paradise. Even though not all the reborn souls are depicted to wear halos in Korean Illustrations of the Sixteen Contemplations, the reborn souls who are first greeted by Buddha Amitābha and his retinue in *The Illustration of the*

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<sup>18</sup> These figures depicted in Goryeo paintings were understood as donors in Kikutake Jun'ichi and Jeong Utaek. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 55–56 of vol. I, and entries by Ide Seinosuke in pp. 80–83 of vol. II; Cheeyun Lilian Kwon, “Nuns, Donors, and Sinners: Images of Women in Goryeo Buddhist Paintings,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 8.2 (2005): 189. However, the halos that the figures wear in both the Rinshōji painting and *The Welcoming Assembly of the Dragon Boat*, and the discrepancy of the numbers between the depicted figures and the donors listed in the inscription make the understanding implausible, because a larger number of patrons can be symbolically represented by a smaller number of figures as in the cases of Goryeo paintings, but when the understanding is applied to this Raigōji painting, it is rather difficult to agree that the single patron of this painting is symbolized by a multitude of people.

*Sixteen Contemplations* dated to the fourteenth century in Saifukuji 西福寺, Fukui-ken 福井県 (fig. IV-32) and another in Hōrinji addressed above (fig. IV-33), and the souls in the Rinshōji painting have halos (fig. IV-34). Thus the figures in the middle ground of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* are likely reborn souls in this representational tradition. They face front, toward the deliverance scene, rather than toward the assembly as in the earlier paintings, and take an active part in the welcoming moment, which enhances the thematic emphasis of the painting.

Putting together the pictorial segments of the painting, the whole painting depicts the moment when the dragon boat of salvation, in which Amitābha and the Eight Bodhisattvas guide the soul of a female Buddhist, arrives at Amitābha's paradise, where a welcoming assembly is held. The overall composition of the painting is very similar to that of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43) in Hōrinji, Nara-ken—namely, that of Amitābha assemblies held on a low-balustraded terrace between palatial pavilions, in which a salvific dragon boat approaches carrying the deceased soul, guided by Buddha Amitābha. The Hōrinji scroll sets the pavilions along the central lotus pond, with the sun disc, pond, jeweled trees, and canopy in the top register above the large assembly, which are persistent elements even in the increasingly simplified Korean paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*.<sup>19</sup> In *The Assembly for Welcoming Dragon Boat*, the sun disc is not depicted, and the middle ground of the

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<sup>19</sup> The six visualizations that used to be routinely illustrated on the right column of the painting—water, the ground, the jeweled trees, the ponds, the general views, and the lotus throne—are merged into the top register along with the visualization of the setting sun in the Hōrinji scroll.



Hōrinji painting (fig. IV-33) showing the lotus pond and Amitābha receiving the souls is also omitted. Thus the painting consists of the scenes of the assembly above and salvific dragon boat below, with the figures of reborn souls in the middle (fig. IV-43).

In this respect, the compositional frame of the painting is close to that of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-42) in Chionji, which basically focuses on the assembly and rebirth scenes. This painting shows the large assembly of Amitābha on a palace terrace, with the pond of “waters with eight attributes” (K. *pal gongdeok su* 八功德水) in the back and the railed deck in the front leading directly to the waters where the salvation of the souls into paradise takes place (through their rebirth on lotus blossoms rather than through transport by dragon boat, however). Between them is the mixed group of reborn souls.

The foregoing analysis of the iconography and composition of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* indicates that the painting was produced in the pictorial tradition of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* rather than *Amitābha’s Pure Land*, even though the top register of the already merged seven contemplations is further omitted or abbreviated, and the deliverance of souls through transport by dragon boat completely replaces their deliverance through rebirth on lotus blossoms. The significance of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* in the historical transformation of the paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* is pursued in the next section.

#### IV.2.2 Religious Significance of the Iconography

The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Korean paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* show a peculiar pictorial development in East Asian Buddhism.<sup>20</sup> The pictorial tradition of the subject certainly originated in Central Asia with Dunhuang paintings of *The Illustration of the Contemplation Sūtra*, and was disseminated to Japan as seen in numerous copies of the so-called *Taima Mandala*. The prototypes of the Dunhuang *Illustration of the Contemplation Sūtra* paintings and Japanese *Taima Mandala* paintings show both the prefatory narrative on the right column and the welcoming descents, subdivided into nine grades, on the bottom register, which were based on the commentaries on *The Contemplation Sūtra* by Shandao 善導 (613–81), the foremost protagonist of Tang Pure Land Buddhism.<sup>21</sup>

Excluding both the prefatory narrative and the nine-grade welcoming descents, *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* features the sixteen kinds of visualization taught by Buddha Śākyamuni as a means for attaining rebirth in Amitābha's Pure Land.

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<sup>20</sup> Among nine extant paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* up to the sixteenth century, seven works are from fourteenth or fifteenth century Korea, while the rest two paintings in Amidadera 阿弥陀寺, Nara, and in Chōkōji 長香寺, Kyōto, are believed to be the Kamakura copies of (a) Song original(s).

<sup>21</sup> Shandao 善導, *Guan Wuliangshoufo jing shu* 觀無量壽佛經疏, T1753.37.245c–278c. For the analysis of the *Taima Mandala* based on Shandao's *Guan Wuliangshoufo jing shu*, see Nakamura Kōji 中村興二, "Saihō Jōdohen no kenkyū" 西方浄土變の研究 [Studies in The Transformation Paintings of the Pure Land in the Western Realm], *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 日本美術工芸 491–519 (1979–81).

No Chinese painting of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* is yet known. However, the purported Kamakura copies of Southern Song paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* in the collections of Amidadera 阿弥陀寺, Nara (fig. IV-35), and in Chōkōji 長香寺, Kyōto (fig. IV-36), indicate that paintings of this subject were established and circulated in China.<sup>22</sup> Other than these two works, the other five of the seven extant paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* up to the sixteenth century are from Korea. With no survivals from China and the popularity of another genre of the *Taima Mandala* in Japan, Korean paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* suggest a special popularity of the subject in Korea.

Korean paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* show a several-phased development that reflects a shift of doctrinal emphasis in Korean Pure Land Buddhism. Sharing the iconography of the paintings in Amidadera and Chōkōji, the paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* in Daikōji 大高寺,

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<sup>22</sup> For dating and Japanese copy of the two paintings in Japanese collections, see Hamata Ryū 濱田隆, “Nanto Amidadera shozō Kankyō jūrokkān hensōzu ni tsuite” 南都阿弥陀寺所藏觀經十六觀變相圖について [On *The Transformation Painting of the Sixteen Contemplations of the Contemplation Sūtra* in the collection of Amidadera in the southern capital], *Yamato bunka kenkyū* 大和文化研究 4.4 (1957. 3): 13–23; and Yamakawa Aki 山川暁, “Chōkōji hon Kanmuryōjūkyō jūrokkān hensōzu ni tsuite: Sōdai Jōdokyō kaiga no juyō to tenkai” 「長香寺本觀無量壽經十六觀變相圖」について—宋代浄土教絵画の受容と展開 [On *The Transformation Painting of the Sixteen Contemplations of the Contemplation Sūtra* in Chōkōji: The reception and development of paintings of the Pure Land sect of the Song dynasty], *Bijutsushi* 美術史 142 (1997.3): 139–155.

Ibaraki-ken 茨城県 (fig. IV-37), and in Saifukuji 西福寺, Fukui-ken 福井県 (fig. IV-38), attributed to the early fourteenth century or slightly earlier, are the earliest extant Goryeo paintings of the subject. They promote the practice of meditative visualization (K. *gwansang* 觀想) through their schematized motifs of the sixteen contemplation topics, laid out in registers horizontally (fig. IV-37) or in columns vertically (fig. IV-38). However, the two paintings differ in their representation of the souls attaining rebirth in Amitābha's paradise. The Daikōji painting (fig. IV-37) represents the reborn souls as bodhisattvas who have attained that stage through self-cultivation of the bodhisattva precepts according to Zhili 知禮 (960–1028).<sup>23</sup> The Saifukuji scroll (fig. IV-38) depicts the reborn souls as bodhisattvas, disciples, or laypeople depending on each devotee's basic spiritual capacity (K. *geungi* 根機), reflecting the Song Vinaya master Yuanzhao's 元照 (1048–1116) exegesis of the *Contemplation Sūtra*.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> For a better reproduction, see Kumja Paik Kim, *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment 918–1392* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 2003), pl. 19; or *Kokka* 国華 1313 (2005), pl. 2. The doctrinal connection of the Daikōji painting to Zhili's thought on the Pure Land is made in Ide Seinosuke, "Kōrai butsuga no sekai: Higashi Ajia bijutsu ni okeru ryōbun to sono shosō," 28–29. Zhili's exegesis is: *Guan Wuliangshoufo jing shumiao zong chao* 觀無量壽佛經疏妙宗鈔, T1751.37.195a–233b.

<sup>24</sup> For a better reproduction, see Kikudake Jun'ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54. The theoretic inspiration of Yuanzhao's doctrine to Song *Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, one of whose Japanese copies is the Amidadera painting, was framed in Hamata Ryū, "Nanto Amidadera shozō Kankyō jūrokkan hensōzu ni tsuite," 20–21. Further discussion of it and application to Korean paintings are found in Yamakawa Aki, "Chōkōji hon Kanmuryōjūkyō jūrokkan hensōzu ni tsuite: Sōdai Jōdokyō kaiga no juyō to tenkai," 139–155;

Compositional modification of the Chinese prototype, which reflects this shift in religious emphasis, characterizes the next development of Korean paintings of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*. The paintings in Rinshōji, Aichi-ken (Fig. IV-39), and in Chion'in, Kyōto (Fig. IV-40), were produced in the same year of 1323, with identical changes in composition and iconography. The sixteen individual pictorial symbols, or aids for the topic of each phase of meditative visualization, that were laid out over three columns become integrated and simplified so as to be filed up in the central column of the picture. The six visualizations that were illustrated in the right column of earlier paintings—water, the ground, the jeweled trees, the ponds, the general views, and the lotus throne—are now merged in the top register, along with the motif of the visualization of the setting sun. The next six visualizations, which used to appear in the left column, are also integrated into the three Amitābha's assemblies that dominate the entire picture; and the nine grades of rebirth of the last three visualizations are arranged on the bottom register. The entire illustration of the sixteen visualizations merged in the middle column looks to be surrounded by lotus ponds, and the Amitābha's assembly at the center of the picture is distinctly featured. The paintings are not concerned any more with illustrating the sixteen discrete individual motifs to aid meditative visualization in order to attain rebirth in paradise by one's own efforts (K. *jaryeok* 自力). Instead, they

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and Kikudake Jun'ichi and Jeong Utaek, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa* vol. II, 79–80, entry by Ide Seinosuke. Yuanzhao's exegesis is: *Guan Wuliangshoufo jing yishu* 觀無量壽佛經義疏, T1754.37.279a–305b.

bring the representation of Amitābha in his Pure Land into focus, emphasizing rebirth in his paradise through reliance on Buddha Amitābha—that is, reliance on the power of another (K. *taryeok* 他力). This restructured Goryeo *Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* was inherited by the early Joseon paintings of the subject. *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (1465) in Chion'in, Kyōto (fig. IV-41), shows a close similarity to the 1323 paintings, which suggests that the 1465 painting may have modeled on a rather archaic-style painting.

The simplification of the sixteen visualizations and focus on the representation of Amitābha's assembly in his Pure Land are further intensified in the early Joseon *Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* of 1434 (fig. IV-42) in Chionji, Kyōto. This painting integrates Amitābha's assemblies in the middle column into a single dominant, large assembly, and the divided lotus ponds into one area of open water in the front. Thus the painting looks more like an *Amitābha Pure Land*, focusing on the Pure Land, though the merged first seven visualizations are still seen in the top register.

Another *Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* dated to the fifteenth century, in the collection of Hōrinji, Nara-ken (fig. IV-43), combines old and new pictorial elements of the subject. It maintains the visualization motifs on the top, and even the scenes of Amitābha receiving the newly reborn souls (fig. IV-33) seen in the earlier painting in Saifukuji (fig. IV-44 and IV-38). However, the Amitābha's assemblies are not stacked up in the central column but arranged in a half-circle surrounded by clouds, which makes them look like one large assembly. The palatial terrace leads to the open lotus pond in the middle ground. Most notable is the fact that this painting features the

new iconography of a dragon boat approaching the Pure Land on the waters of the foreground (fig. III-24). By taking a bird's-eye view that evokes expansiveness rather than filling up the painting with densely arranged motifs for meditative visualization, and by adding the motif of the salvation via dragon boat beyond the rebirth on lotus blossoms, this painting represents the growing aspiration of devotees both for Amitābha's Pure Land and for the salvation led by Amitābha himself.

In this pictorial tradition of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1) represents a further development of the devotees' call for Amitābha's active salvation. The motifs for visualization on the top are no longer depicted, and the whole picture features the two scenes of the assembly and salvific dragon boat. The scene of the salvation by dragon boat is especially highlighted compared to the earlier Hōrinji painting (fig. IV-43), reflecting devotees' growing interest in and hope for Amitābha's active involvement in their salvation. By highlighting Buddha Amitābha in action, the painting visualizes the greatest concern of the Pure Land believers of sixteenth-century Korean Buddhism.

### **IV.3 The Medium**

One of the distinctive features of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* is its use of gold pigment on a red silk ground. As the inscription of the painting also states, pure

gold is the principal medium of this painting.<sup>25</sup> The figuration of the forms in the painting is achieved solely by linear depiction in gold ink, with very limited use of colors on the deities' bodies. Paintings of gold-line drawing on red silk (*gyeonbon juji geumseonmyo hwa* 絹本朱地金線描畫) form a significant category among early Joseon Buddhist paintings and more importantly in the context of the present study, the majority are products of court women's patronage. Thus *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* represents an important type of commission that Buddhist women of court preferred. This section examines the material aspects of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* in the tradition of the gold-line drawing painting in Korea.

#### IV.3.1 Gold-Line Drawing

Works done primarily in gold-line drawing form a distinct genre in early Joseon Buddhist painting. It was called as “gold painting” (*geumhwa* 金畫),<sup>26</sup> or “pure gold painting”

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<sup>25</sup> The inscription says: “...respectfully produced a scroll of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise* in pure gold and mounted it with golden silk” 敬成純金西方九品龍船接引會圖一幀 金帛粧潢.

<sup>26</sup> The inscriptions in the surviving six scrolls from the set of four hundred paintings of four *Buddha Triads* commissioned by Queen Munjeong in 1565, “...爰命良工 釋迦彌勒藥師 彌陀 皆補各處 俱各金畫五十 彩畫五十 并四百幀....”



(*sungeumhwa* 純金畫),<sup>27</sup> whereas the other colored painting was called “color painting” (*chaehwa* 彩畫) or “true color painting” (*jinchaehwa* 眞彩畫) in early Joseon texts. “Pure gold” (*sungeum* 純金) was also ambiguously used either to mean “pure gold painting” or to signify specifically the medium of gold.<sup>28</sup> This indicates that gold-line paintings form a significant corpus in the early Joseon period, enough to claim a categorical definition in relation to colored painting.<sup>29</sup>

The dating of the extant paintings done in gold-line drawing indicates that they might see an abrupt rise in popularity in Korea in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

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<sup>27</sup> The inscription of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru, Eight Great Bodhisattvas, and the Twelve Guardian Generals* (1561) in Entsūji 圓通寺, Wakayama-ken 和歌山県, “...敬捨儲帑之財 純金畫成東方滿月世界藥師琉璃光如來會圖五幀 眞彩畫成二幀 并七幀....”

<sup>28</sup> The colophon of *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* (1489) commissioned by Consort-Princess Wolsan 月山, Mm. Bak 朴, “... 畫成靈山會圖 西方會圖 行步彌陀 地藏會圖 純金彌陀八大菩薩千手觀音....”; the inscription of *Bhaiṣajyaguru and the Twelve Guardian Generals* (1548–65) in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, “... 爰命良工願成 彩畫釋迦鋒修道會圖二幀 彩畫藥師一幀地藏一幀 純金熾盛光會圖 一幀....”; the inscription of *The Maitreya Assembly* (1568) in Nyoirinji 如意輪寺, Wakayama-ken 和歌山県, “...爰命良工 用金爲□ 新畫成純金龍華會圖一幀....”; the inscription of *Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (1582), “...敬成純金西方九品龍船接引會圖 一幀....”; and the inscription of the *Assembly of Four Buddhas* (1562) in the National Museum of Korea, Seoul, “... 以眞黃金新畫成 西方阿彌陀佛一幀 彩畫四會幀 一面 彩畫中壇幀一面....”

<sup>29</sup> In modern scholarship, the painting is designated as “gold-line drawn painting” (*geumseonmyohwa* 金線描畫), or more precisely “Buddhist painting in gold-line drawing” (*geumseonmyo bulhwa* 金線描佛畫).

Since no large scroll of gold-line painting is known prior to the fifteenth century in Korea, scholars look for its origin in the pictorial tradition of either sūtra frontispieces or other Buddhist paintings of the Goryeo dynasty. On the one hand, the paintings' use of indigo-blue or red ground is one of the obvious similarities to the Goryeo hand-copied sūtras. The painting of color in areas on the deities—the exposed bodies in gold ink, hair in dark or light blue, and lips in red in *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, for example—is also often found in common with the frontispiece illustrations of Goryeo sūtras such as the *Frontispiece of Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (fig. IV-45), dated to around 1350, in the collection of the Kenneth Spencer Research Library at the University of Kansas. Examples of Buddhist art in other mediums that employ the formula of sūtra frontispiece further corroborate the notion that the origin of the gold-line-drawing painting lies in sūtra illustration. The 1307 black-lacquered plaque with gold-line drawing of *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (recto) and *Kṣitigarbha* (verso) in the National Museum of Korea at Seoul employs elements seen in sūtra frontispiece, such as a borderline framed with patterns of three-pronged *vajras* and a double-outlined cartouche for subtitle (fig. IV-46).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> The studies that suggest the Goryeo sūtra frontispiece for the origin of the Joseon gold-line painting with above aspects are as follows: Takeda Kazuaki, “Honjima Raigōji no Amida Jōdozu ni tsuite: Richō butsuga junkinga no seisaku haikai ni tsuite,” 19; Takeda Kazuaki, “Gifu Anain no Kannon· Jizō heiritsuzu,” 23; Jeong Utaek, “Naeyeongsa Amita jeongtodo,” 60; and Bak Eungyeong 朴銀卿, “Joseon jeongi seonmyo bulhwa: sungeumhwa” 조선전기 線描佛畫—純金畫 [Line-drawn Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon period: Paintings in pure gold], *Misul*

On the other hand, the iconography and the descriptive technique of decorative patterns of the gold-line paintings of the early Joseon period demonstrate that this genre developed out of the Goryeo Buddhist painting tradition. The gold-line painting *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha* (fig. IV-47) in Anain 阿名院 in Gifu-ken 岐阜県, attributed to the fifteenth century Joseon, is in the iconographic tradition of the Goryeo paintings of the subject, as seen in such colored paintings as *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha* (fig. IV-48) in Saifukuji 西福寺, Fukui-ken 福井県, and another *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha* (fig. IV-49) in a private collection in Japan, both of which are attributed to fourteenth century Goryeo. The gold-line drawing of the *Amitābha Triad* (fig. IV- 50) of fifteenth-century Joseon now in the collection of Sontaiji 尊體寺, Yamanashi-ken 山梨県, is very close to the Goryeo *Amitābha Triad* (fig. IV-51) in the Nezu 根津 Museum, Tōkyō. The bodhisattvas are elongated in the Joseon gold-line drawing, but the pictorial effect of the lotus leaves of the Buddha's pedestal against the bodhisattvas' heads seen through the bodhisattvas' halos is learned from the Goryeo tradition. The frontal *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (fig. IV-52) of late fifteenth-century Joseon in Saifukuji, follows the iconography of the *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* (fig. IV-53) of the late fourteenth century in Kozanji 功山寺, Yamaguchi-ken 山口県.<sup>31</sup>

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*sahak yeongu* 美術史學研究 206 (June 1995): 5–27. Bak's study paid a full attention to this issue for the first time.

<sup>31</sup> For the detailed analysis of each iconographic group of paintings and the descriptive technique of decorative patterns, see Choe Jiyeong 崔支榮, "Joseon hugi seonmyo bulhwa ui yeongu" 朝鮮

Seventeen pieces of gold line scroll painting are known to date.<sup>32</sup> As for their patrons, seven works of them have inscriptions that specify patronage by court women; four more were also very likely produced with court (women) sponsorship, judging from their style, artistic quality, and other information; five are of uncertain patronage; and one was commissioned by a monk.<sup>33</sup> Thirteen of these paintings are dated to the sixteenth century, and three are stylistically dated to the late fifteenth century. The paintings

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後期 線描佛畫의 研究 [A study of line-drawing Buddhist paintings of the late Joseon period] (MA thesis, Seoul: Hongik University, 2001), 22–30; and Gim Hyeonggon 金炯坤, “Joseon seonmyo bulhwa ui yeongu” 朝鮮線描佛畫의 研究 [A study of line-drawn Buddhist paintings of the Joseon dynasty] (MA thesis, Seoul: Dongguk University, 2009), 28–40.

<sup>32</sup> See the List of Buddhist Paintings in Gold-Line Drawing of the Early Joseon Period in Appendix VI.

<sup>33</sup> Refer to the patron information in the List of Buddhist Paintings in Gold-Line Drawing of the Early Joseon Period in Appendix VI. The paintings that can be ascribed to court or women patronage are: *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha* in Anain (fig. IV-47, List no. 1), *Amitābha Triad* in Sontaiji (fig. IV-50, List no. 2), *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* in Zenmyōji (fig. IV-13, List no. 4), all dated to the fifteenth century, and *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara* of the sixteenth century that has names of what are most likely women patrons, Yi-ssi 李氏 and Min-ssi 閔氏 (List no. 13). For the dating and patrons of these fifteenth-century paintings, see Takeda Kazuaki 武田和昭, “Gifu Anain no Kannon·Jizō heiritsuzu” 岐阜阿名院の觀音·地藏竝立圖 [*Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha* in Anain in Gifu], *Museum* 477 (1990): 21–34; Takeda Kazuaki, “Ilbon Fukui Zenmyōji sojang Joseon chogi Amita paldae bosaldo” 일본福井 善妙寺 소장 조선초기 阿彌陀八大菩薩圖 [*Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* in the collection of Zenmyōji in Fukui], *Misulsa nondan* 美術史論壇 3 (June 1996): 337–63; and Gim Hyeonggon, “Joseon seonmyo bulhwa ui yeongu,” 28–40.

known thus far reveal the particular popularity of this painting genre among court women from the late fifteenth through the sixteenth century.

The theme of “salvation by dragon boat” is prominent among the gold linear paintings commissioned by women of the sixteenth-century Joseon court. The text *The Stele of the Renovation Record of the Amitābha Hall in the Temple of Tuṣita* (Jungsu Dosolwon Mitajeon bi 重修兜率院彌陀殿碑), written by Heo Gyun 許筠 (1569–1618), a scholar-official and famous novelist, documents the popularity of the image of the salvific dragon boat depicted in gold linear drawing on red silk among court women during his time:

There is a mountain pass, called Naesu, east of Pungak [Mountain Geumgang]. Going 6 or 7 *li* down the pass, making a turn, and [going] slightly [farther] north, there is a Buddhist temple called the Temple of Tuṣita (Dosolwon). The temple was established in the mid-Goryeo dynasty. . . . When the temple entered our dynasty [Joseon], the halls were destroyed and not repaired. In the year of *giyu* 己酉 [1549] of the Jiajing 嘉靖 era (1522–66), Lady Jeong, the consort of the Great Prince of Virtue Thriving [Deokheung daewongun 德興大院君], donated her personal funds and had Monk Beobu renovate it. The construction was elaborate and beautiful. When the halls were completed, our Majesty was born. There was not one thing to foreshadow [good] auspices, all of which the lady ascribed to [the merit of] the renovation of the temple. She also ordered the painters Yi Baeryeon and his son Heunghyo to draw a painting of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Ship* in gold on red silk.<sup>34</sup> Producing a large hanging scroll, [she]

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<sup>34</sup> The original title of this painting is *Injeop yongju hoe* 引接龍舟會. I translate the title as *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Ship* just to avoid any confusion in the following discussion with the abbreviated title of the topic painting of this chapter, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (Seobang gupum yongseon jeobin hoe-do 西方九品龍船接引會圖). The two

hung it on the west wall and prayed for the blessings of our Majesty. The brushstrokes of the painting were so flying-jumping and awe-inspiring that it almost competed with the hall in its magnificence. . . . However, over the last several decades, the abbots of the temple have died one after the other. The temple was finally dilapidated and not managed, so that the scroll was removed to be housed in Pyohunsa. In the year of *gihae* [1599], when Queen Uiin heard about this, she ordered the Royal Treasury to dispatch a monk in charge of repairing the temple and helped with generous funds from the Royal Treasury. Monk Dogwan superintended the project, but before it was completed, the Queen passed away. The Royal Treasury told His Highness about the incomplete project [of the Queen]. His Highness said, “It is the work that my late mother launched, and the deceased Queen followed her traces. Their sincere devotion should not be abandoned by stopping pursuing it. Send some of my money that I saved when I was prince and make it complete.” Dogwan respectfully received the money and supervised the project to completion. Hiring Yi Jeong with the remaining money, Monk Dogwan had him paint the *White-Robed Great Master* [Avalokiteśvara] and hung it on the east wall. He moved the scroll of *The Dragon Ship* and had them face each other in the east and west. The paintings were so elaborate that they looked divine. They illuminated people in the hall so brightly that the golden wall, rather, had no luster.

楓岳之東，有岾，曰內水。岾之下，行六七里，折而稍北，有佛宇，白[曰]兜率院。院棚於麗中葉.... 寺入我朝，殿圯不修。嘉靖己酉歲，德興大院君夫人鄭氏，捐我財，令僧法雨修之，結構精麗。殿成而誕我殿。符瑞之著現者非一，而夫人以修院歸之。又命畫士李陪連及其子興孝，以金繪引接龍舟會於紅綃，爲大幀，懸之西壁，爲殿下祈福。其筆勢飛躍森嚴，殆與殿爭其壯也.... 逮數十年來，主院者相繼亡，遂荒廢不治，移其幀藏于表訓寺。歲己亥，懿仁王后聞之，命內需司差幹僧徑修之，厚捐帑金以助。僧道觀主其事而未完，王后上賓。內司以未訖役稟，上曰，“先夫人之經始，而亡后之所踵行者，不可中止以廢其誠。可以大君貢幣若干貲之，

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paintings were very likely of the same iconography. I have no intention of differentiating between the *ju* 舟 and the *seon* 船 of the titles. See also note 54 for the translations of the titles.

責其成也。”道觀拜受幣，督工就畢，以其羨倩李楨，又畫白衣大士，掛東壁，而移奉龍舟幀，東西相向。繪事精絕入神，殿中朗耀燭人，金碧返無其彩。<sup>35</sup>

From this account we learn that Lady Jeong, mother of King Seonjo, sponsored renovation of the Amitābha Hall of the Temple of Tuṣita and commissioned the court painters Yi Baeryeon 李陪連 (fl. mid-sixteenth century) and his son Yi Heunghyo 李興孝 (1537–93) to paint *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Ship* for the temple.<sup>36</sup> When the temple was destroyed, the painting was moved to another temple. However, Queen Uiin 懿仁 (1555–1600) patronized the repair of the temple to fulfill her mother-in-law’s wishes, though she died before the project was completed. King Seonjo

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<sup>35</sup> Heo Gyun 許筠, “Jungsu Dosolwon Mitajeon bi” 重修兜率院彌陀殿碑, *Seongso bubu go* 惺所覆瓿稿, gwon 16, munbu 文部 13, bi 碑, in *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, 1991), 74: 272b–73a. This text was first introduced in Jeong Utaek, “Naeyeongsa Amita jeongtodo,” 59.

<sup>36</sup> Yi Baeryeon, Yi Heunghyo, and Yi Jeong 李楨 (1578–1607) who later painted the *White-Robed Great Master* for the Temple of Tuṣita, were three generations of the famous Yi family of court artists in the sixteenth century. Yi Jeong was a son of Yi Sunghyo 李崇孝 (d.u.), brother of Yi Heunghyo who was also a court artist himself. Yi Baeryeon is purportedly the identical figure of both Yi Jasil 李自實 (d.u.), who painted *Thirty-two Responsive Manifestations of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* from Dogapsa (1550) now in Chion’in, Kyōto, and of another name, Yi Sangjwa 李上佐, a famous but mysterious artist to whom not a few early Joseon paintings are attributed. See Yu Gyeonghui 柳京灝, “Wangsil barwon bulhwa wa gungjung hwawon” 王室發願佛畫斗宮中畫員 [Buddhist paintings commissioned by the court and court painters], *Gangjwa misulsa* 講座美術史 26 (2006): 592–97.

宣祖 had the renovations completed, and the painting was put back in the temple. The text thus testifies to the popularity of the faith in and painting of salvation via dragon boat of royal women of the early Joseon court. In this commission, the painting produced by superb court artists seems to have been an opulent piece of gold-line drawing on red silk. Given the contemporaneity, similar patron's background, high artistic quality, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* might also have been produced by the hand of one of these painters. Enshrined in a remote temple on Mount Geumgang 金剛, Gangwon-do 江原道, it would surely not only have amazed the local populace with its splendid execution by royal patronage but also have disseminated the cult of salvation by means of dragon boat to local lay believers.

Documents reporting the production of gold-line paintings also attest to this medium's popularity in local monasteries in the sixteenth century. The records of Hyujeong 休靜 (1520–1604), who was the foremost authority of the Buddhist administrative office during King Seonjo's reign (1568–1608), disclose the popularity of gold-line-drawn painting at the local level:

Mount Geumgang is one of the celebrated mountains in the Eastern Country [Joseon], and the Tuṣita (Hermitage)<sup>37</sup> is one of the renowned hermitage on Mount Geumgang. ...

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<sup>37</sup> Was the Tuṣita Hermitage (兜率庵) here the same establishment as the Temple of Tuṣita (兜率院) of Heo Gyun's text above? Both temples were on Mount Geumgang, and there are minor permissible differences between the descriptions of the two, given that the texts were written by different authors and at several decades remove from each other: (1) the temple names of “won” 院 and “am” 庵, (2) the titles of the newly built halls: “Mitajeon” 彌陀殿 and “Geungnakjeon”



In the third month of the spring of the following year of *musin* [1548], [monk Seonghui] specially built the three-bay Hall of Ultimate Bliss to the west of the monks' residence hall, cast seven gilt statues, and enshrined them all in the hall. On the wall of the hall, [he] hung one scroll of *Amitābha's Assembly* and one scroll of *The Assembly for the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise*, [both] in pure gold. Their red and green ornament and luster moved people....

金剛者 東國之一名山也 兜率者 金剛之一名庵也...越戊申 春三月 [性熙] 寮之西  
特起極樂殿三間[間] 鑄金像七軀 竝安 于殿中 殿之壁 掛純金 彌陀會一幀  
西方九品會一幀 紅綠莊嚴光彩動人...<sup>38</sup>

Hyujeong tells us that two paintings in gold-line drawing for the Amitābha cult were enshrined in a small temple of the remote but famous Mount Geumgang in the coastal area in the eastern region of the Korean peninsula. It is not clear whether *The Assembly for the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise* had the same iconography as *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise*, the topic painting of this chapter, but it was likely a painting of *Amitābha Pure Land* or *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*. Given that the patron is not

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極樂殿, (3) the years of the building construction: 1549 and 1548. However, I leave them as two separate facilities, because there are still problems that cannot be ignored: (1) the difference of the names of the monks in charge of the construction, Beobu 法雨 and possibly Seonghui 性熙, and (2) no specific mention of the celebrated royal patrons of the Temple of Tuṣita in the text about the Tuṣita Hermitage by Hyujeong.

<sup>38</sup> Cheongheo Hyujeong 淸虛 休靜, “The Record of the Tuṣita Hermitage on Mount Geumgang II” (Geumgangsān Dosolam gi yi 金剛山 兜率庵記 二), *Cheongheojip* 淸虛集, gwon 5, in *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 (Seoul: Dongguk University Press, 1994) 7: 707a-b.

specified in the record, he or she may not have been a celebrated person. In any event, paintings in gold-line drawing were also produced with the sponsorship of the local temple in the late sixteenth century.

Another text also by Hyujeong indicates the expansion of gold-linear-drawing paintings into temples in mountainous recesses:

On a hillock to the east of the small temple [Sangseonam], [Monk Uiung] specially raised a three-bay Hall of Celebrating the Saints. Encircling the windows were all trees, peonies, and peach blossoms. It was begun in the spring of the year of *gimi* [1559] and ended in the summer of the year of *gyeongsin* [1560]. Then [he] adorned it with decorative paintings and then completed it. Further, another monk of the temple, Jongmin, modeled and cast gilt statues of Śākyamuni, Amitābha, Bhaiṣajyaguru, Avalokiteśvara, and Kṣitigarbha, five statues altogether, and [produced] pur gold *The Assembly at the Vulture Peak*, pure gold *The Assembly of Amitābha*, and pure gold *The Assembly of Bhaiṣajyaguru*, altogether three scrolls. It began in the autumn of the year of *imsul* [1562] and ended in the summer of the year of *gyehae* [1563]. Subsequently, [he] held the eye-opening ceremony and comfortably received [the devotees].

庵[上禪庵]之東塢, [義雄]特起慶聖堂三間也。軒窗戶也, 皆木<sup>救</sup>苒桃花也。始於己未春, 終於庚申夏也。因以丹青也, 因以落成也。又山之人, 宗敏也, 塑鑄金像釋迦也, 彌陀也, 藥師也, 觀音也, 地藏也, 竝五軀也, 純金靈山會, 純金彌陀會, 純金藥師會, 竝三幀也。始於壬戌秋, 終於癸亥夏也。因以點眼也, 因以安邀也。<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Cheongheo Hyujeong, “The Record of the Hermitage of Supreme Meditation on Mount Taebaek” (Taebaeksan Sangseonam gi 太白山上禪庵記), *Cheongheojip*, gwon 6, in *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 7: 717b–718a.

To recapitulate, gold-line paintings were produced for a hermitage-temple in the distant mountainous area of Mount Taebaek in Gangwon-do 江原道. There is no mention about the specific patron(s) of the three scrolls of Buddha-assembly paintings in this text, but Monk Jongmin was possibly the patron of the paintings. In both of the texts cited above, the gold-line paintings were enshrined following the installment of the altar statues in newly built halls at each temple. In the case of the Tuṣita Hermitage, the paintings were of the subject that suited the Hall of Ultimate Bliss, and in case of the Hall of the Celebrating Saints, the assembly paintings were probably hung behind the corresponding Buddha on the main altar. Thus the paintings were most likely produced as altarpieces in these temples. These records demonstrate that gold-line painting enjoyed extensive popularity among local monasteries as well as court women in the sixteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> In the late sixteenth century, another mode of line-drawn painting appeared, yellow or white pigment drawing on red hemp. Obviously intended to substitute for the gold-line drawing on red silk, such paintings were commissioned by a multitude of commoners. With the seemingly neat pattern of the patronage—gold drawing on silk by court patronage, and yellow or white drawing on hemp by commoners’ patronage—Korean art historians have attempted a simple classification distinguishing between the painting mode and the social status of patrons. However, the recent discovery of a gold-line drawing on red silk, *Amitābha Triad* (1581) in a private collection, Korea, commissioned by a monk Jeongam 定庵 of a subtemple of Songgwangsa 松廣寺, Jeollanam-do 全羅南道, has prompted a reconsideration of the established classification. Jeong Utaek 鄭于澤, “Joseon jeongi geumseonmyo Amita samjonbul illye” 朝鮮前期 金線描阿彌陀三尊佛 一例 [One example of the gold-line drawn *Amitābha Triads* of the early Joseon period], *Misulsa yeongu* 미술사연구 22 (2008): 151–68. The texts regarding the Tuṣita Hermitage and the Hermitage of Supreme Meditation here may corroborate this finding, though the patrons of the paintings in the local temples are not clearly specified.

### IV.3.2 The Ground

*The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* exemplifies the distinctive execution of the gold-line paintings on red ground of silk (*gyeonbon juji* 絹本朱地) of this period, as noted above. Among the known gold-line paintings from the early Joseon period, the fifteenth-century *Amitābha Triad* (fig. IV-50) in Sontaiji in Yamanashi-ken, and the sixteenth-century *Śākyamuni and the Ten Disciples* (fig. IV-54) in the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst in Cologne, dated to the sixteenth century, are both on indigo-blue silk (*gyeonbon gamji* 絹本紺地); an *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* dated to the late sixteenth century in a Japanese private collection, is known to be on black silk; all the rest are on red silk.<sup>41</sup> The indigo-blue ground is derived, of course, from the tradition of Goryeo sūtra transcription on indigo-blue mulberry-paper, whereas the black ground may be related to gold line drawings on lacquer from ancient China. The use of the black ground became increasingly popular for line-drawn paintings in the late Joseon dynasty.

The prevailing use of red ground for the gold and/or silver line-drawn paintings in the early Joseon period very likely had something to do with the traditional use of a dark red or purple ground (*jaji* 紫地) for the gold-line paintings or for frontispieces of sūtra

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<sup>41</sup> See the medium information in the List of Buddhist Paintings in Gold-Line Drawing in Appendix VI. There are discrepancies in the color of the other three gold linear paintings of the fifteenth century among the studies and catalogue captions. I prudentially take them to be drawn on dark-red dyed silk, based on information from firsthand research of each painting and other considerations, but there might admittedly be a chance of wrong information.

transcriptions. Extant artifacts show that the dark-red ground predates the indigo-blue ground for linear drawings and sūtra transcriptions. The gold and silver line drawings on a dark-red ground of various media from eighth-century Tang, housed in Shōsōin 正倉院, Nara, are the oldest surviving examples.<sup>42</sup> The oldest extant frontispieces of sūtra transcription from Korea and China, the *Frontispiece Illustration of the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (754–55) in Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul, and the *Frontispiece Illustration of the Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* (1118) of the Dali 大理 Kingdom in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, respectively, are also on dark-red grounds.<sup>43</sup>

The dark red of the ground medium is created with a natural dye from sappanwood (*Caesalpinia sappan*) that is cultivated as a horticultural plant on the Indian subcontinent and in Southeast Asia.<sup>44</sup> Depending on mordant, the plant yields different shades of red. Around the ninth century, the indigo-blue ground started to be used in China, and was thereafter predominantly used as seen in the extant Goryeo and Yuan

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<sup>42</sup> See *Shōsōin to jōdai kaiga* 正倉院と上代絵画, Nihon bijutsu zenshū 日本美術全集 3 (Tōkyō: Kōdansha, 1990), pl. 115–17.

<sup>43</sup> See Ho-Am Gallery, *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi: Goryeo bulhwa teukbyeoljeon* 高麗, 영원한美: 高麗佛畫特別展 [Goryeo, the eternal beauty: The special exhibition of Goryeo Buddhist painting] (Seoul: Ho-Am Gallery, 1993), pl. 37–38.

<sup>44</sup> The sappanwood is *suō* 蘇芳 in Japanese and the dark-red dyed ground with it is often called *suōji* 蘇芳地 in Japanese art history, while in Korean art history, *jaji* 紫地 is usually used for it.

hand-copied sūtras in gold and/or silver.<sup>45</sup> Even though no line-drawn painting or sūtra frontispiece on a dark-red ground is known from the Goryeo period, the gold-line drawing of the early Joseon is probably contrived in the tradition of line drawings on a dark-red ground in Buddhist art.

The gold-line drawings of the sixteenth century, including *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* differ from the earlier tradition in that they were reportedly executed on a ground applied with red pigment (*juji* 朱地) rather than on a ground dyed dark red.<sup>46</sup> This shift in the method of coloring the ground from dyeing to applying pigment, may have been related to the availability of materials of the dyestuff and pigment, but effort was made to maintain the traditional red color of the ground for gold-line painting.

Red ground color must have been thought to provide the best pictorial effect with the gold drawing. A reddish background is known to effectively set off the gold drawing. Although a later reference, the Chinese *Painting Manual of the Mustard Seed Garden* (C.

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<sup>45</sup> Yonezawa Yoshiho 米沢嘉圃, “Chūgoku no kingindeie” 中国の金銀泥絵 [Chinese Paintings in gold or silver ink], *Kōetsu-sho Sōtatsu kingindeie* 光悦書宗達金銀泥絵 (Tōkyō: Asahi shimbunsha, 1978); Reprinted in *Yonezawa Yoshiho bijutsushi ronshū jō* 米沢嘉圃美術史論集上 (Tōkyō: Kokkasha, 1994), 168–92.

<sup>46</sup> Because of the discrepancies in the coloring of the medium of gold linear paintings of the fifteenth century (see note 41), I withhold any conclusion on the gold linear paintings of fifteenth-century Joseon at the moment.

Jieziyuan huapu 芥子園畫譜) confirms the effectiveness of a red or blue ground for painting in gold ink:

Gold ink, only when [it is] applied on the red or blue mineral pigments, finally [it] release radiant color.

泥金, 只宜於硃砂石青上, 方發光彩.<sup>47</sup>

To sum up, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* maintained the tradition of gold-line drawing on a dark colored ground for the best effect of the image. The combination of dazzlingly sumptuous gold lines and simple, restrained dark-red color was especially popular among sixteenth-century court female Buddhists for their votive commissions. Scholars have suggested various reasons for this preference. Perhaps it was due to the aesthetics of Confucian Joseon society, the efficiency of gold line paintings, or the economic aspect of their production that is *less time-consuming* than colored paintings.<sup>48</sup> However, it seems that the question is yet to be answered.

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<sup>47</sup> *Jieziyuan huapu di san ji: cao chong ling mao* 芥子園畫譜 第三集 草蟲翎毛 (1701), ‘Huazhuan sanji juanmo’ 畫傳三集卷末, ‘Shese zhufa’ 設色諸法, ‘Nijin’ 泥金, in facsimile-copied *Jieziyuan huapu di san ji: cao chong ling mao* (Tianjin: Tianjin shi guji shudian, 1988), 245. This was first pointed in Choe Jiyeong, “Joseon hugi seonmyo bulhwa ui yeongu,” 34.

<sup>48</sup> Jeong Utaek, “Naeyeongsa Amita jeongtodo,” 60.

## IV.4 Welcoming the Dragon Boat to the Pure Land

The key to understanding *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* as a visualization of devotees' supplication for Amitābha's active involvement in their salvation is the word "welcoming" (or "receiving and leading," K. *jeobin* 接引, C. *jieyin*) in the original title of the painting (Seobang gupum yongseon jeobinhoe do 西方九品龍船接引會圖). This section studies this crucial term, examining the meaning and types of *jeobin*, the linkage of the boat to *jeobin* as a means of transportation, and the further connection of *jeobin* with the dragon boat seen in Korean Buddhist literature. In doing so, I will elucidate the doctrinal background of the cult of the salvific dragon boat represented in the painting.

### IV.4.1 Welcoming to the Pure Land

The term *jeobin* 接引 ("welcoming") refers to the Buddha's receiving and leading the souls of devotees into the Pure Land.<sup>49</sup> *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* in Saifukuji (fig. IV-38), visually renders *jeobin*'s exact definition. The painting has the *gāthās* of the sixteen contemplations (K. *sibyuk gwan gesong* 十六觀偈頌) and titles of the other pictorial segments written in the cartouches next to the icons of the sixteen contemplations on both columns at the far ends of the composition. The titles for the scenes of Buddha's receiving a reborn soul on both sides of the foreground are given in

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<sup>49</sup> *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, "jeobin" (article by C. Muller), accessed Nov. 10, 2009.



the closing ends of both cartouches (fig. IV-44). The title for the scene on the right is “The place where [the Buddha] receives and leads the first reborn, and gives [him or her] the assurance of future enlightenment” (*chosaeng jeobin sugi ji cheo* 初生接引授記之處, fig. IV-55), whereas the title for the left scene is “The place where [the Buddha] receives and leads the first reborn, and lays [his hand atop the reborn soul’s] head [while teaching him or her]” (*chosaeng jeobin majeong ji cheo* 初生接引摩頂之處, fig. IV-56). These images show that the Buddha’s “receiving and leading” (*jeobin*) means his greeting or welcoming the reborn to paradise.

Thus *jeobin* is similar to the more widely used term *naeyeong* 來迎 (C. *laiying*, J. *raigō*), which stands for the coming of the Buddha to welcome the dying believer to the Pure Land. The concept behind both terms originates in *The Sūtra of the Buddha of Immeasurable Life*, which reports Amitābha’s forty-eight vows taken in a past life. The nineteenth vow is to come to devotees at their time of death.<sup>51</sup> Strictly speaking, *jeobin* seems to describe the action that takes place after *naeyeong*; however, because *naeyeong* also connotes taking the soul to the Pure Land beyond the literal meaning of “coming to welcome” in the paintings of Welcoming Descent, the two terms actually have the same meaning. Another word, *naeyeongjeop* 來迎接 (“coming to welcome and receive”), is

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<sup>51</sup> *Foshuo Wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經, T360.12.268a29–b2.

used the same way in scriptures, further demonstrating that these terms were used interchangeably.<sup>52</sup>

Although *jeobin* is less familiar than *naeyeong* today, it was used as often as *naeyeong* in Buddhist scriptures and other literature. It is also used often—probably more often than *naeyeong*—in Korean Buddhism of the Goryeo and Joseon periods. *Jeobin* was certainly preferred in the early Joseon Buddhist paintings over *naeyeong*. It is found in the inscription of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (1465, fig. IV-41) in Chion'in, Kyōto,<sup>53</sup> and in the record about the gold-line painting of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Ship* by Heo Gyun, discussed earlier, whereas no use of *naeyeong* has yet been identified.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> For example, “The Buddha and a multitude of sages carry a golden (lotus) pedestal in their hands and come to welcome and receive me, as if being born in the Land of Ultimate Bliss in one thinking moment” 佛及聖衆手持金臺來迎接我 如一念頃生極樂國. In Zunshi 遵式, *Wangsheng jingtu jueyi xingyuan ermen* 往生淨土決疑行願二門, T1968.47.147b4.

<sup>53</sup> “...伏願 三殿兼及卑我先君 暨諸檀喜 遠近戚屬 以至四生六類 法界孤魂 頓脫三塗 接引上品已....”

<sup>54</sup> “[She] also ordered the artists, Yi Baeryeon and his son Heunghyo, to draw a painting of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Ship* in gold on red silk” 又命畫士李陪連 及其子興孝 以金繪引接龍舟會於紅綃. For the whole text, see pp. 244–46 of this chapter. In this text, *injeop* 引接 is used instead of *jeobin* 接引. Precisely speaking, *injeop* means “to lead and receive,” with more emphasis on “to receive,” namely, “Buddha’s receiving a soul reborn to his paradise” in the Buddhist context, rather than “to receive and then lead” as *jeobin*. Thus *injeop* can be translated as “to receive or to welcome.” However, because the title of the painting, *Injeop yongjuhoe* 引接龍舟會, suggests that it must be of the same iconography as the *Seobang*

The types of *jeobin* identified in Buddhist literature are also similar to the depictions in Welcoming Descent paintings. Though a later compilation, *The Blue Jewel of the Pure Land* (Jeongto gamju 淨土紺珠, prefaced 1879), by monk Deokjin 德眞 (d.u.) of the late Joseon dynasty, excerpts important notions of Pure Land Buddhism from various Chinese Pure Land scriptures. It says:

Amitābha receives and leads [the devotee], and, riding the air, goes. [This is] the very obtaining of rebirth in the Western Pure Land.

彌陀接引 乘空而去 卽得往生西方淨土.<sup>55</sup>

Amitābha is described to come from and go through the air when he receives and leads (*jeobin*) the soul to paradise, as depicted in paintings of Welcoming Descent.

While Amitābha and his retinue receive and lead the deceased to the Pure Land, they also carry a lotus pedestal in their hands to transport the soul, as seen in Welcoming Descent paintings. *The Precious Book of the Pure Land* (Jeongto boseo 淨土寶書, prefaced 1686), by Seongchong 性聰 (1631–1700), monk-author of many Buddhist

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*gupum yongseon jeobin hoedo* 西方九品龍船接引會圖, *injeop* and *jeobin* were very likely used with the same meaning. In this sense, and from the interpretation of the image of the painting as the assembly in Amitābha's paradise to receive or welcome the dragon boat led by Amitābha, I translate the title of the topic painting of this chapter *Seobang gupum yongseon jeobin hoedo* 西方九品龍船接引會圖 as *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise*.

<sup>55</sup> Deokjin 德眞, *Jeongto gamju* 淨土紺珠, in *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 韓國佛教全書 10.

treatises in the mid-Joseon period, also documents this belief. Explaining the ten merits of Buddha Mindfulness (K. *yeombul* 念佛, C. *nianfo*) that the Buddha teaches, the text accounts for the tenth merit as follows:

When your life ends, if your mind has no fear and the proper state of mindfulness arises, you will be able to see Buddha Amitābha, various bodisattvas, and a multitude of sages carrying golden pedestal in their hands and receiving and leading [you] to rebirth in the Western Pure Land. At the end of the future, [you] will receive the superb wondrous bliss.

命終之時 心無怖畏 正念現前 得見阿彌陀佛竝諸菩薩聖衆 手持金臺  
接引往生西方淨土 盡未來際 受勝妙樂.<sup>56</sup>

Another type of *jeobin* is by means of ship, or boat. It stems from the famous Buddhist metaphor that compares the life of cyclic existence (*samsāra*) to “this shore” (K. *chaan* 此岸), and identifies the place of respite on the other side of *samsāra* (i.e., the attainment of *nirvāṇa*) as “the other shore” (*pian* 彼岸) in the conceptual Buddhist geography. Between this shore and the other shore runs a stream of karma that one needs to cross to escape the cycle of transmigration, or rebirth. To cross over the river or sea of suffering (*gohae* 苦海) and reach the other shore of enlightenment—the goal of Buddhist practice—requires a vessel. However, Pure Land Buddhism teaches devotees to board the ship by relying on the salvific power of Buddha Amitābha rather than on their own

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<sup>56</sup> Seongchong 性聰, *Jeongto boseo* 淨土寶書, in *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 8: 488c. The same text is found in many Chinese Buddhist texts.

efforts. An allegory in *Lebang yigao* 樂邦遺稿, written by Zongxiao 宗曉 in 1204 as a supplement to *Lebang wenlei* 樂邦文類, addresses this teaching:

For example, two people want to cross a great ocean and go to a treasure mountain to look for treasures. One of them plants trees, waits for them to grow tall, builds a ship, and then goes. How can there not be those trees that are broken by frost and hail or human and animal, so that in the end some cannot become timbers? Even though they become timbers, the time takes so long that [he] might ask when [he] finally could build the ship. The practice by one's own efforts is also as difficult as this. The other man never builds a ship but goes to the seashore, waits and suddenly runs into a chief merchant riding on a great ship. This man goes to [the merchant] and immediately tells [him his predicament]. The chief merchant sympathizes with him. Beckons him to board the ship. The wind on the mast blows so favorably as in spree of finger snap to instantly arrive at the treasure mountain. Relying on the power of the Buddha's vow and attaining rebirth in the Western Land is also like this. The chief merchant is as if the Thus Comes One receives and leads the people. The great ship is no other than the great vow of Buddha. To universally cross over the entire sea is to go across the long stream of life and death. The treasure mountain is the very Land of Ultimate Bliss.

譬如二人欲渡大海，往詣寶山求寶。一人種樹，待其長大，造船以往。無何其樹，爲霜雹人畜所摧，竟不成材者有之。縱復成材，歲月長久，云何卒得成船。自力修行亦復如是之難。一人者更不造船，即於海岸，等候忽偶商主乘一大舶，是人即便投告。商主憫之，便引手招接上船。風帆利便，撚指之間，便到寶山。依佛願力，得生西方亦復如是。其商主者，以譬如來接引衆生。其大舶者，即是佛之大願。普度一切海，是越生死之長流，寶山乃極樂國土也。<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Zongxiao 宗曉, *Lebang yigao* 樂邦遺稿, T1969B.47.240c7-17.

Thus in the text above, the salvific ship is a metaphor for Amitābha’s vows to save all sentient beings from *saṃsāra*, namely, the forty-eight vows of Dharmakara in *The Sūtra of the Buddha of the Immeasurable Life*. The ship is called the “Ship of Vows” (Wonseon 願船), the “Ship of the Forty-Eight Vows” (Sasip pal wonseon 四十八 願船), the “Ship of Amitābha’s Vows” (Amita wonseon 阿彌陀願船), or the “Ship of Amitābha” (Mitaseon 彌陀船). One of the early texts of Pure Land Buddhism, *The Treatise on the Pure Land* (Jingtu lun 淨土論) by Jiakai 迦才(d.u.) of the Tang dynasty, expounds on this idea:

In addition, Amitābha, along with Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta, boards the Great Ship of Vows. Floating on the sea of life and death, they come to this world, and call out to people to get on the Great Ship of Vows and send [them] to the Western Land. If there are people who are to get on the Great Ship of Vows, all can go together. This is the easy way to go to [rebirth to the Pure Land].

又阿彌陀佛，與觀世音大勢至，乘大願船。浮生死海，就此娑婆世界，呼喚衆生令上大願船 送著西方。若衆生有上大願船者 並皆得去。此是易往也。<sup>58</sup>

Since the vows of Amitābha were made from his benevolence toward sentient beings, the Ship of Vows is also called the “Ship of Loving Kindness” (Jahang 慈航) in Chinese Buddhist literature.<sup>59</sup> This perception continues in sixteenth-century Korean

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<sup>58</sup> Jiakai 迦才, *Jingtu lun* 淨土論, T1963.47.102b6–9.

<sup>59</sup> “The Great Ship of Amitābha’s Vows is no other than the Benevolent Ship on the sea of suffering” 彌陀大願船 即苦海慈航也。Wukai 悟開, *Jingye zhijin* 淨業知津, X1183.62.354a14.

Buddhism. In his “Eulogy for [My] Late Father,” monk Gyeongheon 敬軒 (1544–1633)

wrote:

To enter the five aggregates and divide [the body] into a hundred or a thousand bodies is the paragon of Śākyamuni delivering sentient beings. To open the nine grades of rebirth and to profess the Forty-Eight Vows is simply that ship by which Amitābha receives and leads [devotees], sails.... Prostrating and thinking of my late father, because his karma in this life might have gotten wrong and the causes and conditions from the previous life are difficult to surmise, I am afraid he will be caught up in knots of resentment and be stuck in deluded way. [However,] if he resorts to the Ship of Loving Kindness, he will finally land on the shore of Bliss. I prostrate and think, “The palanquin of my father’s spirit will get on the lotus pedestal of the nine grades of rebirth and forever enjoy the joy of ‘assurance of the non-origination of the dharma’.”

入五蘊，分百千身，是釋迦度生之龜鑑。開九品，發四十八願，  
乃彌陀接引之舟航... 伏念亡父，現業可違，宿緣難測，恐遭冤結，疑滯迷途。  
要假慈航，方登樂岸。伏念靈駕，遷登九品之蓮臺，永享無生之快樂。<sup>60</sup>

The “loving kindness” (*ja* 慈) that brings about Amitābha’s salvation is also combined with “compassion” (*bi* 悲), as in “loving kindness and compassion” (*jabi* 慈悲) or in “great loving kindness and compassion” (*daeja daebi* 大慈大悲), all of which are

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<sup>60</sup> Gyeongheon 敬軒, “Eulogy for My Late Father” (*cheonbu so* 薦父疏), *Jewoldang daesa jip* 霽月堂大師集, in *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 8:123b. A similar phrase, including “Ship of Loving Kindness,” is also found in Hyujeong, “Eulogy for My Late Master” (*cheonsa so* 薦師疏) in *Cheongheo jip* 淸虛集, in *Hanguk bulgyo jeonseo* 7: 712c–713a. I owe the correct translation of this poem to Dr. Daniel Stevenson.

understood as synonyms that define the virtue of Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara. Thus the “Ship of Vows” and the “Ship of Loving Kindness” are also rendered as the “Ship of Great Compassion” (Daebiseon 大悲船) or the “Ship of Vows Arisen from Great Compassion” (Daebi wonseon 大悲願船) in Chinese and Korean Buddhism.

Furthermore, because the vows and compassion of buddhas and bodhisattvas are the embodiment of Buddhist wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*, K. *banya* 般若), the wisdom that is able to extinguish afflictions and bring about enlightenment, the salvific vehicle is also referred to as the “Ship of Wisdom” (Banyaseon 般若船). In the *Dhāraṇī of the Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Bodhisattva Who Regards the World’s Sounds with Great Compassion* (Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa dabeixin tuoluoni 千手千眼觀世音菩薩大悲心陀羅尼), Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is called upon to provide salvation by means of the “Ship of Wisdom”:

[I] pay homage to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of great compassion,  
May you let me hastily board the Ship of Wisdom!

[I] pay homage to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of great compassion,  
May you let me early obtain passage over the sea of suffering!

南無大悲觀世音  
願我速乘般若船  
南無大悲觀世音  
願我早得越苦海。<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa dabeixin tuoluoni*, T1064.20.115c06-7.



This prayer evoking the “Ship of Wisdom” has been widely chanted by the Buddhist populace from the late Joseon to the present in Korea. It is often found in Buddhist prose-poetry (Bulgyo gasa 佛教歌辭) written in *hangeul*, which was sung by commoners in the late Joseon dynasty.<sup>62</sup> Exhorting believers to realize that all phenomena are dreams and illusions, and to recite the *yeombul* 念佛 for rebirth in the Land of Ultimate Bliss, the song “Dreams and Illusions” (Monghwanga 夢幻歌), dated to the nineteenth century, elaborates on the course of transportation to the paradise:

Taking the Forty-Eight Vows and delivering all sentient beings,  
 [When Buddha Amitābha] leads to the lotus pedestal, [he] collects many Ships of  
 Wisdom;  
 The sentient beings who are drowned in the sea of attachment and avarice, where there  
 are no travel expenses and fares,  
 When taking [them] aboard the Ship of Wisdom and crossing over the ocean of life and  
 death,  
 Buddha Amitābha becomes the captain and Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta make  
 steerers,  
 Pull the oars of the Forty-Eight Vows and enter the Land of Ease and Nourishment.

四十八願 세워 다가 一切衆生 濟度하여  
 蓮花臺로 引導할제 般若船을 크게모아

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<sup>62</sup> The *gasa* 歌辭 is an old form of Korean verse. It was normally written in parallel lines, each consisting of two four-syllable semantic units, its form thus exhibiting characteristics of typical Korean lyric verse. Ki-baik Lee, trans. by Edward W. Wagner, *A New History of Korea* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 219.

路子업고 船價업는 愛欲海에 빠진衆生  
般若船에 태워다가 生死大海 건너갈제  
阿彌陀佛 船主되고 觀音勢至 舵工되야  
四十八願 노를저어 安養國에 들어가니<sup>63</sup>

The *hangeul* Buddhist prose-poetry chanting about the salvific ship attests to the wide dissemination of its belief among the general populace in late Joseon Korea.

The discussion on the definition and types of *jeobin* above shows that the ship was one of the important *jeobin* vehicles for crossing over to the Land of Ultimate Bliss. As we have seen, Pure Land Buddhism calls this vessel the “Ship of (Amitabha’s) Vows,” the “Ship of Compassion,” and the “Ship of Wisdom,” emphasizing devotees’ reliance on the salvific power of Buddha Amitābha and his attending bodhisattvas.

#### IV.4.2 Salvific Dragon Boat: Literature and Later Development

Amitābha’s salvific ship is combined with a dragon boat to become a salvific dragon boat, as depicted in *The Painting of King Sāla* and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*. Despite all the texts on Amitābha’s salvific boat in Buddhist literature, record of the salvific *dragon* boat is rarely found in Buddhist cultures other than that of Korea.

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<sup>63</sup> Anonymous, “Dreams and Illusions” (Monghwanga 夢幻歌), in Im Gijung 林基中 ed., *Yeokdae gasa munhak jeonjip* 歷代歌辭文學全集 [The collection of Korean prose-poetry through the successive generations] (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1998), 1740.38.328–29; Im Gijung 임기중, ed., *Bulgyo gasa wonjeon yeongu* 불교가사 원전연구 [Studies in original texts of Buddhist prose-poetry] (Seoul: Dongguk daehakgyo chulpanbu, 2000), 490; and An Jinho 安震浩, ed., *Seongmun uibeom* 釋門儀範 (Seoul: Beomnyeonsa, 1931/1996), 252.

The dragon boat in Chinese culture has been documented in several contexts since the Warring States period (403–221 BCE) as an ancient vessel for amusement, a symbolic imperial carriage, a vehicle for souls of the dead, and a race boat in the traditional festive regatta that is still popular today, but no Chinese textual record of the Buddhist salvific dragon boat is yet known.<sup>64</sup> However, the painting *A Figure Riding the Dragon* (Renwu yulong tu 人物御龍圖, fig. IV-57), excavated from a tomb of the Chu 楚 Kingdom (?–223 BCE) in Changsha 長沙, Hunan sheng 湖南省, confirms that there was an indigenous belief of “riding the dragon boat for a soul to cross over to the other world” in ancient Chinese culture. The painting depicts a male figure (most likely the deceased) riding a boat-shaped dragon. The fish under the dragon indicates that the vehicle is in the water and thus it must be a dragon boat. The painting illustrates the ancient concept that the deceased was carried in dragon boat to another sphere of the world, a concept that might have later developed into, or have facilitated the dissemination of, the Buddhist idea of a salvific dragon boat delivering souls to paradise.

The belief in salvation via dragon boat circulated widely in Korean Buddhism. Literary and iconographic records confirm its popularity from the Goryeo through the Joseon dynasties. The earliest extant record is the visual depiction of the salvific dragon boat in *The Descent of Maitreya* of the Goryeo dynasty in the Myōmanji collection,

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<sup>64</sup> For some of the earliest pieces of literature on the use of a dragon boat for amusement, see notes 57 and 58 in Chapter Three.

Kyōto (1294, figs. III-30–32).<sup>65</sup> This painting shows there was the tradition of depicting a pair of boats in Buddhist paradise paintings since the Goryeo period in Korea.

However, the pair of boats in this painting ferry souls reborn into Maitreya’s paradise, unlike the Japanese pair of boats that carry entertainers, as in *Maitreya’s Ascension to Tuṣita Heaven* in Enmeiji (fig. III-49–50) and *Amitābha Pure Land* in Saizen’in (fig. III-27–29).

The next earliest extant records are (1) the written record of the “Forty-Eight Dragon Boat” (Sasip pal yongseon 四十八龍船) that ferries Prince Allakguk to the Western Realm in *Worin seokbo* 月印釋譜 (preface 1459), and (2) its iconographic depiction, which is known through its later copy, *The Painting of King Sāla* (1576, fig. III-1). As argued in Chapter Three, given the compiling process and source scriptures of *Worin seokbo* and the copying of the extant *Painting of Sarasu*, the “Sarasu narrative” advocating Amitābha’s salvation by dragon boat may possibly have circulated before the fifteenth century. The dragon boat led by Amitābha in *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43) in Hōrinji illustrates Buddhist devotees’ faith in the dragon boat as the means of transport to Amitābha’s paradise in the fifteenth century.

The cult of the salvific dragon boat was widely popularized, especially among court women in the sixteenth century. Along with the written record on the patronage of Lady Jeong, King Seonjo’s mother, of the gold line drawing *The Assembly for*

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<sup>65</sup> For iconographic detail, see Chapter Three.

*Welcoming the Dragon Ship* in 1546, *The Painting of King Sāla* was copied by the sponsorship of court women in 1576, and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* was commissioned in 1582 by a nun of the royal nunnery.

In addition to the court women's commissions, *The Dragon Boat* (Yongseondo 龍船圖, fig. IV-58), which is the woodblock-print frontispiece of *The Amitābha Sūtra* printed in 1577 at Yongcheonsa 龍泉寺 in Damyang 潭陽, Jeollanam-do 全羅南道, shows the presence of the cult in the local Buddhist community and another iconography of the voyage to the Pure Land by dragon boat. Shrouded in floating clouds, the Amitābha triad is receiving a dragon boat that sails through the waves, ferrying a group of reborn souls. The setting is not clear here. Amitābha and his bodhisattvas are not steering the boat but take on the composition of the Welcoming Descent. This iconography, adopted as the frontispiece of a woodblock-printed scripture, reflects the popularity of the cult as well as further popularizing it among the general Buddhists of sixteenth-century Korea.

The salvific dragon boat from *Worin seokbo* of the early Joseon dynasty was widely disseminated through the various renditions of the “King Sāla narrative” in the

late Joseon period, as discussed in Chapter Three. A visual rendition of the dragon boat from the later Joseon dynasty is found in the mural *The Illustration of the Genealogical Account of Girimsa*, now in the collection of the Dongguk 東國 University Museum in Gyeongju, Gyeongsanbuk-do 慶尙北道. The painting is drawn at the bottom register of *Three Generations of Buddhas* (fig. IV-59) dated to 1788. The founding story of Girimsa employed the “King Sāla narrative” from *Worin seokbo*. This another version of *The Painting of King Sāla* unfolds the narrative from left to right. The depiction of the dragon boat (fig. IV-60) on the far end of the painting is so damaged that the representation of the figures and the midship of the dragon boat are not fully legible. The boat has a dragon-headed bow and a dragon-tailed stern. The midship is completely erased, but inside an open, square-shaped pavilion on the deck, the deities heading for Amitābha’s paradise are visible.

The salvific dragon boat is often chanted for in Korean Buddhist *gasa* (prose-verses) written in *hangeul* from the later Joseon dynasty through the early twentieth century, testifying to the prevailing cult in this method of Buddhist salvation.<sup>67</sup> One of

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<sup>67</sup> Other *gasa* prose-poems that sing the crossing over to the Pure Land via dragon boat include *Song of No Consistency* (Musang ga 無常歌), *Song of the Dragon Boat* (Yongseon ga 龍船歌), *Song of the Dragon Boat of Wisdom* (Banya yongseon ga 般若龍船歌), *Song of the Earthen Cave of Monk Yeongam* (Yeongam hwasang togul ga 靈巖和尚土窟歌), *Song of the Rebirth in the Pure Land* (Wangsaeng ga 往生歌), etc. See Im Gijung 林基中, ed., *Yeokdae gasa munhak jeonjip*; and idem, ed., *Bulgyo gasa wonjeon yeongu*.

these *hangeul gasa*, *The Song of the Dragon Boat* (Yongseon bae taryeong 용선배타령), of unknown author and date, goes as follows:

Let's build the Dragon Boat of Wisdom! What does the Dragon Boat of Wisdom look like?  
Decorate the entire boat in pure gold and make balustrades in white silver;  
Ornament it in the seven treasures, such as coral, agate, amber, and pearls;  
In the middle of the Dragon Boat of Wisdom, place Buddha Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta  
On a pedestal of lions; on the bow of the boat is Bodhisattva Guiding the Soul, Receiving and leading the people; on the stern of the boat is Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, Edifying the people; the Eight Groups of Guardian Generals escort [them]....<sup>69</sup>

The description of the dragon boat in the later period adds the Bodhisattva Guide of Souls (K. Illo bosal 引路菩薩) leading the boat at the forefront, and the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, the savior of the deceased, as the rear guard, showing a change in the iconography of the dragon boat in late Joseon Buddhism.

The pictorial renditions of the salvific dragon boat of the late Joseon dynasty conform to the written descriptions of the period. The sailing of the dragon boat

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<sup>69</sup> *The Song of the Dragon Boat* (Yongseon bae taryeong 용선배타령) in Im Gijung 林基中 ed., *Yeokdae gasa munhak jeonjip*, 2018.43.285–86; and Im Gijung, ed., *Bulgyo gasa wonjeon yeongu*, 673.

delivering meritorious Buddhists to paradise became an important and independent subject matter in this period, rather than being added to a larger pictorial composition, as is the case in the paintings here under discussion. The theme was often rendered in mural paintings in monastic halls, thus serving for a large number of congregants as a permanent piece of a larger scale. For instance, the mural *Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-61), dated to the eighteenth century, used to be on the exterior wall of the Ten Kings Hall of Eunhasa 銀河寺, Gimhae 金海, Gyeongsangnam-do 慶尙南道 (now kept in the Dongguk 東國 University Museum, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do 慶尙北道).<sup>70</sup> The composition shows a large dragon boat sailing through winds and waves. The dragon boat is double-headed and double-tailed, like the ones in *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35) of the 1462 Ming stele.<sup>71</sup> In the middle of the boat, members of the Amitābha triad sit on a lotus pedestal inside the draped, open pavilion. On the bow, Bodhisattva Guide of Souls stands holding a pole of wind-fluttering banners, and on the stern Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha sits on a lotus pedestal, as described in the Buddhist *gasa* literature. The saved souls pack the deck tightly, and two additional barges, one crowded with male souls and the other with female souls, are

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<sup>70</sup> For more details of this mural, see Jeong Utaek, “Eunhasa gujang Yongseon jeobin do” 銀河寺舊藏 龍船接引圖 [The *Welcoming the Dragon Boat* in the former collection of Eunhasa], *Gogo yeoksa hakji* 考古歷史學志 16 (2000): 595–614.

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter Three.



connected to the principal dragon boat to accommodate more adherents crossing over to rebirth in the Western Paradise.

Another mural titled *Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-62), dated to the early twentieth century, on the exterior wall of the Jeweled Hall of Ultimate Bliss (Geungnak bojeon 極樂寶殿, fig. IV- 63) at Tongdosa 通度寺, Gyeongsangnam-do 慶尙南道, depicts a large, double-masted dragon boat heading for paradise.<sup>72</sup> With the Bodhisattva Guide of Souls in front and Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha in back, the dragon boat ferries a large number of adherents. The souls on the voyage wear the traditional Korean costumes and headdresses appropriate for each gender, showing that the cult was deeply rooted in the general Korean Buddhists' belief.

The wide spread transmission of the belief of the salvation via dragon boat into the modern period is testified to by the many mural paintings of the subject that remain across Korea. The mural *Dragon Boat of Wisdom* (Banya yongseon do 般若龍船圖, fig. IV-64, dated to 1809) on the exterior west wall of the Hall of the Ultimate Bliss (Geungnakjeon 極樂殿, fig. IV-65) at Silleusa 神勒寺 in Jecheon 堤川, Chungcheongbuk-do 忠清北道, and mural paintings of *Welcoming the Dragon Boat* on

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<sup>72</sup> For the detail and dating of this mural, see Munhwajaecheong 文化財廳 and Seongbo munhwajae yeonguwon 聖寶文化財研究院, *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa: Sachal geonchukmul byeokhwa josa bogoseo*, Gyeongsangnam-do 韓國의 사찰벽화: 사찰건축물 벽화조사 보고서, 경상남도 [Wall-paintings of Korean monasteries: The report of the survey of architecture and wall-paintings of monasteries in Gyeongsangnam-do] (Daejeon: Munhwajaecheong; Seoul: Seongbo munhwajae yeonguwon, 2008), 96–98.

the interior west wall of the Hall of the Great Hero (Daeungjeon 大雄殿) at Cheongnyongsa 靑龍寺 in Anseong 安城, Gyeonggi-do 京畿道 (figs. IV-66 and 67, late nineteenth century); on the exterior wall of the Hall of the Great Hero at Ssanggyesa 雙溪寺, Hadong 河東, Gyeongsangnam-do 慶尙南道; and on the exterior north wall of the Jeweled Hall of the Great Hero (Daeung bojeon 大雄寶殿) at Bogwangsa 普光寺, Paju 坡州, Gyeonggi-do (fig. IV-68, late nineteenth century)—all demonstrate the inheritance of the cult of the salvific dragon boat by modern Korean Buddhism from paintings like these discussed in this study.<sup>73</sup>

Even though the theme of the salvific dragon boat was rendered in hanging tableaux such as *The Shortcut to Rebirth through Buddha Mindfulness* (Yeombul wangsae cheopgyeong do 念佛往生捷徑圖, 1750, whereabouts unknown) from Eunhaesa 銀海寺, Gyeongsangbuk-do 慶尙北道, and *The Dragon Boat of Wisdom* (1898, fig. IV-69) of Tongdosa, the theme was drawn more often in murals during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, like those enumerated above. These murals are mostly on the upper section of interior or exterior walls, rather than on altars. This suggests that the iconography of the salvific dragon boat was separated from the contexts of the Sixteen

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<sup>73</sup> For the details and dating of the mural paintings of *The Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, see the series of Munhwajaecheong 문화재청 and Seongbo Munhwajaw Yeonguwon 정보문화재연구원, *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa: sachal geonchukmul byeokhwa josa bogoseo* 한국의 사찰벽화: 사찰건축물 벽화 조사보고서 [Wall-paintings of Korean monasteries: The report of the survey of architecture and wall-paintings of monasteries] (Daejeon: Munhwajaecheong, 2006-08).

Contemplations, Amitābha's Pure Land, and the "King Sāla narrative" and became an independent motif, and in the process lost its liturgical function and was reduced to an ornamental motif. However, it certainly is still cherished as an attractive symbol of the salvation available to all who worship in the hall.

#### **IV.5 Conclusion**

This chapter has studied *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, the third piece known to have been commissioned by a nun in a Joseon palace cloister. The discussion has been designed to illuminate the religious and pictorial tradition of the subject, as well as its importance to the women involved in the production of the painting. This chapter has also brought the motif of the salvific boat back for discussion, examining aspects not covered in Chapter Three, i.e. its doctrinal source in Buddhist literature and the later development of the dragon boat as the salvific vehicle to the Pure Land in Korean Buddhism.

The thorough examinations of each pictorial element of the painting were pieced together to show how the painting developed out of the pictorial tradition of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*. In contrast to this theme, however, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* highlights Amitābha's salvation of souls via dragon boat and the assembly that welcomes the salvific boat in paradise, thus representing devotees' hope for salvation through Amitābha's compassionate intervention. This shift in pictorial emphasis reflects a change in the cultic concerns of Korean Pure

Land Buddhism of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, i.e. a change from the idea of attaining rebirth in the Pure Land “by believers’ meditative visualization” to attaining it “by devotees’ reliance on Amitābha’s salvific power.”

The representation of a female devotee boarding the dragon boat is meaningful in terms of the dedication of the painting. The comparison of her hairdo with that of contemporary women in documentary paintings of the time, combined with the depiction of Prince Allakguk and Lady Wonang aboard a dragon boat being taken by Amitābha to his paradise in *The Painting of King Sāla*, indicate that the female figure in *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* is very likely the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family, the concubine-turned-nun for whom the painting was commissioned. By portraying the beneficiary of the dedication, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* vividly visualizes the wish for salvation of a specific person, thus demonstrating its nun-patron Hakmyeong’s likely earnest hope for this woman and other women’s salvation.

Doctrinal source of the dragon boat as a salvific vehicle was pursued along with the development of various notions about it and names given it in Buddhist literature. The salvific boat was a metaphor for Amitābha’s soteriological vows to assist devotees in reaching the “other shore” of enlightenment, and was dubbed the “Boat of (Amitābha’s) (Forty-Eight) Vows,” “Benevolent Ship,” or “Boat of Wisdom” in Buddhist scriptures. Textual records of a salvific *dragon* boat have been found only in Korean Buddhist literature to date. Finally the literature and iconography of the dragon boat in Korea

attest to its wide popularity in the late Joseon through modern period of Korean Buddhism, indicating the position of the early Joseon images in an enduring tradition.

## Conclusion

This dissertation studied the three extant Buddhist paintings that were commissioned by nuns of the sixteenth-century Joseon palace cloisters. Featuring each painting in its own chapter and examining the social and institutional background of the patrons in the opening chapter, I discussed the identification of the patrons, their affiliation and status, the origin of the paintings, and the iconographic and doctrinal analysis of the paintings from the perspective of their pictorial and religious tradition. I integrated the discussions in each chapter to pursue the religious significance of the paintings in relation to their patrons' status and explored the pictorial devices employed to represent it. I presented the paintings as a visualization of the salvational aspiration of Buddhist women of the sixteenth-century Joseon court.

The most distinct common factor that categorizes these paintings is the status of their patrons. They were commissioned by royal concubines and ordained nuns, and were dedicated to court women. The royal concubine patrons, the Chaste Concubine of the Yun family and the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family, are identified as concubines of King Injong by each family's genealogy. The elegies for Lady Jeong, the Gracious Concubine, and for another Lady Jeong, her fellow concubine of King Injong, reveal that both ladies stayed in a palace cloister for the rest of their lives after the death of their royal husband. This indicates that Lady Yun also very likely dwelled in one of the palace cloisters. The facts that *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* commissioned by Lady Yun and that it was enshrined in the Jasugung Cloister suggest her strong

connection with the cloister. The identity of the royal concubines further indicates that the nun-patrons recorded with their Dharma names in the inscriptions were most likely those officially ordained nuns from non-royal families in the cloisters, whose presence in large number and activities at the Jasugung caused Confucian officials to complain in the *Sillok*.

The Buddhist cloisters in the palace compounds of the Confucian Joseon dynasty include Jeongeobwon, the official nunnery for court and *yangban* women, and the royal-residence-turned-cloisters for widowed royal concubines represented by the Jasugung. The Jeongeobwon survived repeated abolishment, reinstitution, and relocation and merged with another cloister, Insugung, in the late sixteenth century. The Jasugung was the first establishment of this kind of common residences arranged on the outskirts of the palace for each generation of widowed concubines who formally or informally dedicated the remainder of their lives to Buddhist practice. Accordingly, the common residences turned into Buddhist cloisters became full-fledged Buddhist facilities equipped with worship halls, icons, and other subsidiary facilities and holding Buddhist ceremonies and lectures.

This study argues that the paintings were all produced and enshrined in these palace cloisters. The enshrinement place of the *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, the Jasugung Cloister, is known from its inscription. An early twentieth-century donation record of *The Painting of King Sāla* reveals that the painting was taken to Japan during the Japanese invasion of the Korean Peninsula in 1592, when the Japanese army pillaged the Joseon palaces. Given the common circumstances of the production, date, and status

and affiliation of the patrons, along with the enshrinement place of one of them, provenance of another, and their current collection, the paintings were very likely taken to Japan at the same time and from the palace cloisters.

The paintings were hung and used in personal worship and ritual ceremonies in the cloisters, thus exemplifying the belief and practice of the nuns. The paintings showcase the women patrons' faith in Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell, worship for Lady Wonang from the "King Sāla narrative," and the cult of the salvific dragon boat. The Kṣitigarbha worship based on *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, as testified in the inscription of the *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, holds a special meaning to Buddhist women in that it awakes women to their own salvific power and holds out to them the promise of "release from the woman's body" so that they can attain buddhahood. *The Painting of King Sāla* was so cherished by the nuns in the cloister for such a long time as to be replaced when it was worn out. As demonstrated in the story of Nun Yesun, Lady Wonang inspired female Buddhists as a role model who suffered hardship in search of the Law and finally obtained Amitābha's salvation. She was worshipped and canonized as Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara by Buddhist women in the court. The image of Lady Wonang ferried in a dragon boat to paradise by Amitābha in the painting must have inspired female devotees to envision their own salvation. This personalized vision of salvation is pictured in *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat*. Produced in the pictorial tradition of The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations, this painting illustrates the devotees' call for Amitābha's active intervention in their salvation, showing Buddhists' hope for salvation through the complete reliance on Amitābha of



Korean Pure Land Buddhism of the time. The cult of salvific dragon boat was so popular among court women that a text testifies the mother and Queen of King Seonjo were also involved in the commission and enshrinement of another painting of the subject. The paintings as a whole represent women's religious aspiration to salvation through their faith in Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and Buddha Amitābha.

Various pictorial devices were employed to represent these themes. *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* takes an exceptional composition, replacing the judgment scene of the Ten Kings above in the typical Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell paintings by the Kṣitigarbha assembly scene and combining it with the hell scenes below. The message of the infallible application of judgment to all human deeds and the inexorable requirement of retribution for them is changed to the prayer for salvation in virtue of Kṣitigarbha's compassionate vows to save all sentient beings from the torments in hell. Thus the thematic emphasis is switched from the "punishment through judgment" to the "salvation from sufferings," picturing the hope for salvation of the patrons. *The Painting of King Sāla* exhibits a greater hope for women's salvation: "salvation to paradise." The painting reaches climax in the scene of Amitābha's salvation of Lady Wonang and Prince Allakguk in the dragon boat, where the narrative relates only the prince was taken to the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the dragon boat. By adding the image of Lady Wonang at the critical moment of salvation, the painting turns the hope for woman's salvation into a vivid visualization. The image of a fellow court woman crossing over to paradise in a dragon boat must have reassured nuns in the palace cloister

of their own salvation. Using the medium and technique of gold-line drawing on red silk that was popular among court women for their votive commissions, *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* highlights the scene where Amitābha's salvific dragon boat carrying the soul of a female devotee arrives at paradise. From comparisons with the women's hairstyle in contemporary documentary paintings, the soul ferried by the dragon boat is the portrayal of a woman of the time, which strongly suggests that the figure is the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family who was believed to be a patron of *The Painting of King Sāla* and to whom *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* was dedicated. *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* thus depicts a more personalized prayer for "the salvation of a specific individual."

The common theme that the paintings represent, women's salvation, is meaningful in relation to the status of the patrons. The patrons were former royal concubines of a short-reigned king, who lived more than fifty years as widows without any descendant. To be a royal concubine was a prestigious event, but to be a secondary wife, especially in the royal household of the Confucian Joseon dynasty where the patrilineal institution of family succession was important more than anything else, involved many-layered marginalization. In the late sixteenth century when the Confucianization of the Joseon society was gaining dominance, women were marginalized from domestic privileges in the family, kinship, inheritance, and marriage systems and from public domains as in education and politics. Moreover, the widowed royal concubines were removed from their residences in the inner quarters to common residences on the outskirts of the palace after their husbands died, both figuratively and

literally marginalized from the center of the palace. Dedicating the rest of their lives to Buddhist practice, nuns in the palace cloisters sought for their own salvation and patronized its visualization.

The doctrinal discourse on women's salvation in Buddhism has multiple views. From the firm assurance of women's enlightenment to the total denial of women's presence in the Pure Land, to the limitation of women's religious achievement due to their alleged spiritual inferiority and impurity, and to the compromising contrivance of gender transformation as a necessary condition for women to attain awakening, the scriptural doctrine on it is so wide-ranging—to the point of contradiction in fact. Furthermore, when it comes to its exegeses of the later period, a wide variety of interpretation has been made according to the historical and social location. The whole body of discourse on women's salvation in Buddhism is too inconsistent to draw a conclusion.

Whether the doctrine eventually approves or throughout denies women's enlightenment, the most extensive agreement is that the salvation is not guaranteed for female devotees despite their spiritual accomplishment or merit accumulation and that women are very unlikely to be reborn in the Pure Land *as a woman*. One of the most fundamental and authoritative scriptural sources for this view is the thirty-fifth vow of Monk Dharmākara from *The Sūtra of the Buddha of Measurable Life Expounded by Buddha*.

May I not gain possession of perfect awakening if, once I have attained buddhahood, any woman in the measureless, inconceivable world systems of all the buddhas in the ten

regions of the universe, hears my name in this life and single-mindedly, with joy, with confidence and gladness resolves to attain awakening, and despise their female body, and still, when her present life comes to an end, she is again reborn as a woman.

設我得佛，十方無量不可思議諸佛世界，其有女人聞我名字，  
歡喜信樂發菩提心厭惡女身，壽終之後復爲女像者，不取正覺。<sup>1</sup>

The abhorrence of femininity and the aspiration for “release from the woman’s body” are also expounded in *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, the scriptural source of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Cloister, as addressed in Chapter Two.

The aversion to femininity is due to the karmic obstruction to women’s spiritual attainment in Buddhist soteriology. Women are destined to be unable to reach the top five states of spiritual awakening (five obstacles, or K. *ojang* 五障): Brahmā (K. Beomcheon 梵天), Śakra (Indra or K. Jeseokcheon 帝釋天), Māra or the demon king, Cakravartī-rāja or the wheel-turning sage king, and Buddha.<sup>2</sup> For this karmic hindrance, Buddhism offers a compromising solution for women devotees—to change their female body into a male to meet the condition for awakening, which is well illustrated in the famous episode of the daughter of the dragon king’s daughter in the *Lotus Sūtra*, who demonstrated her capacity for attaining enlightenment quickly after transforming herself

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<sup>1</sup> *Foshuo Wuliangshou jing*, T360.12.268c21–24; Luis O Gómez, *The Land of Bliss* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996), 170.

<sup>2</sup> *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, T262.9.35c9–11; Burton Watson, trans., *The Lotus Sutra* (NY: Columbia University Press, 1993), 188.

into a male body in front of a suspicious assembly.<sup>3</sup> Thus there should be no woman in the Pure Land in principle, since women cannot attain buddhahood nor can they be reborn in the Pure Land *as a woman*.

Contrary to the textual discourse on the presence of women in the Pure Land, female souls are pictured in the paintings of the Amitābha's paradise. Goryeo paintings of the Sixteen Contemplations include the images of women already reborn or being reborn on the lotus blossoms (figs. IV-28–31 and 70). The image of a delivered soul on the way to the Pure Land was depicted as a woman from tenth-century Dunhuang (fig. IV-17). Lady Wonang and the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family aboard their salvific boats in both *The Painting of Sarasu* and *The Assembly for the Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, are portrayed as they were—as feminine. Although the Buddhist doctrine does not guarantee women's rebirth in the Pure Land as they are, by setting their own images in the scene of salvation the patrons might have wanted to be assured of the realization of their religious aspiration.

Besides the main argument of this dissertation recapitulated above, I examined two important iconographies that reveal intriguing aspects of sixteenth-century Korean Buddhism: those of Lord Min and of the salvific dragon boat. Through the iconographic comparison, an unidentified figure of Kṣitigarbha's retinue who made his first appearance in Korea in the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* is identified as Lord Min, one of the flanking attendants of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha in the Chinese

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<sup>3</sup> *Miaofa lianhua jing*, T262.9.35b15–c26; Burton Watson, trans., *The Lotus Sutra*, 187–89.

Kṣitigarbha cult. In this Korean Kṣitigarbha painting, however, he is not a principal attendant of the bodhisattva but stands unnoticed away from the bodhisattva. Initially formed around Mt. Jiuhua purportedly during the late Tang dynasty and disseminated nationwide by the early Ming period, the sinicized Kṣitigarbha cult canonized him as one of the principal attendant of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and developed a distinctive composition of the Kṣitigarbha triad, whereas Korean Kṣitigarbha triad is composed of monk Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless. Thus the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* incorporated the new member of the Kṣitigarbha's retinue possibly from a newly imported Ming Kṣitigarbha painting. However, probably due to the insufficient understanding of the different doctrine of Kṣitigarbha worship and the conservatism of Korean Buddhism to adhere to the iconographic tradition, the painting does not place him as a flanking deity of the bodhisattva nor does it totally exclude from the Kṣitigarbha's pantheon, but places him in an inconspicuous position. Lord Min is found in another *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* dated 1580 in Seiganji, Kyōto, but quickly disappears again from the Korean Kṣitigarbha assembly, which shows that he did not take root in Korea because of doctrinal differences. The first appearance of Lord Min in the Jasugung *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* also demonstrates court women's access to and willingness to use new Chinese imports in their commissions.

The iconography of the salvific dragon boat seen in *The Painting of King Sāla* and *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* has long drawn scholarly attention for its

distinctiveness to explain an intriguing aspect of Korean Pure Land Buddhism, but no substantial study has been made on the topic. The closest iconographic analogy of the boat is found in Japanese *emaki* paintings of the thirteenth to fourteenth century Kamakura period (fig. III-25 and 26), which illustrate the lavish lives of the Heian aristocracy. The earliest example of the use of the same iconography in a Buddhist context is found in a Japanese painting *Amitābha Pure Land* attributed to the twelfth to thirteenth centuries (fig. III-27–29), in Saizen'in, Wakayama-ken. Although the dragon boats in these Japanese examples were not salvific boats but boats for amusement, the *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-47 and 48) attributed to the Kamakura period in the Yoshida family collection, Tōkyō, suggests that the dragon boat was also believed to be an important salvific transport in Kamakura Pure Land Buddhism. A newly discovered Goryeo painting *The Descent of Maitreya* in Myōmanji, Kyōto, dated 1294 (fig. III-30 and 31) and the engraving of the stele *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* from the Amitābha Monastery in Xi'an, dated 1462 (fig. III-33–37), both of which depict dragon boats ferrying the deceased to Buddhist paradise, indicate that the beliefs in the salvific dragon boat was shared by East Asian Buddhism at latest from the twelfth century.

The three Buddhist paintings studied in this dissertation provide a window not only into the Buddhist belief and patronage of court women—Buddhist women by extension—of the early Joseon period but also into veiled aspects of the sixteenth-century Korean Buddhism. By interpreting the significance of the paintings from the perspective of the underlying motivations of the women's patronage, this study showed that marginal

women's unyielding hope of attaining deliverance through their Buddhist faith achieved a strong visual demonstration. The theme of these paintings is unprecedented and rarely repeated in the Korean art tradition.



## Appendix I Inscriptions

### ***Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell (1575–77)***

Feeling the suffering of the joyless hell<sup>1</sup> of the Dark Court, the Chaste Concubine of the Yun family made a universal vow and wanted to have a scroll painted of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, the Venerable Daoming, the Ghost King Poisonless, and the Ten Saints of Yama, as well as the image of the Eighteen Layers of Hell. This was for the afterlife happiness of our Queen Insun.

Upon [hearing] this, [we,] the nuns Jimyeong and others, all bowed our heads and said, “We are also obliged to our country for bringing us up,<sup>2</sup> but [just] the regrets of worthless subjects<sup>3</sup> are of no use. However, [Lady Yun’s vow,] now already made

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<sup>1</sup> “Joyless hell” is *yiryeo* (*riryeo*) 犁黎 in the original text. I take *yiryeo* (*riryeo*) as a homophone of *yiryeo* (*niryeo*) 泥黎 or 泥犁, which are common transliterations of Sanskrit *niraya*, meaning joyless hell or purgatory. When the first syllable of a word starts with the consonant of “r” or “n” in Korean, the “r” or “n” sound is silenced. Thus, *yiryeo* 犁黎 stands here for *yiryeo* 泥黎 or 泥犁. The character 犁 has two pronunciations in Korean: *ri* or *ryeo*.

<sup>2</sup> I propose the character *nan* 卵 for the illegible character before “ik” 翼 in the original text, making them *nanik* 卵翼. *Nanik* means to raise children the way a bird broods over its eggs in its feathers. Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, *Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典 (Tōkyō: Taishukan Shoten, 1955–60), 2: 632.

<sup>3</sup> “Worthless subjects” is *gyeonma* 犬馬 in the original text. *Gyeonma* means a person so humble that he is like a dog or a horse in relation to its master. It is a humble word used

like this, is our [good] fortune. Dare we not take part in the karmic cause?” Each of us took some money from her piggy bank and immediately hired a skilled painter. We had [the scroll] painted with the most illustrious color and mounted in accordance with the proper technique. We respectfully enshrined it in the sanctuary of Jasugung, and had incense and candles offered forever.

We think that the Three Thousand Great Thousand World Systems<sup>4</sup> are all filled up with tiny dust, but even that cannot be compared with the long efficacy of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha’s testimony to the fruition of his enlightenment.<sup>5</sup> People

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when a subject refers to himself in contrast to his lord. Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, 7: 669.

<sup>4</sup> “Three Thousand Great Thousand World Systems” is *samcheon daecheon segye* 三千大千世界 in the original text. *Samcheon daecheon segye* is also rendered as *samcheon segye* 三千世界, often translated as “trichiliocosm,” or “three thousand galaxies,” because it comprises one thousand small world systems, one thousand middle world systems, and one thousand large ones, which constitute the domain of a buddha. The term signifies every possible tangible universe. *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “samcheon segye” (article by Charles Muller); Stephen F. Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1994), 199, note 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Jeunggwa* 證果 in the original text. *Jeunggwa* means the rewards of the various stages of attainment. *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “jeunggwa” (article by Charles Muller). This sentence comes from *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra* (T412.13.778a27–b7). “The Buddha said to Mañjuśrī, ‘By way of analogy, suppose that each blade of grass, tree, forest, rice plant, hemp stalk, bamboo, reed, mountain, rock and dust mote in a Three Thousand Great Thousand World System was a Ganges River. Then suppose that each grain of sand in each of those Ganges Rivers was a world and that each dust mote in each of those worlds was an eon. The

who listen to the name [of the Bodhisattva], people who pay homage to his statue, and people who draw paintings or carve sculptures all are able to attain rebirth in Heaven.<sup>6</sup>

Now, our Chaste Concubine of the Yun family awoke such sadness in her heart that she initiated the vow, and several nuns were so willing to participate in the good deed that all of us together accomplished the supreme karmic cause. The great vow that the Chaste Concubine made was the one of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, and the vows of the Bodhisattva were the ones of the Buddhas as numerous as the grains of sand in the Ganges.

Relying on this marvelous cause, we reverently pray that the heavenly palanquin (the catafalque) of our Queen Insun's soul may attain the enlightenment of

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time elapsed since Earth Store Bodhisattva [Kṣitigarbha] was certified to the position of the Tenth Ground is one thousand times longer than that in the above analogy.” Buddhist Text Translation Society, trans., *Sutra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (Burlingame: Buddhist Text Translation Society, 2003), 5.

<sup>6</sup> This sentence is also from *The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra*, T412.13.778b3–7. “Mañjuśrī, the awesome spiritual strength and vows of this Bodhisattva are inconceivable. If good men or women of the future hear this Bodhisattva's name, praise him, behold and bow to him, call his name, make offerings to him, or if they draw, carve, cast, sculpt, or make lacquered images of him, such people will be reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three one hundred times and will never fall into the Evil Paths.” Buddhist Text Translation Society, trans., *Sutra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva* (2003), 5. Similar phrases emphasizing the merits of commissioning images of Kṣitigarbha are repeated in T412.13.782c10–14, etc.

the patient acceptance based on the awareness of the nonarising of phenomena<sup>7</sup> and abandon the defiled karmic accretions.<sup>8</sup> [We also pray that it] directly arrives at the palace of Tuṣita Heaven and ascends by a shortcut to the realm of paradise, thus attaining the great enlightenment.

We also pray:

May the noble body of His Royal Highness enjoy a life of ten thousand years, the evil spirit of *yin* and *yang* become diluted and misfortune become extinct as time goes by, the benevolence [of His Highness] surpass that of the Five Emperors,<sup>9</sup> and the governing [of His Highness] follow the examples of the Three Kings!<sup>10</sup>

May the noble lifespan of Her Royal Highness be as long as that of His Royal Highness. May her womanly virtue be exerted extensively and clearly, and may she be a paragon for the entire state as a mother. May she be blessed to conceive a son

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<sup>7</sup> “The patient acceptance based on the awareness of the nonarising of phenomena” is rendered as *musaengin* 無生忍 in the original text. *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “musaengin” (article by Charles Muller).

<sup>8</sup> “Defiled karmic accretion” is *yuru* 有漏 in the original text. *Yuru* (Skt. *āsrava*) refers to the presence of karmic accretions on the soul, and thus means “contaminated,” “defiled,” “stained,” etc. *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, “yuru” (article by Charles Muller, Dan Lusthaus, and F. Enomot).

<sup>9</sup> “Five Emperors” from the ancient Chinese mythology. Their reference varies depending on the source books. See Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, 1: 501.

<sup>10</sup> “The Three Kings” refers to Tangwang 湯王, Wuwang 武王, Zhougong 周公.

who is endowed with intelligence by Heaven,<sup>11</sup> and may a son be born from her side who knows everything from birth.<sup>12</sup>

May the longevity-star of Her Majesty Queen Dowager Gongui glisten forever, and her fortune-star be bright for a long time. May the Virtuous Consort-Princess's life be as though Mount Hansan does not wither, and may her fortune be as though a frosted pine tree turns to green. May the Chaste Concubine have no misfortune or obstructions, and may her lifespan have no end. Together with people who rejoice in sharing this common karmic connection, may she [the major donor, Sukbin Yun-ssi] be reborn in presence of the Buddhadharma and together be reborn in the same

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<sup>11</sup> “A son who is endowed with intelligence by heaven” is *cheonjong* 天縱 in the original text. *Cheonjong* stands for a person whose is endowed with gifts by heaven.

<sup>12</sup> “A son be born from her side” is *hyeoptan* 脇誕 in the original text. *Hyeoptan* alludes to the legendary birth of the Buddha from the side of his mother, Lady Māyā. The phrase *jeongsin cheonjong hyeoptan saengji* 頂娠天縱 脇誕生知 also appears as *jeongsin saengji hyeoptan cheonjong* 頂娠生知 脇誕天縱 in the inscriptions written by Monk Bou 普雨 on the 400 painting set of the Four Buddhas commissioned by Queen Munjeong in 1565. In her translation of the inscription of *The Śākyamuni Triad* in the collection of the Burke Foundation, New York, one of the six known pieces surviving from the 400 painting set, Hongnam Kim read this phrase as a praise for the subject of the sentence, namely, the queen (Queen Insun at that time), interpreting it as the queen “who was born into this world by the will of Heaven and endowed with great wisdom and brilliant” (Hongnam Kim, *The Story of a Painting*, 17). However, I think it is not a praise for a queen born from her mother's side but was a prayer for the queen that she may deliver a baby boy from her side, on the grounds of (1) the use of the metaphor of the Buddha's birth; (2) the situation of the Joseon court at that time, when there was no crown prince; and (3) the predominant Confucian value on women of Joseon society as a means of producing a succeeding son, especially when the whole country was so desperate for an heir to the throne.

location, never forgetting the (*illegible*) of today's rejoicing. There is no doubt that she will receive Buddha's assurance [that she will achieve enlightenment in the future] and will broadly save all creatures. How magnificent it is! Humbly written on the first ten days of the ninth month of this year.

### 慈壽宮淨社地藏十王圖

淑嬪尹氏，感冥府犁黎之苦，  
卽發弘願，欲畫地藏菩薩道  
明尊者無毒鬼王閻羅十聖  
都幀，兼畫十八地獄之狀，以爲  
我

仁順王后冥福之資。於是比丘尼智明  
等，皆叩頭曰，我等亦蒙 國家  
[卵]翼之恩，區區犬馬之[恨]，無所  
於效，而今既若此，我等之幸也，敢  
不同緣。各出儲箱之財，卽倩良畫，  
畫極精彩，如法粧潢，敬安于慈  
壽宮淨社，永奉香火焉。竊惟，三  
千大千世界，所有微塵盡充，爲  
却無以，喻地藏菩薩證果之久，  
或聞其名，或禮其像，或圖畫刻  
鏤塑像，皆得生於天上。今我  
淑嬪尹氏，興悲感，首發願主，比  
丘尼等，樂與同善，共成無上之  
緣嗚呼。淑嬪[辰?]大發願，卽地

藏菩薩之願，菩薩之願，卽恒沙  
諸佛之願，憑斯妙因，恭惟我  
仁順王后仙駕，悟無生忍，拋有漏緣，直  
到兜率天宮，徑登安養世界，證大  
菩提，  
亦願  
主上殿下，聖躬萬歲，陰陽[沴]釋，年月厄消，仁躰五帝，  
治踵三王  
王妃殿下，聖壽齊年，懿德宣明，母儀一國，頂娠天縱，  
協誕生知。  
恭懿王大妃殿下，壽星永曜，福辰長明，  
德嬪邸下，壽如寒山不凋，福似霜松轉翠。淑嬪  
尹氏，無災無障，壽命無盡，與諸隨喜同緣等，[亡]  
世上生於佛法中，同生一處，毋忘今日隨喜之□  
蒙佛受記，廣度有情，不容擬疑吁。其盛哉，是歲  
九月上澣謹誌。

### ***The Painting of King Sāla (1576)***

On one day of the sixth month of the fourth year of the Wanli era [1573–1615], the year of *byeongja* [1576] (in the sexagenary cycle), nuns Hyeguk, Hyewol, and others saw that the old scroll of *The Painting of King Sāla* was so beaten by many years of heat and coldness, so dark with dust and eaten by moths, and its color so faded that its image was unrecognizable. The viewers didn't feel at ease with looking at it.

Thereupon, we widely solicited donations from the palace and obtained some funds. We immediately hired a skilled painter to reproduce a new painting and hung it on the golden wall.<sup>13</sup> Its depiction is so magnificent and its luster is a hundred times more splendid than the old one, so that people awake right away at a glance and it arouses the aspiration for enlightenment. [Thus it makes people] plant roots of goodness widely with all creatures together, so that the power of the vow is extremely extensive and deep, and the devotional sincerity is tremendously ardent. Relying on this good cause, [we pray,]

May the noble life of His Royal Highness enjoy ten thousand years!

May the noble life of Her Royal Highness enjoy years as long as those of His Highness, and [may she] quickly bear a son who is endowed with intelligence by heaven.

May the noble life of Our Majesty Queen Dowager Gongui be as high as a mountain, her benevolent heart as wide as an ocean, [and may] she relieve the world as she made the vow for, and save people as she wishes.

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<sup>13</sup> “The golden wall” (*geumbyeok* 金壁) means a lavishly embellished wall in the palace or in a Buddhist facility. Here I would take it to refer to the wall of a Buddhist facility, based on the following usages: “The Hall of the Buddha of Measureless Life in Daejaam culminates in splendor and luxury. The golden walls glisten at sunshine and the decorative paintings gleam at moonlight” 大慈庵無量壽殿，窮極華侈，金壁[壁]耀日，丹青熒月. *Munjong sillok* 文宗實錄, Munjong accession year [1450].3.4 (Musin 戊申).



For the Virtuous Consort-Prince, may her life-span have no end and she have no limit to her fortune and virtue.

For the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family, the precious one,<sup>14</sup> may she have no misfortune nor obstructions and her life-span have no limit. For Gim Eopga-ssi,<sup>15</sup> the safeguarded one, [may] misfortune [disappear quickly] like snow in the springtime and blessings [thicken] like clouds in the summer season. For Gwon Mukseok-ssi, the safeguarded one, [may] the foundation of life become more solid and the sea of blessings grow bluer. May each person who rejoices in this karmic causal situation search for the blessings and wisdom together, and [may] all enjoy peace and tranquility, about which there will never be doubt. How gorgeous it is! On

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<sup>14</sup> “The Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family” is followed by “*boche*” 寶體. *Boche* or “the precious body (one)” is commonly rendered “*boche*” 保體, or “the safeguarded body (one),” in the written prayers of Korean Buddhism. In this prayer, *boche* 保體 is used after the names of Gim Eopga-ssi and Gwon Mukseok-ssi, who were most probably from the commoner or lower class, whereas the homophone *boche* 寶體 is used in honor of the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family. *Boche* 保體 was added to the name of a living person to pray for the person’s blessing. Jigwan 智冠 comp., *Gasam bulgyo daesarim* 伽山佛教大辭林 (Seoul: Gasan bulgyo munhwa yeonguwon, 1998– ), 10: 228b.

<sup>15</sup> The appellation here, “Gim-ssi Eopga-ssi boche” 金氏業家氏保體 (and “Gwon-ssi Mukseok-ssi boche” 權氏墨石氏保體 below) was seldom used. The usual rendering would be “Gim Eopga-ssi” or “Gim-ssi Eopga.” Therefore they might be counted as four people (Gim-ssi, Eopga-ssi, Gwon-ssi, and Mukseok-ssi). However, I take the names to refer to two people, Gim Eopga-ssi and Gwon Mukseok-ssi, on the ground that “*boche*” is added to each group of names just once.

the first ten days of the seventh month of this year, the layman Daesong reverently wrote [this].

### 沙羅樹幀

萬曆四年丙子六月日，比丘  
泥慧國慧月等，見沙羅  
樹舊幀，多歷炎冷塵昏，  
蠹食丹牖漫滅，形像隱隱，  
不可識矣，觀者病焉。於是，  
普勸禁中，得若干財。  
卽倩良畫，改成新圖，掛  
諸金壁之上，形容森嚴，光  
彩百倍於前，使人人一見  
便知，而能發菩提之心，  
普與含生，同樹善根，  
其願力之弘深，誠意  
之懇，至鳴至哉。憑  
此良因，  
主上殿下聖壽萬歲。  
王妃殿下聖壽[齊年，速]  
誕天縱。  
恭懿王大妃殿下，聖壽山高，  
慈心海闊，濟世如願，度生  
如心。  
德嬪邸下，壽命無盡，福

德無量。  
惠嬪鄭氏寶體，無灾無障，  
壽命無窮。金氏業家氏保體，  
灾如春雪，福似夏雲。權氏  
墨石氏保體，壽基益固，  
福海增清。各各隋喜因  
緣等，俱索福慧，共享  
安穩，必無疑矣吁，其盛  
歟。是歲秋七月上浣，對松  
居士謹誌。

***The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades  
of Rebirth in the Western Paradise (1582)***

On one day of the ninth month in the autumn of the tenth year of the Wanli era [1573–1615], corresponding to the year of *imo* [1582] (in the sexagenary cycle), a nun named Hakmyeong made a special vow respectfully for the Gracious Concubine of the Jeong family, the Precious One, that she might have no misfortune and no obstructions, and that her lifespan might have no end. May she look after many people, and may she love and respect her family in this world. With the protection of Buddhas, may she quit this world (*sahā*) and be reborn in the other world of supreme bliss, accomplishing the vow of enlightenment in person. [To fulfill this vow,] taking out her own personal funds in reverence, she [the nun Hakmyeong] respectfully produced a scroll of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise* in pure gold and mounted it with golden

silk. Soon after completing it, she reverently enshrined it in an immaculate sanctuary and had incense and candles offered for good.

Originating from this superior cause, may the spirit-carriages of both King Injong, Yeongjeong the Great, and Queen Inseong inherit the effect of exemplary deeds, together attaining the enlightenment, and together saving (*illegible*).

She [the nun Hakmyeong] also prays that the noble lives of the three Majesties of Our Noble Highness<sup>16</sup> all (*illegible*) years. In addition, may the spirit-carriages of the couples of Chanui Jeong-ssi and Gim □□-ssi (*illegible*) together meet Amitābha. □□□-ssi, the safeguarded body, may eliminate misfortune (*illegible*), and his blessings and lifespan increase and grow longer.

Ah! May she herself [the nun Hakmyeong] also have no misfortune and no obstructions and may (*illegible*) increase. Then she may receive the Buddha's (*illegible*) and not fall down evil [paths] in each life, and (*cannot make a sensible sentence with the legible characters*). Reverently written on the last ten days of the eleventh month in the winter of the same year.

### 西方九品龍船接引會圖

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<sup>16</sup> “The three Majesties of Our Noble Highness” are the primary royal family members alive at that time: the current King Seonjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608), Queen Uiin 懿仁 (1555–1600), and the Virtuous Consort-Princess of the Yun family (Deokbin Yun-ssi 德嬪 尹氏, 1552–92), the consort of the short-lived Crown Prince Sunhoe (1551–63) of King Myeongjong (r. 1545–67). See the Royal Genealogy Chart in Appendix II.

萬曆十年壬午秋  
九月日,比丘尼學明,  
特發願主,敬爲  
惠嬪鄭氏寶體,無  
灾無障,壽命無盡,  
□護衆人,愛敬當家,  
諸佛之擁護,捨此娑婆,生  
彼極樂,直證菩提之  
願. 恭損己財,敬成純  
金西方九品龍船接引  
會圖一幀,金帛粧潢,  
繼以落之後,敬安于清  
淨道場,永奉香火. 因  
斯勝因,  
仁宗英靖大王仙駕  
仁聖王后仙駕(俱) 承儀力  
同證菩提共濟□□.  
次願  
聖上三殿下聖壽俱□□  
歲. 亦爲贊儀鄭氏  
兩位靈駕,金□□□  
兩(位?)靈駕俱( )  
共觀彌陀.(□□□)  
氏保體,消灾□□,福  
壽增長. 抑亦己自

無灾障無[無障?]□增延後

家[蒙?]佛陀□□取□□

久生生木[不?]墮惡□

印□法( )

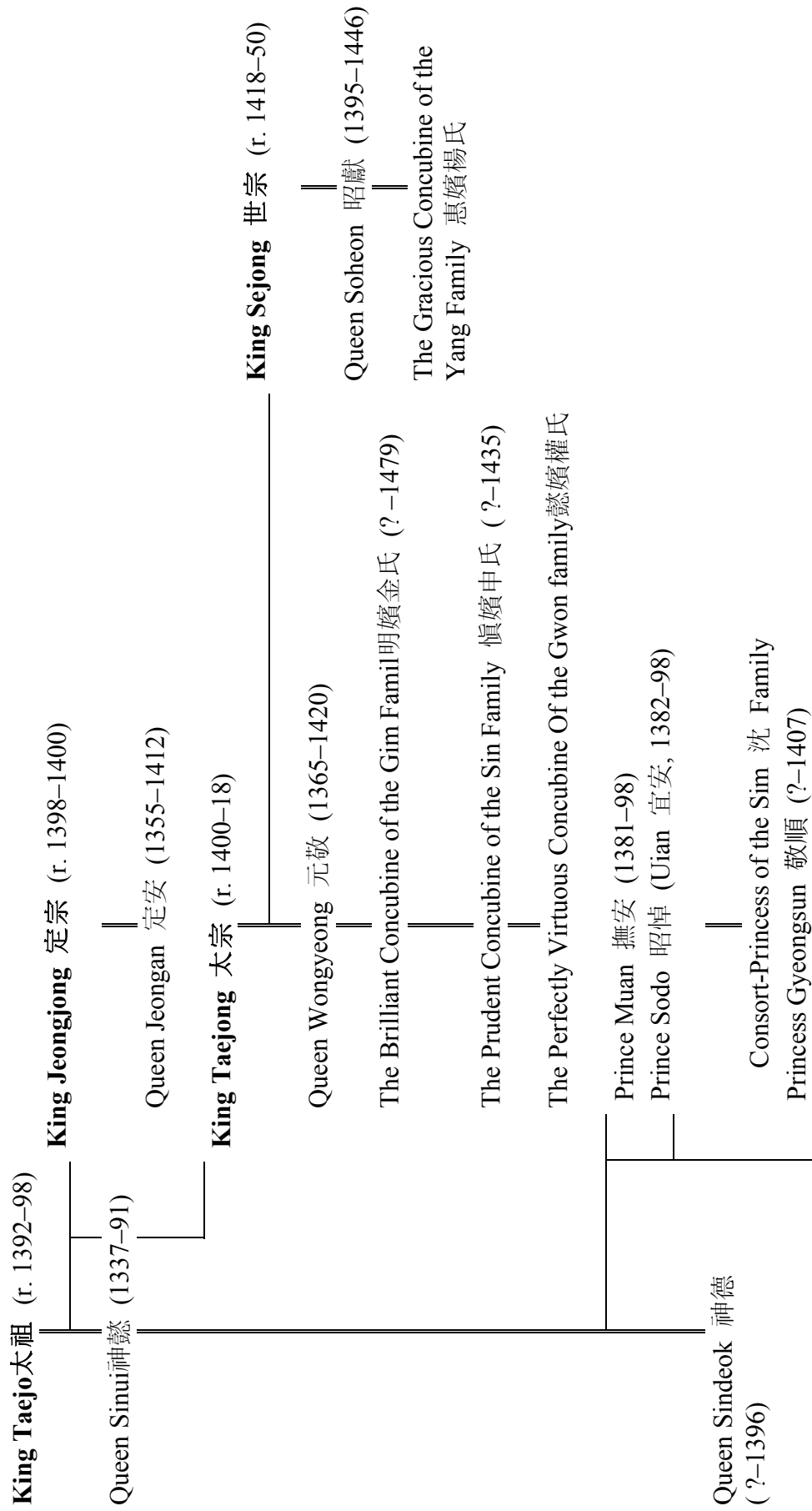
□鳴.

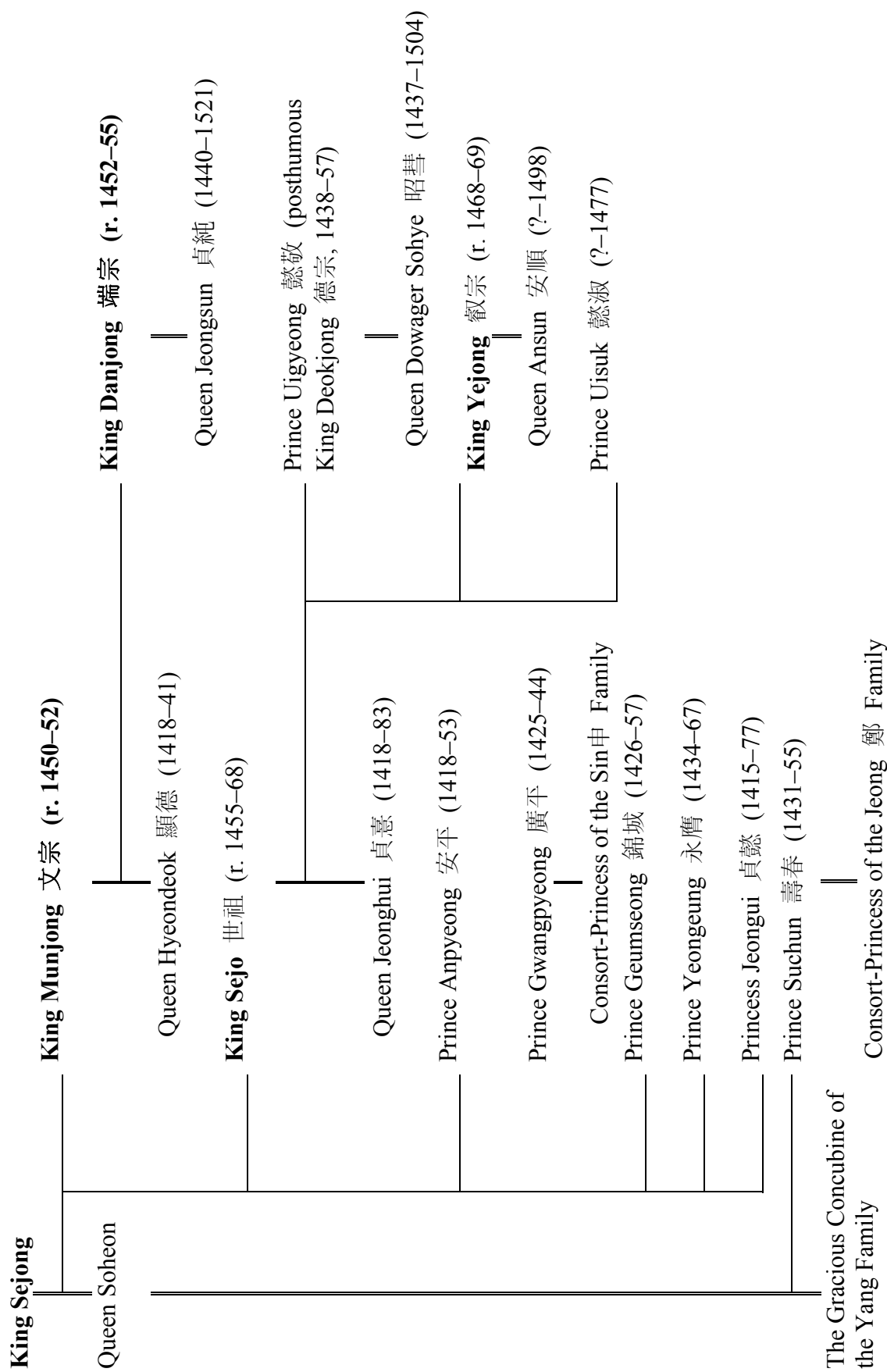
是歲冬十一月下澣

謹誌.

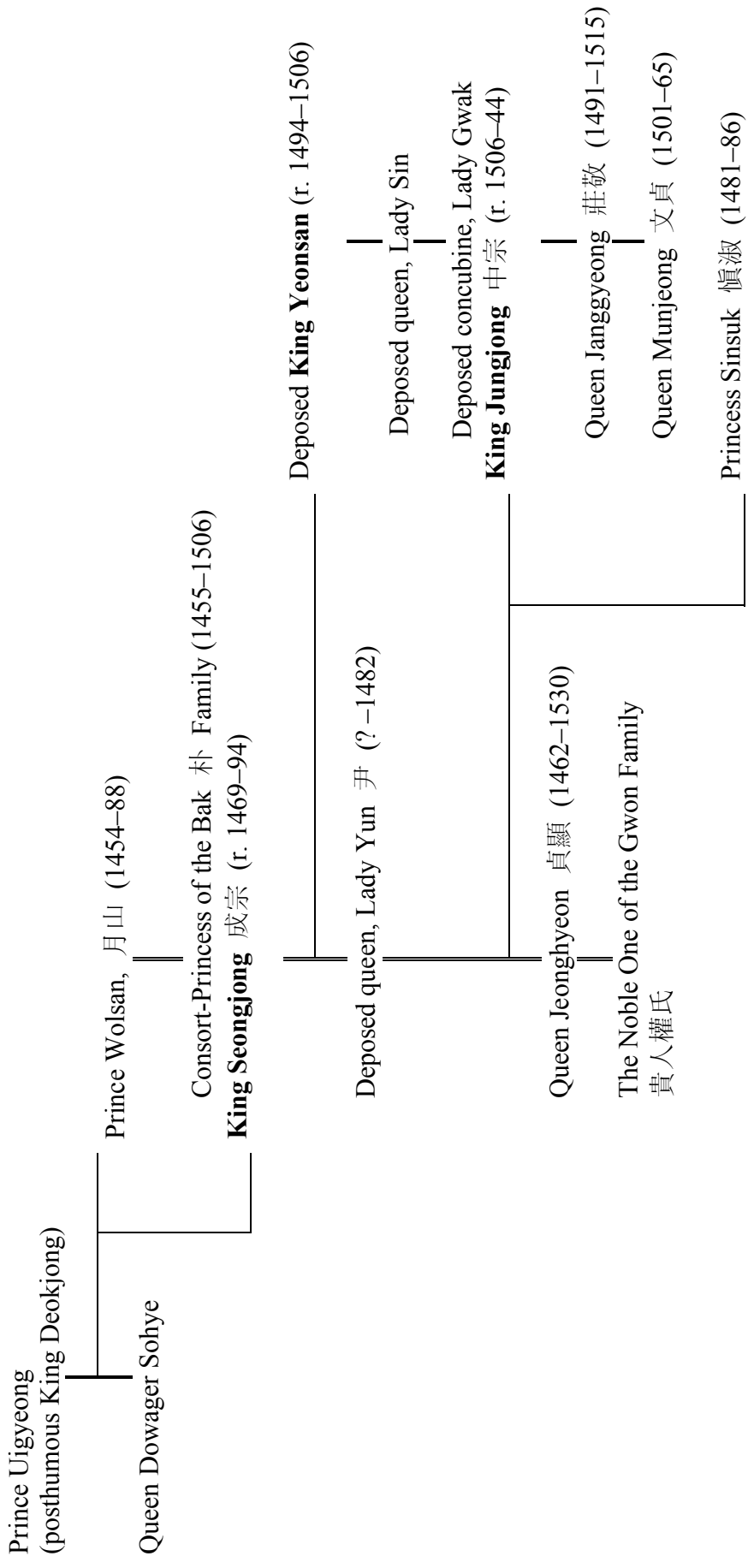
## Appendix II The Royal Genealogy of the Early Joseon Dynasty

This chart only illustrates the figures relevant to the discussion in this dissertation











**Appendix III**  
**Buddhist Paintings Sponsored by Court Women of the Early Joseon Dynasty**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Collection</b>	<b>Size (cm)</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Inscription</b>	<b>Painter(s)</b>	<b>Patron(s)</b>	<b>Reproduction</b>
<i>Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara</i>	1427	Bairinji, Kurumeshi Fukuoka	123.2 x 60.2	color on silk	Y	N/A	Mm. Gang of Jinyang and Mm. Hong of Namyang	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl. 120.
<i>Illustration of Sixteen Contemplations</i>	1434	Chionji, Kyōto	222.6 x 160.8	color on silk	Y	N/A	An unknown Gunbun 郡夫人 and a master of Cheontae sect	1993, <i>Goryeo, yeongweonhan mi</i> , pl. 4.
<i>Illustration of Sixteen Contemplations</i>	1465	Chion'in, Kyōto,	269.0 x 182.1	color on silk	Y	Yi Maenggeun 李孟根	Prince Hyonyeng, Consort-Princess of the Song Family of Prince Yeongeung, Prince Wolsan, Gunbun Mm. Jo of Gimje, Gunbun Mm. Jin of Daegu, and others	1993, <i>Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi</i> , pl. 5.
<i>Bhaisajyaguru Triad and Twelve Guardian Generals</i>	1477	Private Collection, Japan	85.7 x 55.9	color on silk	Y	N/A	Princess Myeongsuk and Prince Hong Sang	2006, <i>Dongguk National Treasure</i> , pl. 9.

<i>Three Indras</i>	1483	Eiheiji, Fukui	115.0 x 77.0	color on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowagers Jeonghui, Sohye, and Ansun	2002, <i>Daihonzan Eihei shozo kaiga no meihinten</i> , pl. 16. 2005, <i>Kokka</i> 1313.
<i>Buddha and Ten Attendants depicted on a gilt bronze shrine from Sujongsa</i>	1493	National Museum of Korea, Seoul	13.5 x 17	color on gilt bronze	Y	N/A	Concubines of King Seongjong, Ladies Hong, Jeong, and Gim.	1984, <i>Joseon bulhwa</i> , pl. 30- 31.
<i>Water-Moon Avalokitesvara</i>	15 <sup>th</sup> century (before 1497)	Saifukuji, Fukui	170.9 x 90.9	gold- line drawn g on red silk	Y	N/A	Gunbun Mm. Yun- of Haman, Consort of Prince Oksan	1993, <i>Goryeo, Yeongweonhan mi</i> , pl. 16
<i>Amitābha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas</i>	1532	Enrekiji, Kyōto	108.8 x 55.7	gold- line drawn g on red silk	Y	N/A	Lady-in-Waiting Mm. Gim	2008, Jeong.
<i>Bhaisajyaguru and Twelve Guardian Generals</i>	btwn 1544- 1577 (1548- 65)	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.	121.7 x 126.7	color on silk	Y	N/A	A Queen Dowager	1992, <i>Selected Masterpieces of Asian Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i> , pl. 110.

<i>Thirty-Two Responsive Manifestations of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara from Dogapsa</i>	1550	Chion'in, Kyōto	201.6 x 151.8	color on silk	Y	Yi Jasil	Queen Dowager Gongui	1996, <i>Joseon jeongi gukbojeon</i> , pl. 190. 1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl. 122.
<i>Bhaisajyaguru Triad, Eight Great Bodhisattvas, and the Twelve Guardian Generals</i>	1561	Entsūji, Wakayama	87.2 x 59.0	gold-line drawn on red silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.122.
<i>Arhat, 153<sup>rd</sup> of the Five Hundred Arhats</i>	1562	LA County Museum	44.5 x 28.4	color on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong	1991, Gim H. 2008, Bak E. fig. 1-110.
<i>Bhaisajyaguru Triad</i>	1565	National Museum of Korea	54 x 30	gold-line drawn on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.125.
<i>Bhaisajyaguru Triad</i>	1565	Tokugawa bijitsukan, Nagoya	58.8 x 31.2	gold-line drawn on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong	2008, Bak E. fig. 1-24.
<i>Bhaisajyaguru Triad</i>	1565	Ryūjōin, Kochi	55.2 x 32.4	color on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.124.

<i>Bhaisajyaguru Triad</i>	1565	Hojiin, Hiroshima	55.2 x 32.4	color on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong	2008, <i>Seo Ilbon</i> . pl. 99. 2008, Bak E. fig. 1-25. 1991, Gim H.
<i>Śākyamuni Triad</i>	1565	Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation	69.5 x 33	color on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong 文定王后	
<i>Śākyamuni Triad</i>	1565	Kozenji, Hyōgo	53.2 x 28.8	color on silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Munjeong	2008, Bak E, fig. 1-1
<i>Maitreya Preaching</i>	1568	Nyoirinji, Wakayama-ken	126.5 x 107.2	gold-line drawn on red silk	Y	N/A	Queen Dowager Gongeui	1999, Jeong.
<i>Kṣiṅgarbha and Ten Kings of Hell from Jasugung Sanctuary</i>	1575-77	Chion'in, Kyōto	209.5 x 227.3	color on silk	Y	N/A	Chate Concubine of the Yun Family, nun Jimyeong and others.	1996, <i>Joseon jeon'gi gukbo jeon</i> .pl. 194. 1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.127.
<i>Painting of King Sala</i>	1576	Seizan bunko, Kōchi	108.8 x 56.8	color on silk	Y	N/A	Nuns Hyeguk and Hyewol	1996, <i>Joseon jeon'gi gukbo jeon</i> .pl 196. 1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.126.

<i>The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise</i>	1582	Raigōji Honjima Marukame-shi Kagawa-ken	115.1 x 87.8	gold-line drawn g & colors on red silk	Y	N/A	Nun Hakmyeong	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.128.
<i>Water-Moon Avalokitesvara</i>	16 <sup>th</sup> century	Private collection	54.2 x 39.0	gold linear drawn g on silk		Monk Huian	Mms. Yi and Min	1996, <i>Joseon jeon'gi gukbo jeon</i> , pl. 191.

Appendix IV  
**Paintings of Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell in the Early Joseon**

<b>Title</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Collection</b>	<b>Size (cm)</b>	<b>Medium</b>	<b>Inscription</b>	<b>Painter(s)</b>	<b>Patron(s)</b>	<b>Reproduction</b>
<i>Kṣitigarbha and Six Bodhisattvas</i>	Attr. 15 <sup>th</sup> C.	Yodadera, Kagawa	128.7 x 76.3	Color and gold on silk	Y	N/A	Commoners, functionaries, & monks	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.119.
<i>Ten Kings of Hell</i> (10 scrolls)	Attr. 15 <sup>th</sup> C.	Whereabouts unknown	67 x 44.2	Color on silk	N	N/A	N/A	1996, Gim Jeonghui, fg. 95.
<i>Ten Kings of Hell and a Messenger</i> (11 scrolls)	1532 or 44 or 56	Hōshōji, Kagawa	87.5 x 59.0	Color on silk	Y	N/A	N/A	2008, Bak E. fg. 1-84.
<i>Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1546	Iyadanidera, Kagawa	138.1 x 128.3	Color on hemp	Y			1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , fg. 111.
<i>Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1558	Nanatsudera, Aichi	171.2 x 170.1	Color on hemp	Y	Monk Haenghui	Commoners	2008, Bak E. fg. 1-76.
<i>Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i> from Cheongpyeongsa	1562	Kōmyōji, Hiroshima	95.2 x 85.4	Color on silk	Y	An artist	Monk Bou	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.123
<i>Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1564	Ishitedera ?, Ehime	144 x 109.5	Color on hemp	Y	Monk Sungjo		1997, Takeda, “Chūgoku Shikoku,” 102.
<i>Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i> from Jasung	1575-77	Chion'in, Kyōto	209.5 x 227.3	Color on silk	Y	N/A	Chaste Concubine of the Yun Family & Nun Jimyeong and	1996, <i>Joseon jeon'gi gukbo jeon</i> . 1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl.127.



<i>Sanctuary Kṣiṭigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1580	Seiganji, Kyōto	100.5 x 112.0	Color on hemp				others.	2001, <i>Jigoku yūran</i> , pl. 14.
<i>Kṣhitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1582	Tanjōjo, Okayama	111.3 x 105	Color on hemp	Y	Monk Yeongmuk	Commoners		1997, Takeda, “Chūgoku Shikoku,” 102-03.
<i>Kṣhitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1586	Kokubunji, Yamaguchi	325.2 x 245.5	Color on hemp	Y	Monk Yeongji			1997, Takeda, “Chūgoku Shikoku,” 103.
<i>Kṣhitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1587	Jifukuji, Tokushima	97.2 x 80.7	Color on hemp	Y	Monk Beopjeong			1972, <i>Awa no butsuga</i> pl.56. 1997, Takeda, “Chūgoku Shikoku,” 103-04.
<i>Kṣiṭigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1589	Zenkōji, Yamanashi	128.8 x 98.3	White- line drawing on red hemp	Y	A Monk			1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu Toyo hen</i> 11, fg. 112
<i>Kṣiṭigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	1596	Daihukuji	199.0 x 211.8	Color on hemp					
<i>Kṣiṭigarbha and Six Bodhisattvas</i>	Attr. 16 <sup>th</sup> C.	Hōjuin	154.0 x 144.4	Color on silk	Y/ Not published				2003, <i>Sacred Treasures of Mount Kōya</i> , pl. 54 2003, <i>Kūkai and Mount Kōya</i> , pl.119

<i>Ksitigarbha and Six Bodhisattvas</i>	Attr. 16 <sup>th</sup> C.	Hōjuin	154.0 x 144.4	Color on silk	Y/ Not published		2003, <i>Sacred Treasures of Mount Kōya</i> , pl. 54 2003, <i>Kūkai and Mount Kōya</i> , pl.119 (Attri. to 17 <sup>th</sup> c)
<i>Ksitigarbha and Six Bodhisattvas</i>	Attr. 16 <sup>th</sup> C.	Nezu Bijutsukan, Tōkyō	123.3 x 109.9	Color on silk			2001, <i>Nezu Bijutsukan zōhinsen</i> , pl. 41.
<i>Ksitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell</i>	Attr. 16 <sup>th</sup> C.	Kannonji, Kagawa	98.5 x 84.2	Color on silk			1984, <i>Sanuki no kaiga</i> 1997, Takeda,

**Appendix V**  
**The Kṣitigarbha Sūtra Hand-copied or Printed in the Early Joseon Dynasty**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Publisher/ Copier</b>	<b>Patron</b>	<b>Collection</b>	<b>Reproduction</b>
1440	Hand-copy in ink on white paper	Monk Haeyeon	22 Commoners	Leeum Museum (T. 940)	
1447-50	Print		Court-related	Hoam Art Museum (T. 933)	<a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a>
1450.4.10	Hand-copy in ink		King Munjong		
1453	Print	Hwaamsa	Commoners	Asan mungo (T. 1011)	
1457	14 Print 1 Hand- copy in ink	Court	King Sejo		Dedicatory Statement in <i>Yeongga Jingak daesa Jeungdoga (Yijo jeongi bulseo jeongwan mongnok</i> , entry 25) Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon: 18 T. no. 959-3 ( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> )
1459	Hand-copy in ink on white paper	Sinyu sanin	Commoners		
1462	Print	Superintende ney for Scripture Publication			
1469	Print	Samgaksan Doseongam 道成菴	Princess Jeongui	Yonsei University Library, Guinsa (T.966)  ( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> )	Dedicatory Statement by Gim Suon in the end of gwon 3. ( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> )
1472	Print	Court	Queen Dowager		Dedicatory colophoe by Gim Suon (T. no.737) in Yonghwasa, Damyang.

			Sohye		( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> ) <i>the Summary of Dharm-words of Monk Mengshan</i> in the Memorial Institute of King Sejong the Great.. ( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> ) <i>Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon</i> , 28
1474	Print Hand-copy	Gyeonseongs a	Queen Dowagers Jeonghui, Sohye, and Ansun, King Seongjong, princesses,	Dongguk University, Yonsei University  reprint 1610, Namjangsa	Dedicatory Statement by Gim Suon 金守溫 ( <i>Yijo jeongi bulseo jeongwan mongnok</i> , 1965, entry 13) Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon, 29 ( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> )
1474	Print		Court Matron Mm, Jo		Dedicatory statement in <i>Lotus Sūtra</i> (T. no. 959-4-9) found from Virocana in Girimsa, Gyeongju, ( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> ) <i>Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon</i> , 27;
1481	Print		Queen Dowager Ansun		<i>the Sūtra for the Penance in the Rite of Compassion</i>
1482	Print		Queen Dowager Sohye		<i>Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon</i> , 27
1485	Print		Commoners	National Library of Korea, Seoul, Horim Museum (T.1104), Gim Minyeong (T. 1567)	( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> )
1488	Print		Queen Jeonghyeon		Colophon in the Beophwa gyeong (T. no 950) ( <a href="http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/">http://www.memorykorea.go.kr/</a> )
1489	Print		Consort Princess of the Bak		<i>Joseon jeongi bulseo panbon</i> , 33.

				Family		
1537	Print	Singheungsa. Gyeongsang- do			Private Coll.	
1558	Print	Seokdusa, Hwanghae- do			Private Coll. Mansong Library	
1562	Print	Sanjungam , Hwanghae- do			Private Coll.	
1569	Print	Ansimsa, Jeolla-do			Seongam Museum	
1571	Print	Cheongwans a, Jeolla-do			Private Coll.	
1574	Print	Ssangbongsa, Jeolla-do			Sangi Library	

**Appendix VI**  
**Buddhist Paintings in Gold-Line Drawing of the Early Joseon Period**

Title	Date	Collection	Size (cm)	Medium	Inscription	Painter(s)	Patron(s)	Reproduction
<i>Standing Avalokiteśvara &amp; Kṣitigarbha</i>	Early 15 <sup>th</sup> C.	Anain, Gifu	90 x 45.2	Gold-line drawing on dark red silk	N			2008, Bak E. fg. 1-90.
<i>Amitābha Triad</i>	15 <sup>th</sup> C.	Sontaiji, Yamanashi	164.9 x 85.6	Gold-line drawing on indigo blue silk	N			1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu daizenshu</i> , pl. 110.
<i>Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara</i>	15 <sup>th</sup> C. (before 1497)	Saifukuji, Fukui	170.9 x 90.9	Gold-line drawing on dark red silk	Y		Gunbuin Mm. Yun-of Haman, Consort of Prince Oksan	1993, <i>Goryeo, Yeongweonhan mi</i> , pl. 16
<i>Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas</i>	End of 15 <sup>th</sup> C.	Zenmyōji, Fukui	155.5 x 145.5	Gold-line drawing on dark red silk	1627 Donation statement			1997, <i>Kōrai Richō no bukkyo bijutsuten</i> .
<i>Amitābha and Eight Great Bodhisattvas</i>	1532	Enrekiji, Kyōto	108.8 x 55.7	Gold-line drawing on red silk	Y		Court Matron Mm. Gim	2008, Jeong U.
<i>Bhaisajyaguru Triad, Eight Great Bodhisattvas, and the Twelve Guardian Generals</i>	1561	Entsūji, Wakayama	87.2 x 59.0	Gold-line drawing on red silk	Y.		Queen Dowager Munjeong	1997, <i>Sekai bijutsu</i> , pl.122.
<i>Sākyamuni and Ten Disciples</i>	1561(?)	Koninji, Kyōto	79.2 x 56.3	Gold-line drawing				2008, Bak E. fg. 1-9



<i>Preaching</i>		of Art, Hawai'i.		drawing on red silk					
<i>Amitābha Triad</i>	16 <sup>th</sup> C.	Saimyōji	40.8 x 26.0	Gold-line drawing on red silk	Y	Yi Jasil	Monk	2008, Bak E. fg. 1-36.	
<i>Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas</i>	16 <sup>th</sup> C.	Private, Japan		Gold-line drawing on black silk				2008, Bak E. fg. 1-42.	



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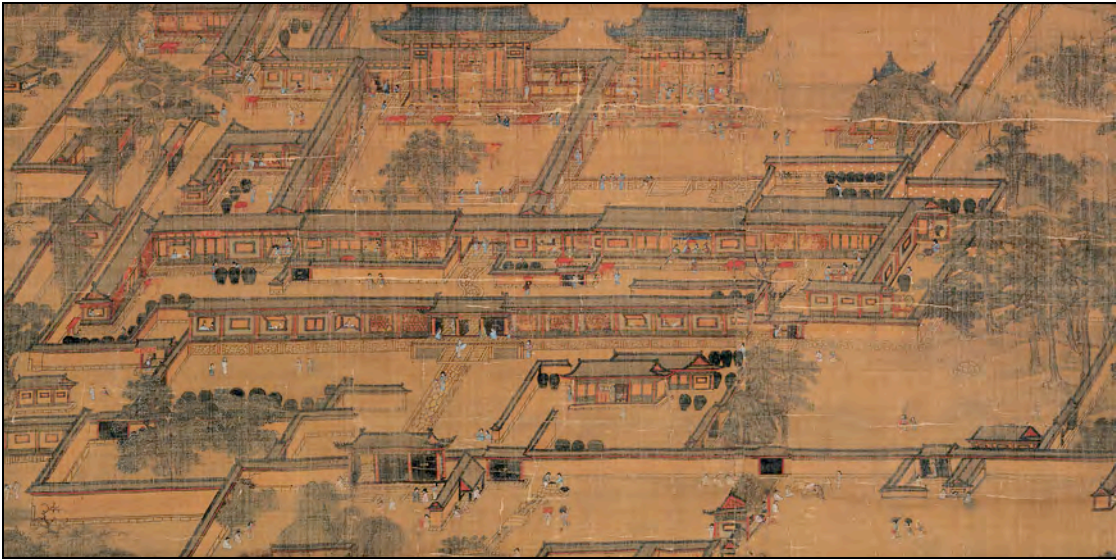
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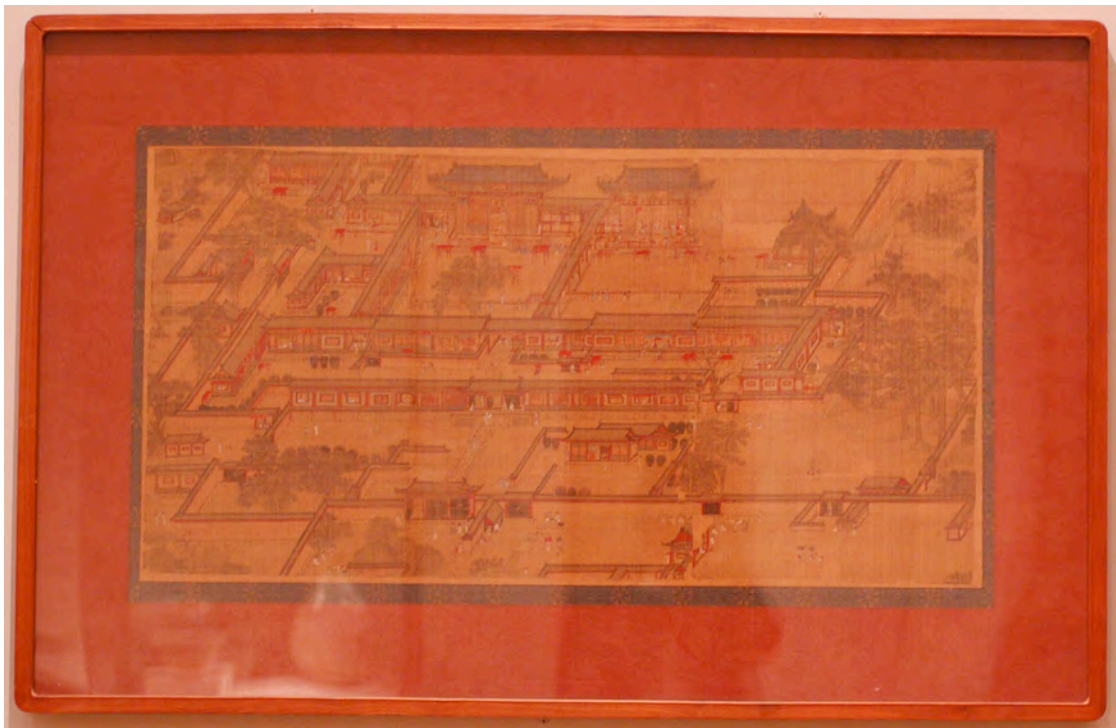
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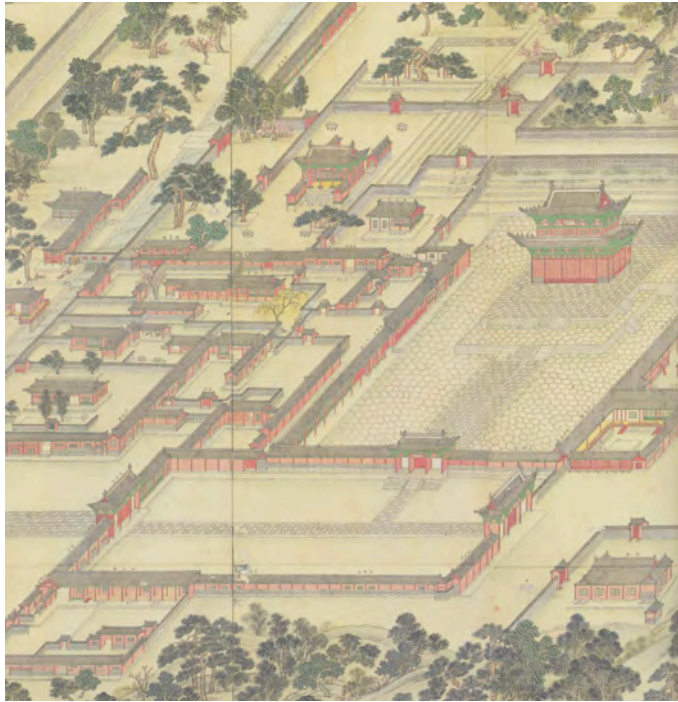
## **ILLUSTRATIONS**



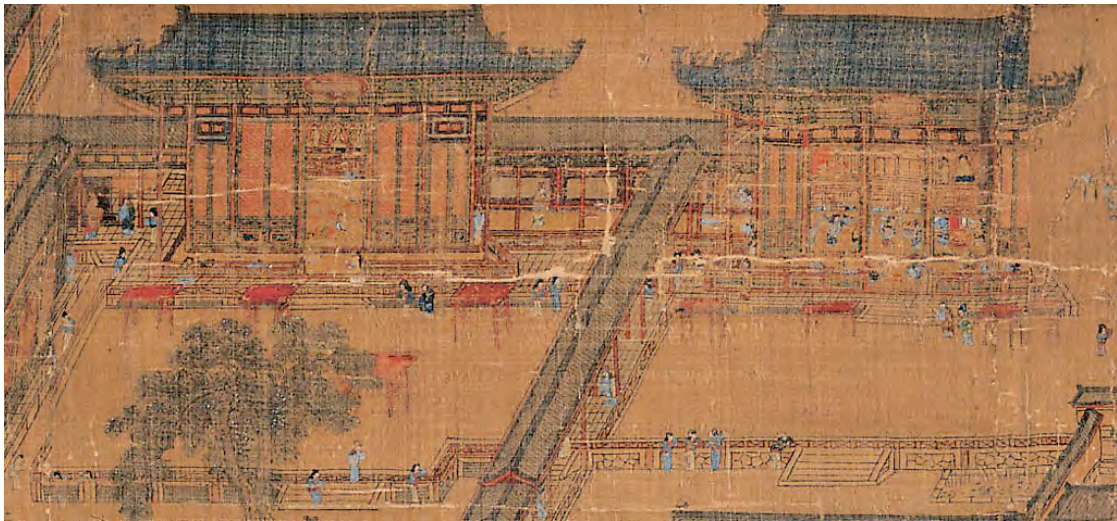
(Fig. I-1) *Palace Scene*, attr. mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Joseon. Originally album(?); ink and color on silk, 46.5 x 91.4 cm, Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul. Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



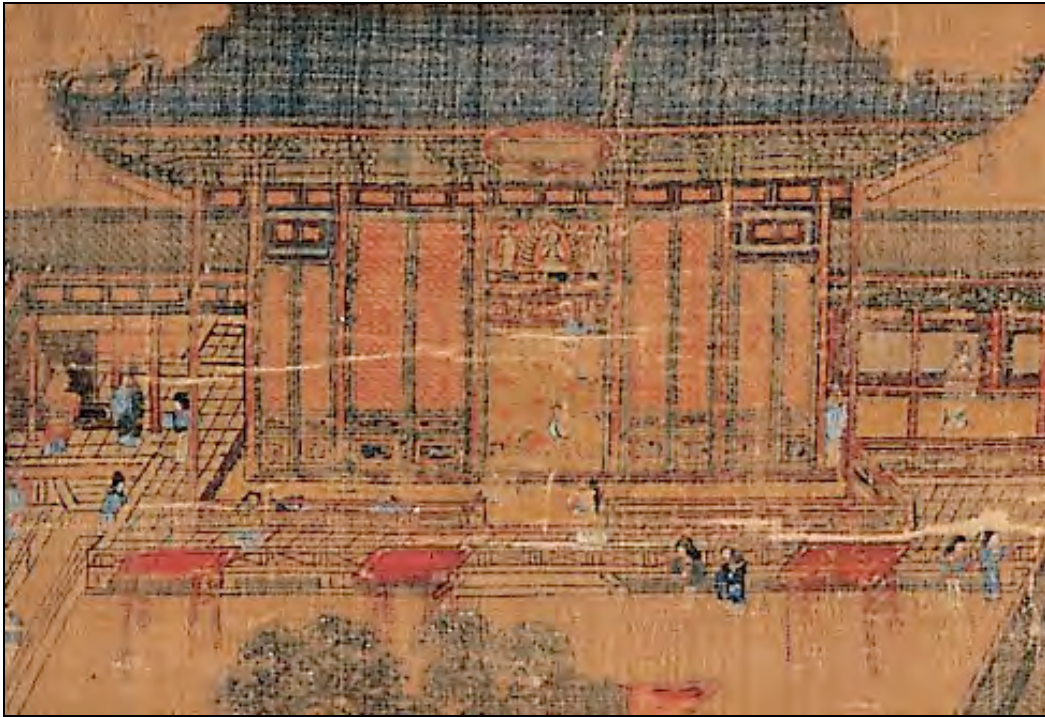
(Fig. I-2) *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1), framed. Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.



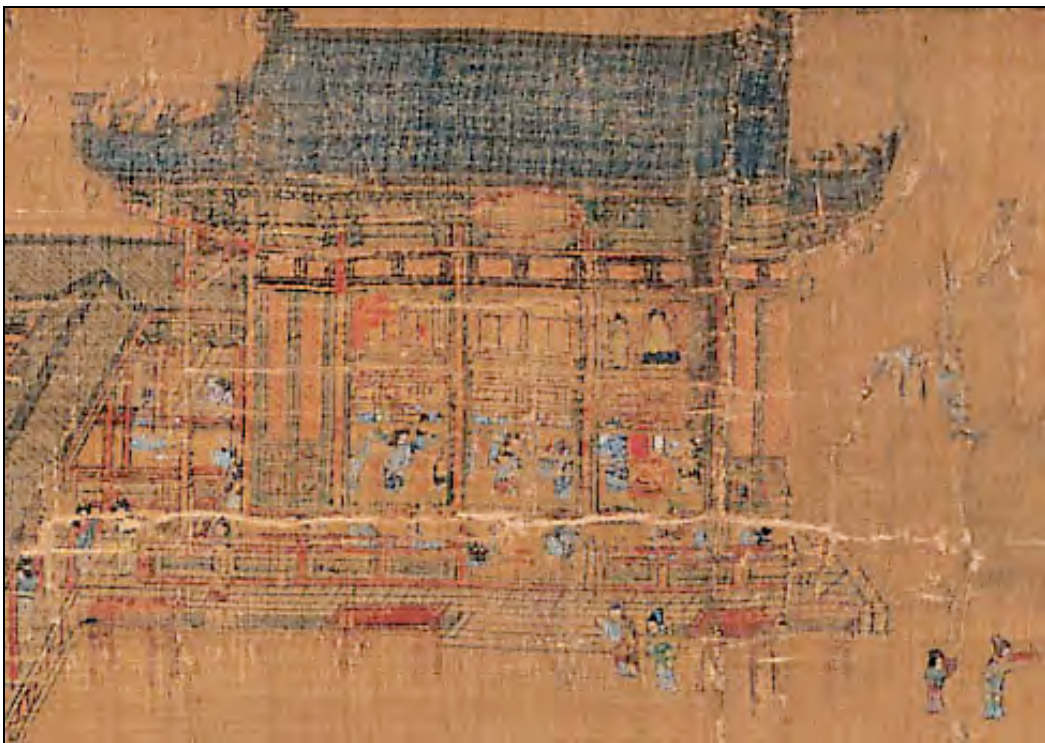
(Fig. I-3) Section of *The Eastern Palaces*, 1820s, Joseon. Album; ink and color on silk, album, 273 x 584 cm (whole painting when unfolded), Goryeo University Museum, Seoul. *Donggwoldo*, pl. 70.



(Fig. I-4) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



(Fig. I-5) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



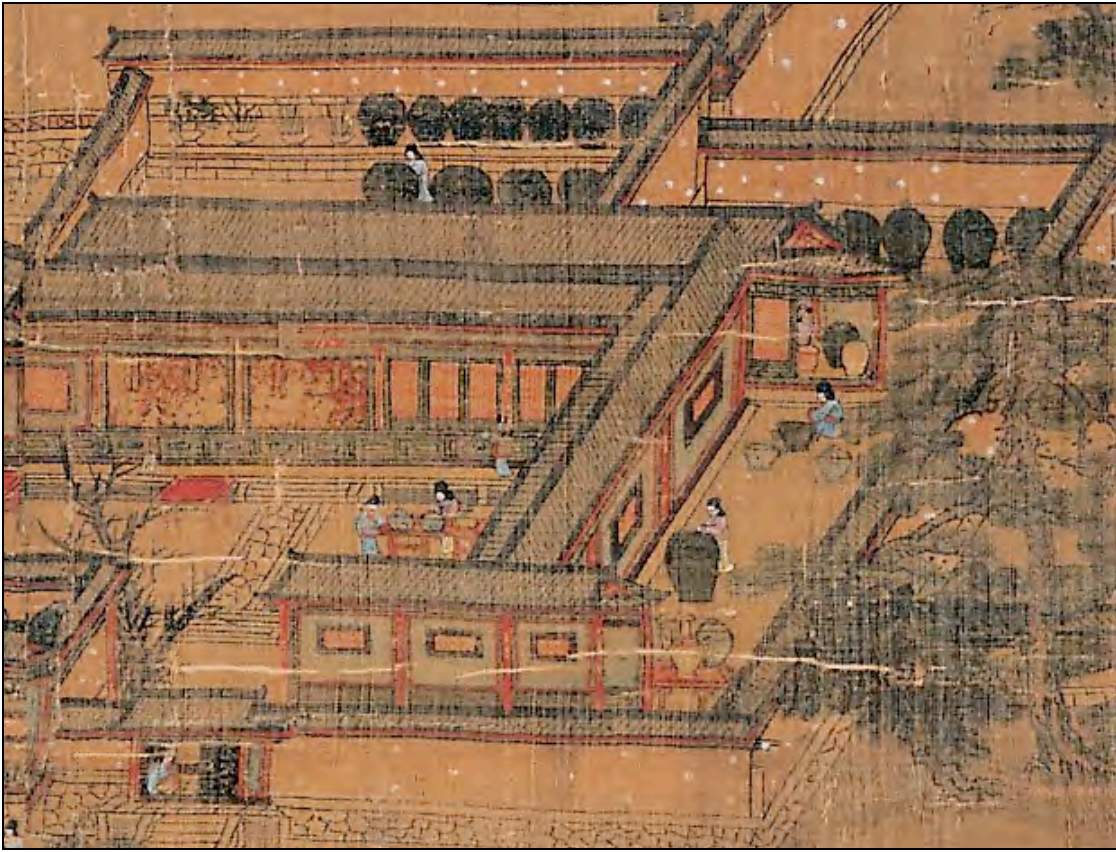
(Fig. I-6) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



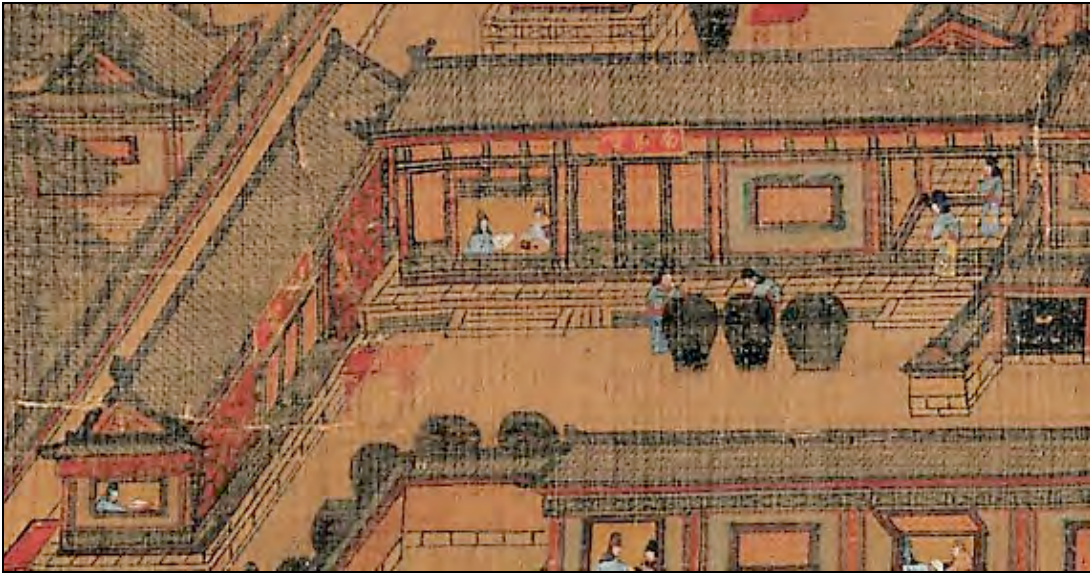
(Fig. I-7) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



(Fig. I-8) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



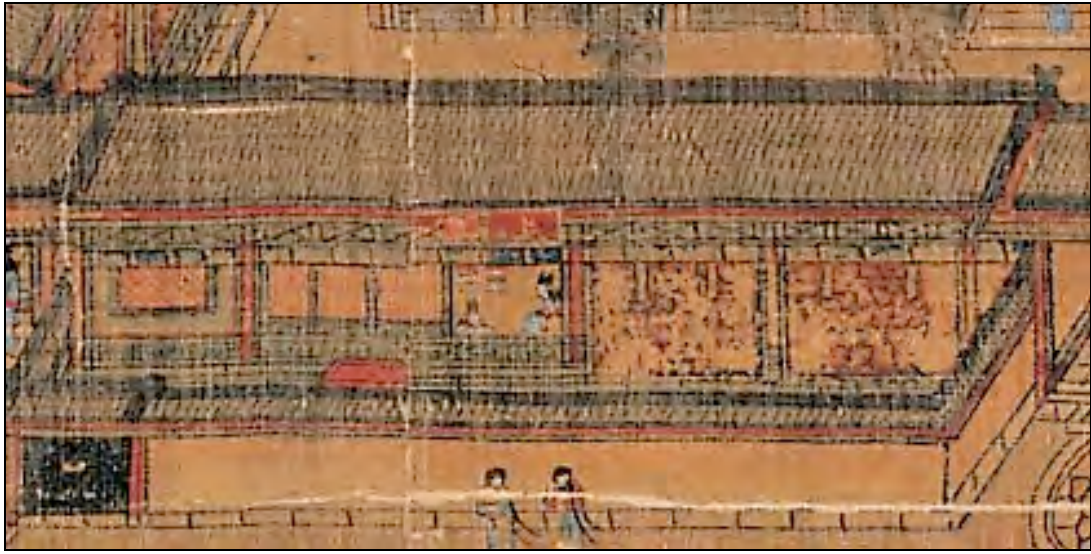
(Fig. I-9) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



(Fig. I-10) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul



(Fig. I-11) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.



(Fig. I-12) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



(Fig. I-13) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-12). Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.





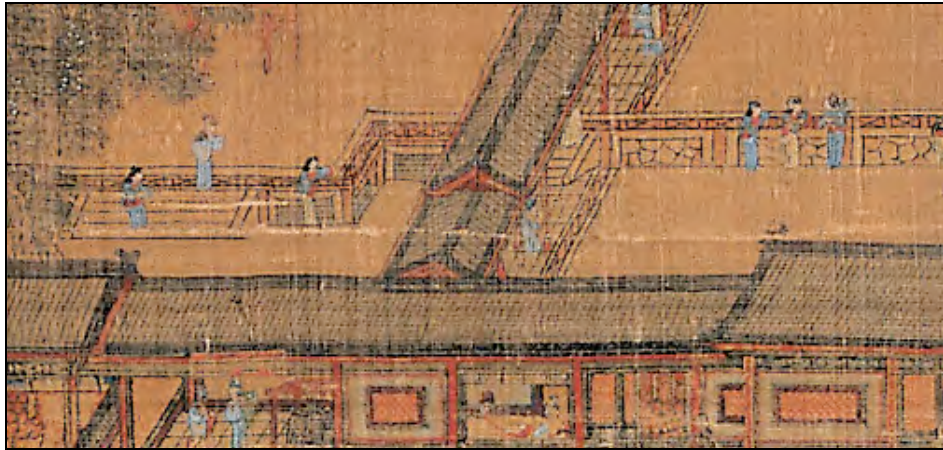
(Fig. I-14) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. 1-9). Photo by Gyeongwon Choe.



(Fig. I-15) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



(Fig. I-16) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-15). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



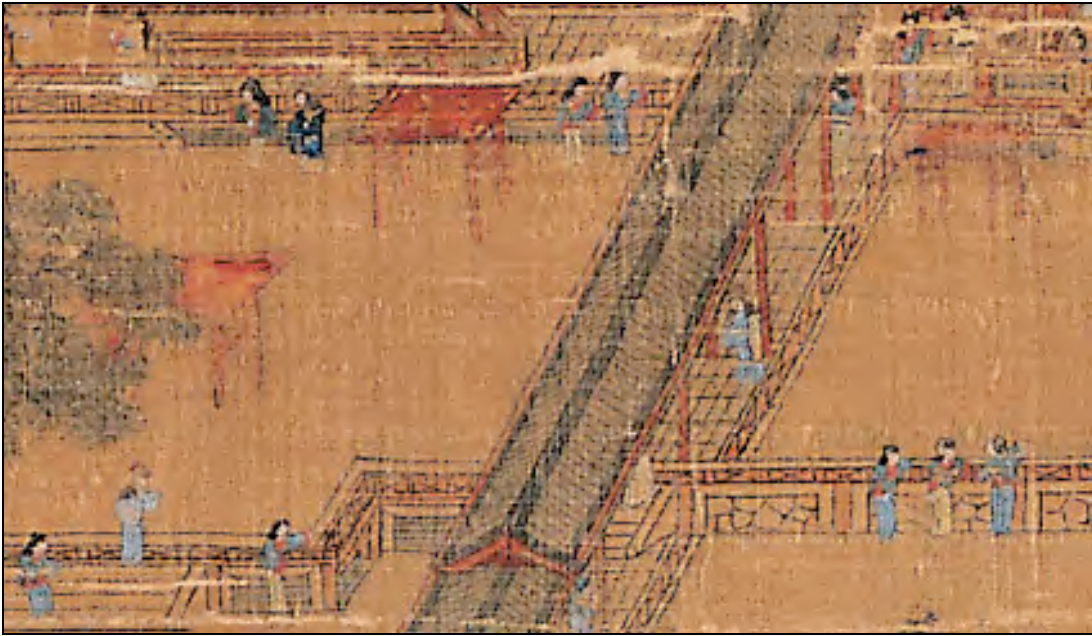
(Fig. I-17) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



(Fig. I-18) *Banquet for Retired Officials*, 1584, Joseon. *Joseon sidae yeonhoedo*, pl.10.



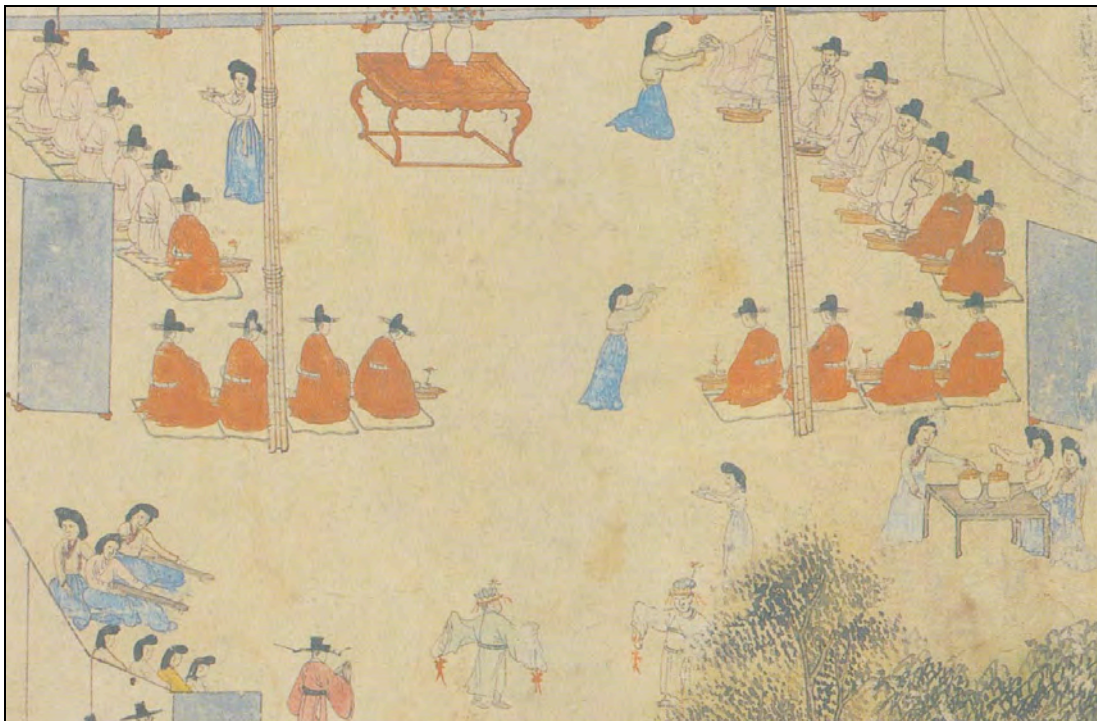
(Fig. I-19) Detail of *Banquet for Retired Officials* (fig. I-18).



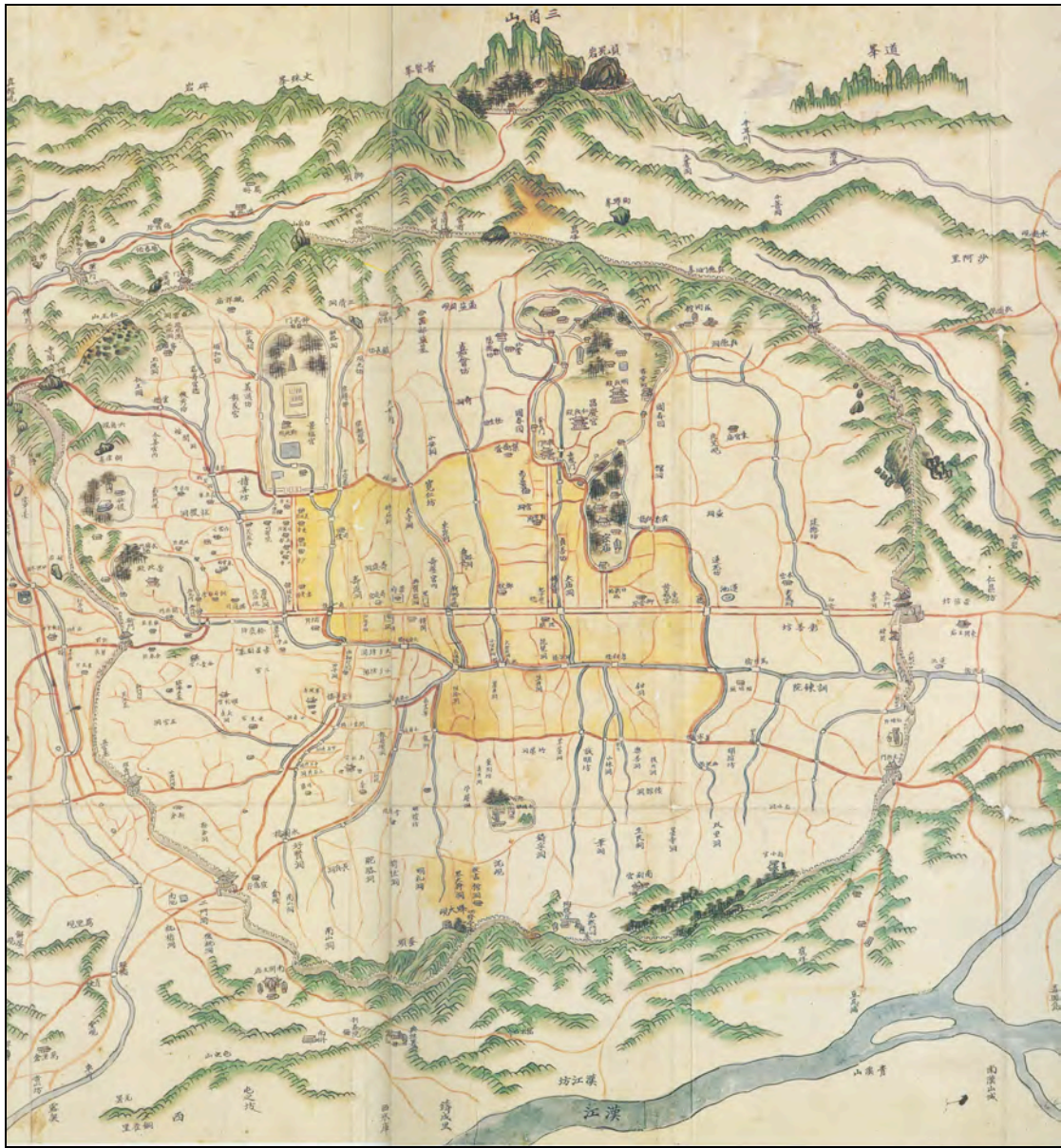
(Fig. I-20) Detail of *Palace Scene* (fig. I-1). Courtesy of Leeum, Samsung Museum of Art, Seoul.



(Fig. 1-21) Banquet for Celebrating the Longevity of the Mothers of the High-Ranking Officials in the King Seonjo's Administration, 1605 (ca.1655 copy), Joseon, Hongik University Museum, Seoul. Joseon sidae yeonhoedo, pl. 17.



(Fig. I-22) Detail of Banquet for Celebrating the Longevity of the Mothers of the High-Ranking Officials in the King Seonjo's Administration (fig. I-21). Joseon sidae yeonhoedo, pl. 17.



(Fig. I-23) *The Capital City* (detail), mid-18th cent., Joseon. Hand-drawn map, color on paper, 75.4 x 98.0 cm (whole), GyuJanggak Archives, Seoul National University. *Seoul ui yet jido*, pl. 13.



(Fig. I-24) Detail of *The Capital City* (fig. I-23). *Seoul ui yet jido*, pl. 13.



(Fig. II-1) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary, 1575–77, Joseon, Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 209.5 x 227.3 cm. Chion'in, Kyōto. *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.

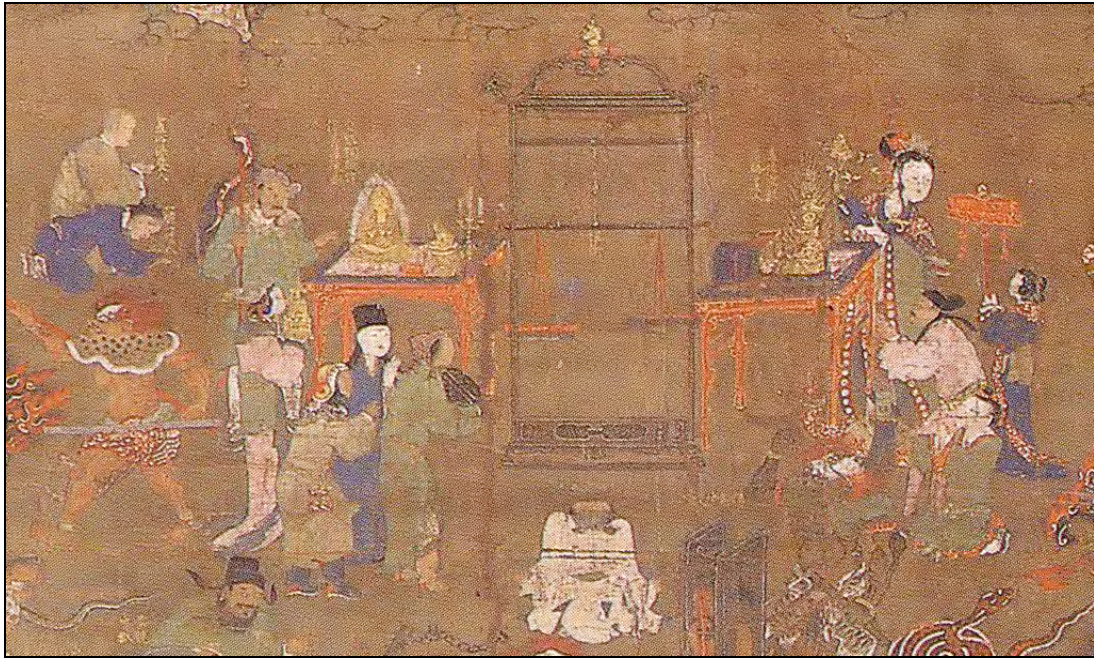




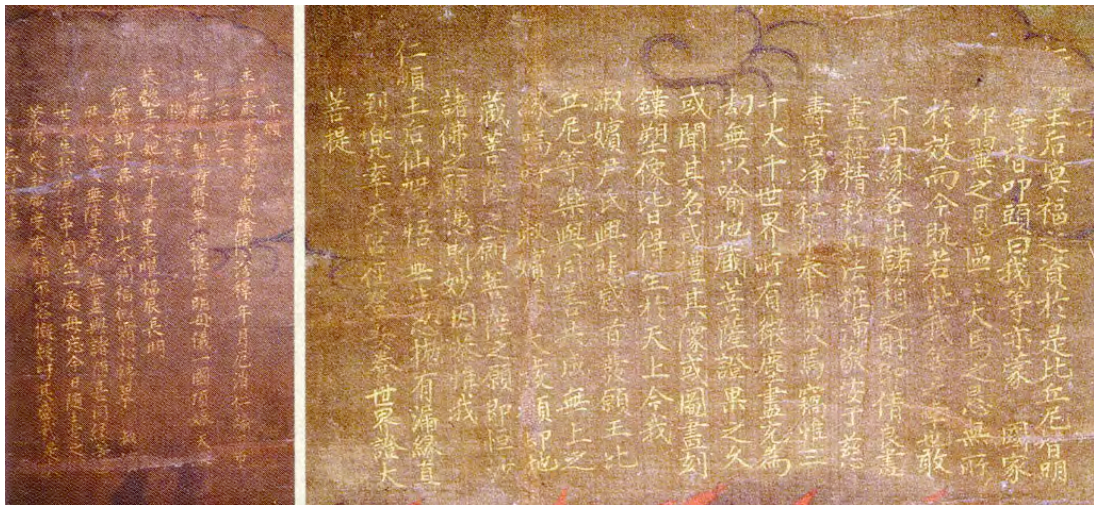
(Fig. II-2) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



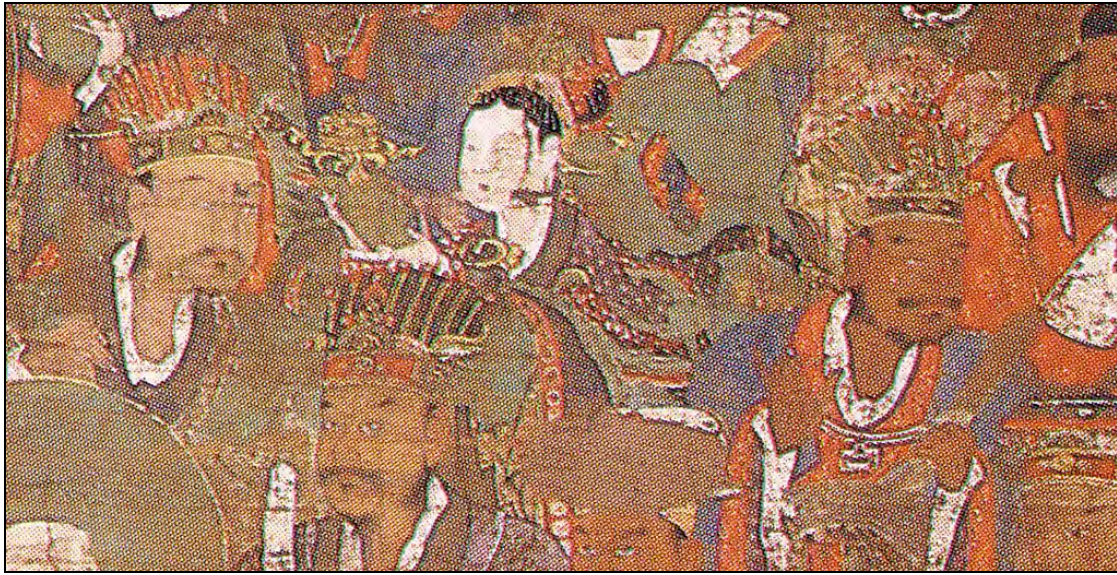
(Fig. II-3) The Eighteen Hells, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



(Fig. II-4) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



(Fig. II-5) Inscription of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu*, 522.



(Fig. II-6) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



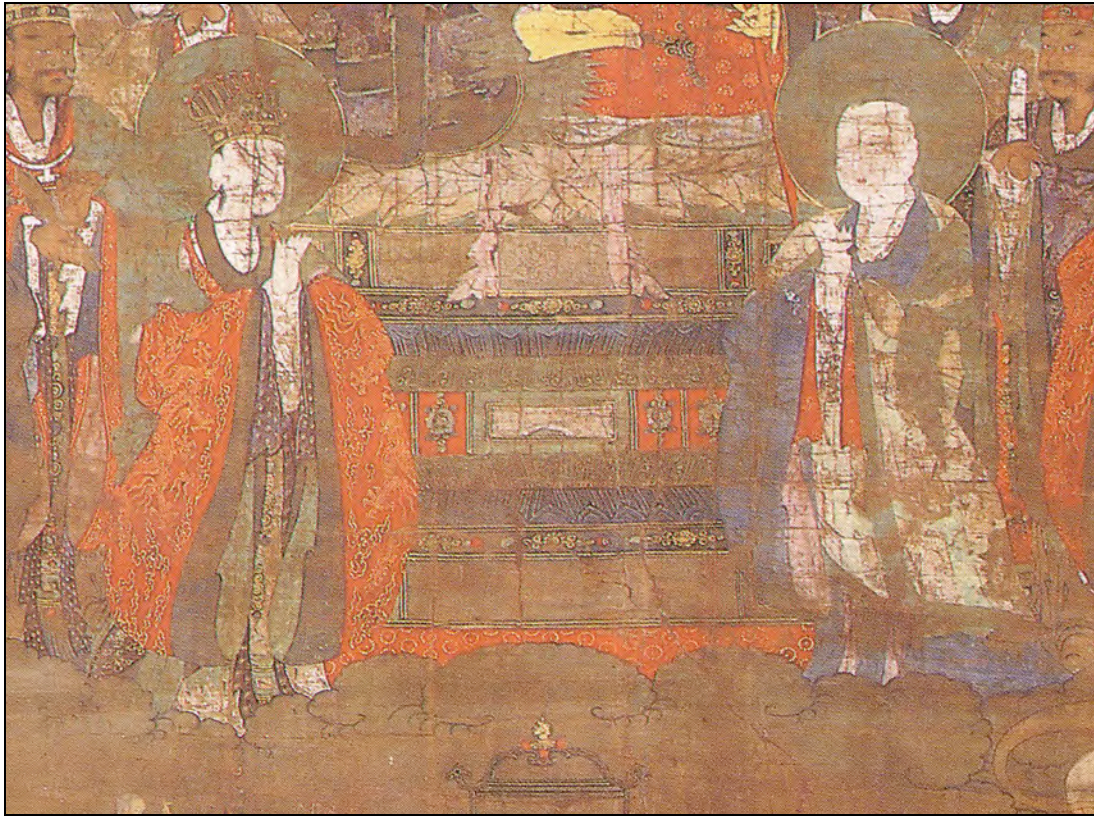
(Fig. II-7) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



(Fig. II-8) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Cheongpyengsa (fig. II-9). *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 34.



(Fig. II-9) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from Cheongpyeongsa, 1562, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 95.2 x 85.4 cm. Kōmyōji, Hiroshima-ken. *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 34.



(Fig. II-10) Daoming (right) and the Ghost King Poisonless (left), detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



(Fig. II-11) *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas*, attri. 15<sup>th</sup> century, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 128.7 x 76.3 cm. Yodadera, Kagawa-ken, *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 119.



(Fig. II-12) Venerable Daoming. Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Six Bodhisattvas* (fig. II-11). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, pl. 119.



(Fig. II-13) *Kṣitigarbha Triad*, attri. 13<sup>th</sup> century, Goryeo or Yuan. Hanging scroll; ink, gold, and color on silk, 239.4 x 130 cm. Engakuji, Kanagawa-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 109.



(Fig. II-14) The Venerable Daoming, detail of *Kṣitigarbha Triad* (fig. II- 13). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 109.



(Fig. II-15) *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his Attendants*, attr. Yuan. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 111.0 x 58.5 cm. Hōfukuji, Okayama-ken. *Kokuhō Jūyō bunkazai taizen 2*, pl. 56.



(Fig. II-16) *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his Attendants*, attr. Yuan. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 54.0 x 37.6 cm. Eigenji, Shiga-ken. *Kokuhō Jūyō bunkazai taizen 2*, pl. 52.





(Fig. II-17) *Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his Attendants*, attr. 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Yuan or Goryeo. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 113.0 x 49.9 cm. Yūgensai, Tōkyō. *Bukkyō kaiga Yūgensai sen*, pl. 79.



(Fig. II-18) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, two scrolls of the *shuilu* painting set, ca. 1460, Ming, 117x 61.5 cm, color on silk, Baoning si, Shanxi sheng. *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, pls. 135 and 138.



(Fig. II-19) The Venerable Daoming and Lord Min, detail of (fig. II-18), *Baoning si Mingdai shuilu hua*, pl. 137.



(Fig. II-20) Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha and his retinue, dated to 1520s–30s, Ming. Mural painting. Northeast wall of the Rear Hall in Pilu si, Hebei sheng. *Pilu si bihua*, pl. 111.



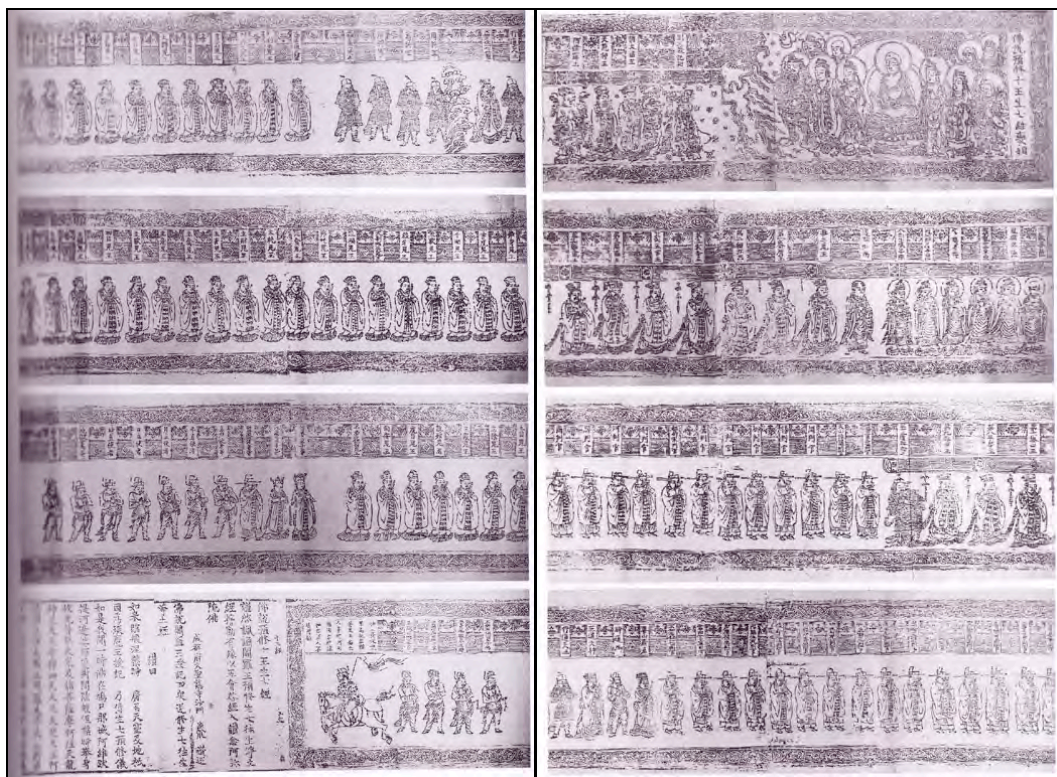
(Fig. II-21) The Venerable Daoming and Lord Min, detail of (fig. II-20).



(Fig. II-22) *Kṣitigarbha Triad*, Qing. Color on silk, 46.5 x 24.0 cm. Náprstkovo Museum, Prague. *Chūgoku kaiga sōgō zuroku*, vol. 2, E 22-013.



(Fig. II-23) Reconstructed Illustration of the Ceremonial Robe of the Government Officials of the Joseon Dynasty. *Hanguk boksik dogam*, pl. 10.



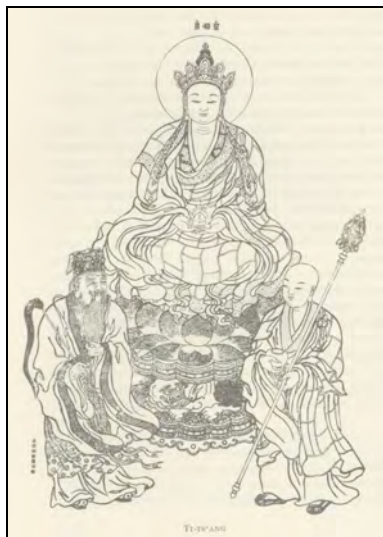
(Fig. II-24) Frontispiece, The Ten Kings Sūtra, 1246, Goryeo. Wood-block print; 18 cm (height of each block), Haeinsa, Gyeongsangnam-do. *Joseon sidae Jijang siwangdo yeongu*, fig. 30.



(Fig. II-25) The Venerable Daoming and the Ghost King Poisonless, detail of (fig. II-24).



(Fig. II-26) Lord Min, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasungung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



(Fig. II-27) *Kṣitigarbha Triad*, Woodblock print (?); measurement unknown. *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, p.116.



(Fig. II-28) Lord Min, detail of (fig. II-27)



6 Kṣitigarbha assembly (back of fig. 5)

(Fig. II-29) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, date unknown, Qing (?). Bronze plaque; size unknown. The Völkerkunde Museum, Berlin. Youngsook Pak, “The Role of Legend in Koryŏ Iconography,” figs. 5 and 6.

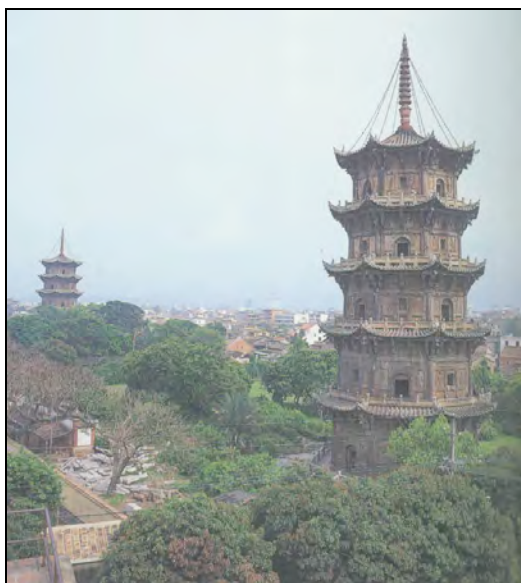


(Fig. II-30) Kṣitigarbha Bodhisattva from *Shuilu daochang tu*, 1465–87, Ming. Woodblock print, Beijing Library. *Zhongguo gudai banhua congkan er bian*.



(Fig. II-31) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, 1617, Qing. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 206.5 x 102.6 cm, Saidaiji 西大寺, Nara. *Seo Ilbon jiyek Hanguk ui bulsang gwa bulhwa*, pl. 149.





(Fig. II-32) Twin Pagodas, Southern Song. Kaiyuan si, Quanzhou, Fujian. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 6, pl. 234.



(Fig. II-33) West Pagoda, 1228–37. Southern Song, Kaiyuan si, Quanzhou, Fujian. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 6, pl. 236.



地藏菩萨 东 4—14 (东)

(Fig. II-34) Kṣitigarbha, East Pagoda, 1238–50, Southern Song. Kaiyuan si, Quanzhou, Fujian. *Quanzhou Dongxi ta*, p.



阎公长者 西 2—6 (西)

道明尊者 西 2—5 (西)

(Fig. II-35) Ghost King Poisonless and Daoming, West Pagoda, 1228–37, Southern Song. Kaiyuan si, *Quanzhou Dongxi ta*.



(Fig. II-36) *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell*, 1580, Joseon, Seiganji, Kyōto. *Jigoku yūran*, pl.14.



(Fig. II-37) Frontispiece of the Lotus Sūtra, 1459, Joseon. Woodblock print; measurement unknown. Sailaiji, Nara. Bak Dohwa, “15-segi hubangi wangsil barwon panhwa,” fig. 6.



(Fig. II-38) Frontispiece of *Zhu fo pusa zunzhe shenseng ming jing*, datable to around 1420, Ming. Woodblock print.



(Fig. II-39) Donors, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



(Fig. II-40) Donors, detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194



(Fig. II-41) *Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra, the Eighth King*, 1246, Goryeo. Woodblock print; 20.5 cm (height), Depository for the Tripitaka Koreana Woodblocks, Haeinsa, Gyeongsangnam-do. Photo by Gim Jahyeon.



(Fig. II-42) *Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra, the Ninth King*, 1246, Goryeo. Woodblock print; 20.5 cm (height), Depository for the Tripitaka Koreana Woodblocks, Haeinsa, Gyeongsangnam-do. Photo by Gim Jahyeon.



(Fig. II-43) Last section of *The Illustration of the Ten Kings Sūtra*, Dunhuang. 10<sup>th</sup> century, Five Dynasties, ink and colors on paper, 27.8 x 239.9 (whole scroll). *The Art of Central Asia*, pl. 63.

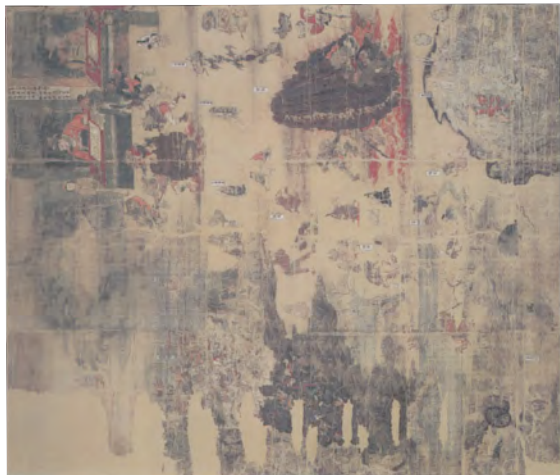


(Fig. II-44) *The Ten Realms*, late 13<sup>th</sup> century, Kamakura, Zenrinji 禅林寺, Kyōto.



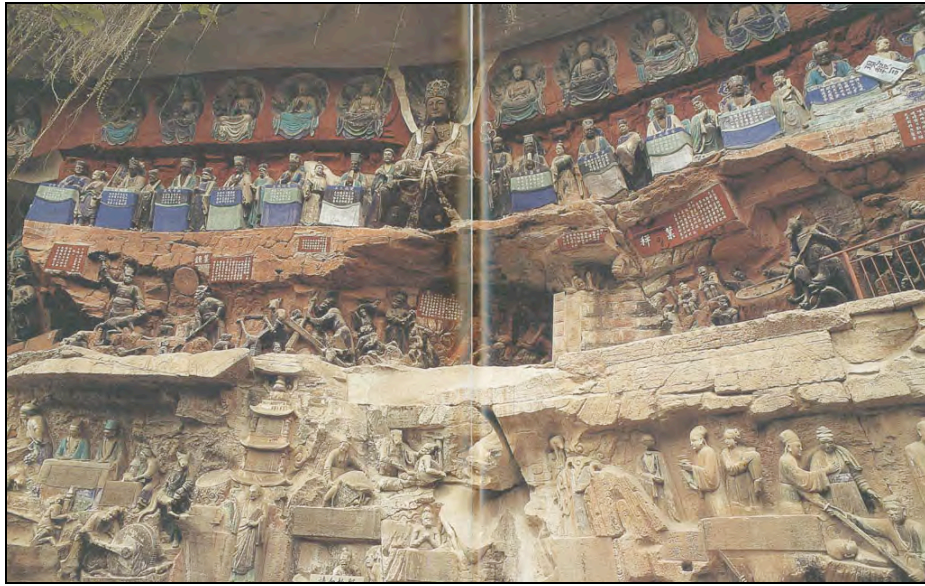
(Fig. II-45) Linear Illustration of the left scroll of *The Ten Realms*, detail of (fig. II-44).



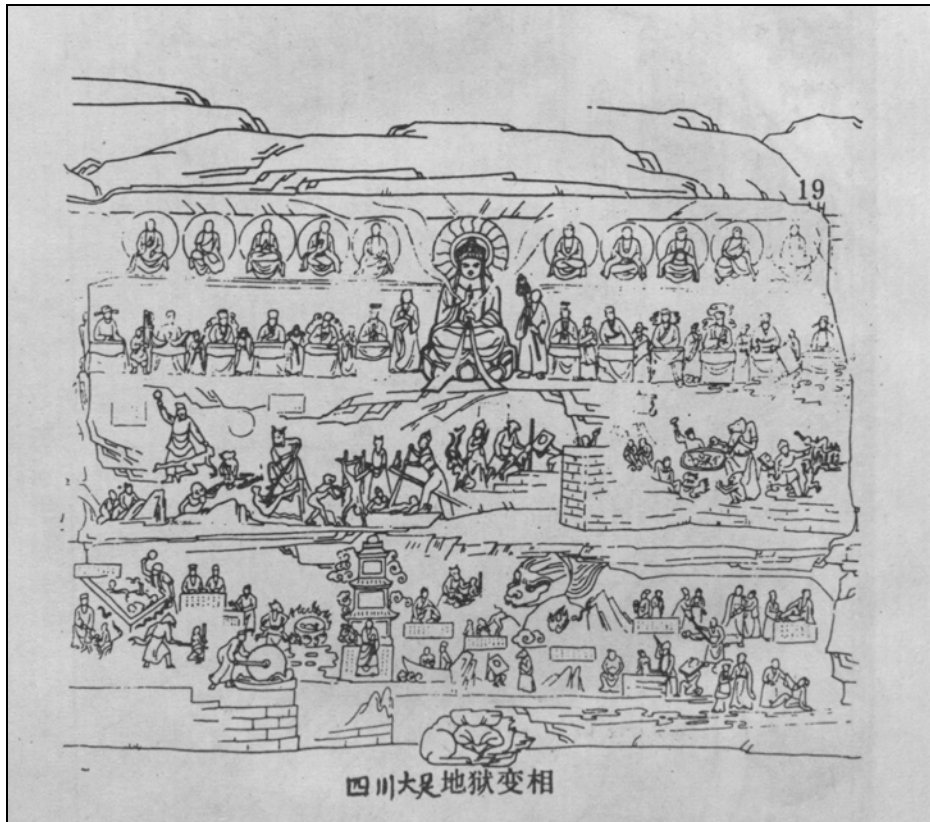


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(Fig. II-46) *The Six Realms*, Gokurakuji, Hyōgo-ken, dated to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century.



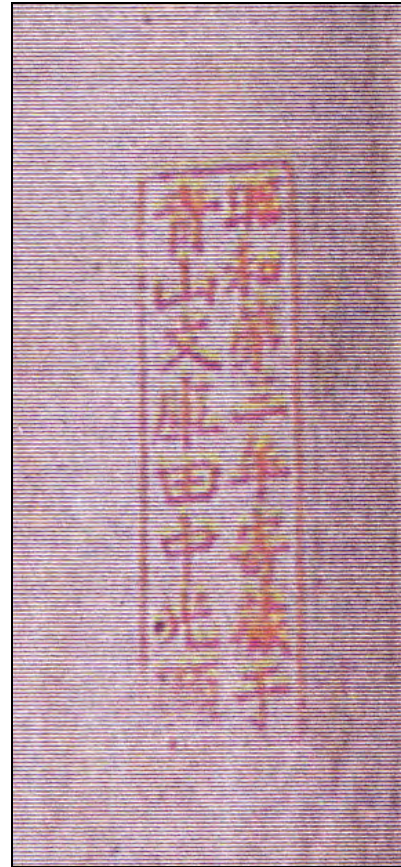
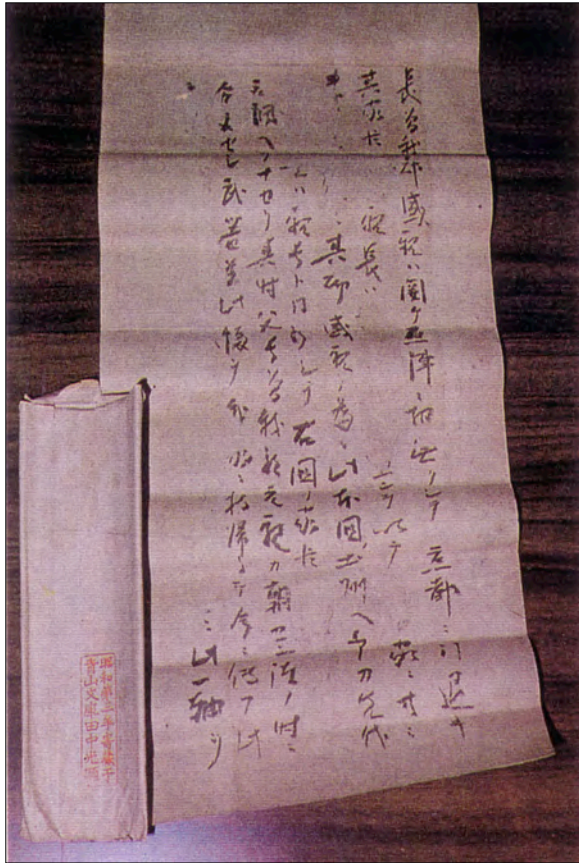
(Fig. II- 47) *The Transformation Tableau of Hell*, 1174–1252, Southern Song, Niche 20, Dafowan, Baodingshan, Dazu. *Zhongguo Dazu shike*, 127-28.



(Fig. II- 48) Linear illustration of *The Transformation Tableau of Hell* of (fig. II-47). *Sichuan daojiao fojiao sheku yishu*, unpaginated folded-in page.



(Fig. III-1) *The Painting of King Sāla*. 1576, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 105.7 x 56.8 cm. Seizan bunko, Kōchi-ken. *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

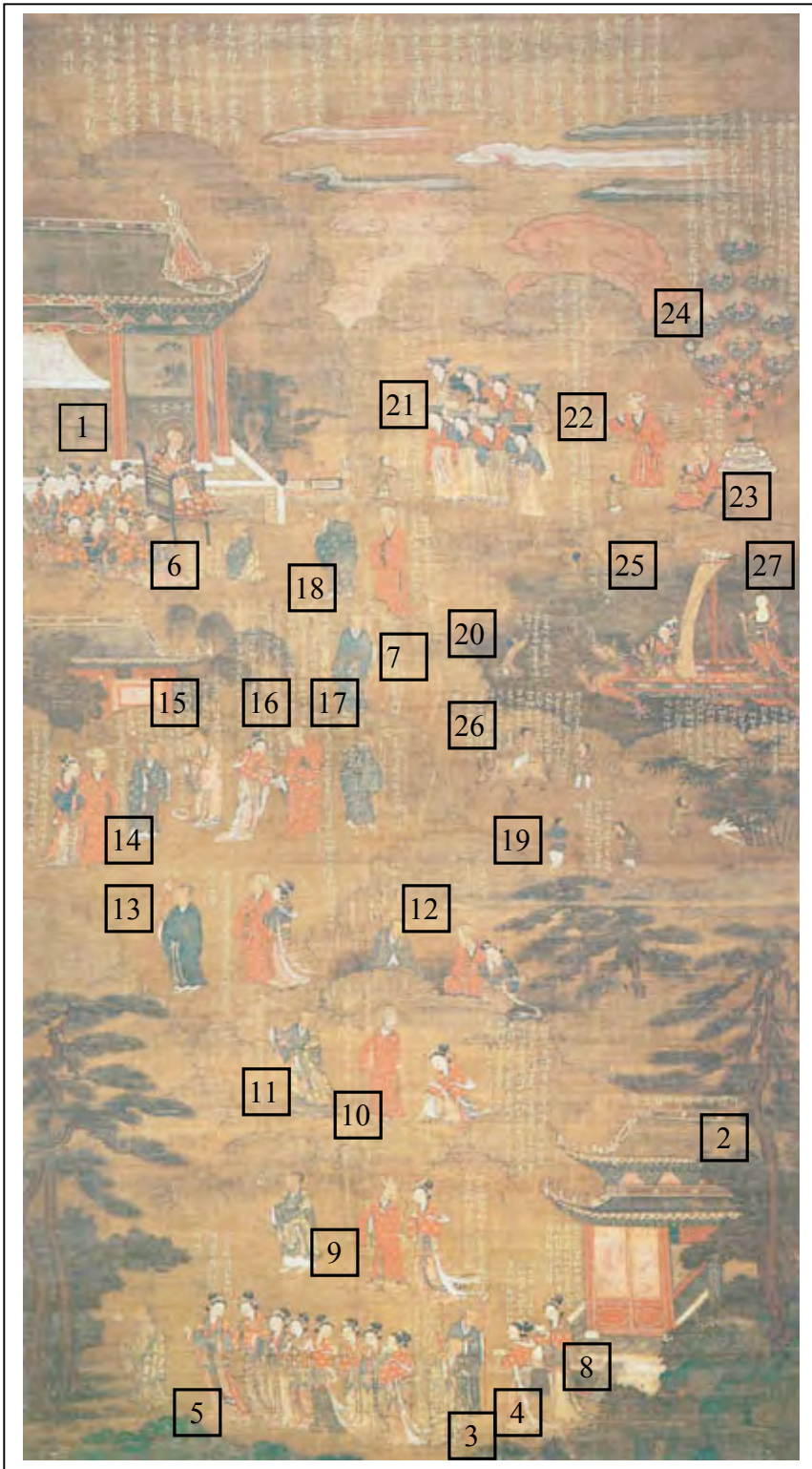


(Fig. III-2) Donation Document of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). Seizan bunko, Kōchi-ken. Gim Jeonggyo, “Joseon chogi byeonmunsik bulhwa,” p. 87.

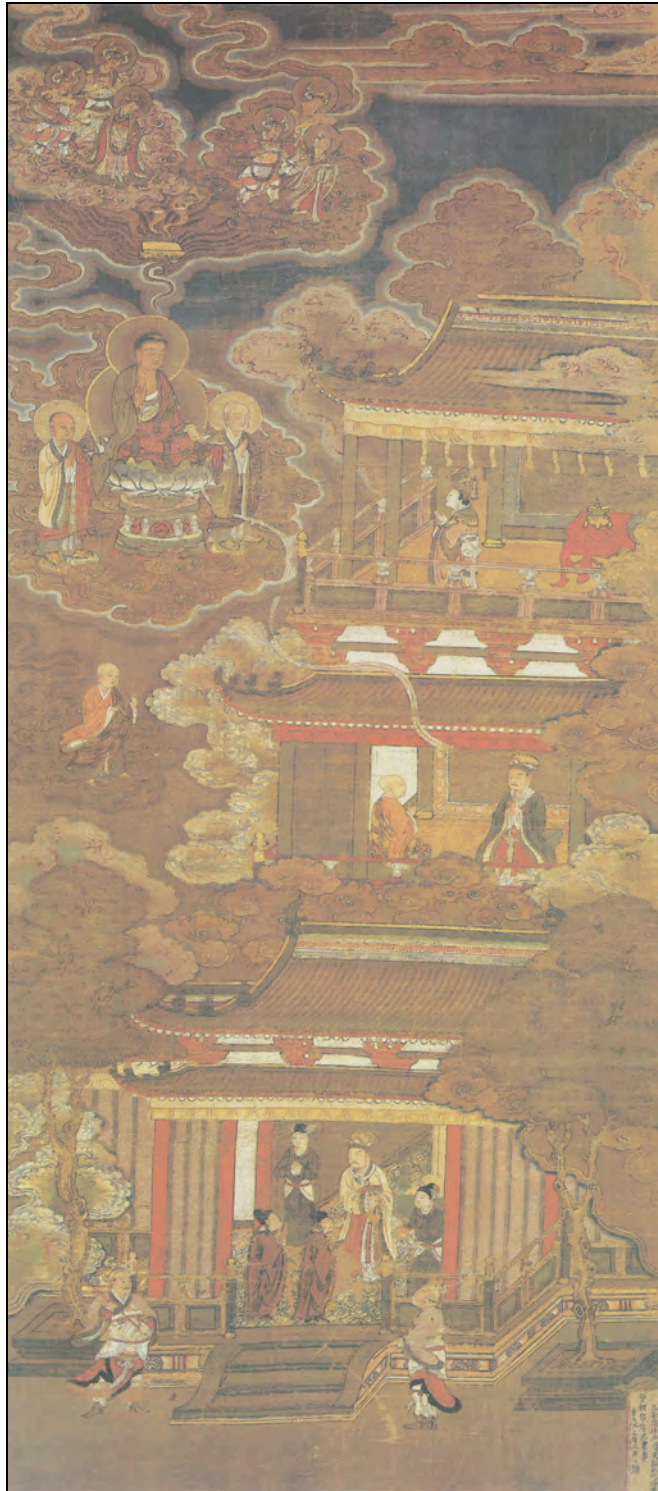
(Fig. III-3) Detail of (fig. III-2).



(Fig. III-4) *Portrait of Chōsokabe Motochika*. Hanging scroll; ink and color on silk, 103.21 x 54.6 cm. Wakamiya hachimansha, Kōchi-ken. *Zusetsu Kōchi-ken no rekishi*.



(Fig. III-5) The Storyline of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig.III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.



(Fig. III-6) *The Prefatory Story of the Contemplation Sūtra*, 1312, Yuan or Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 133.3 x 51.4 cm. Daionji, Aichi-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 52.

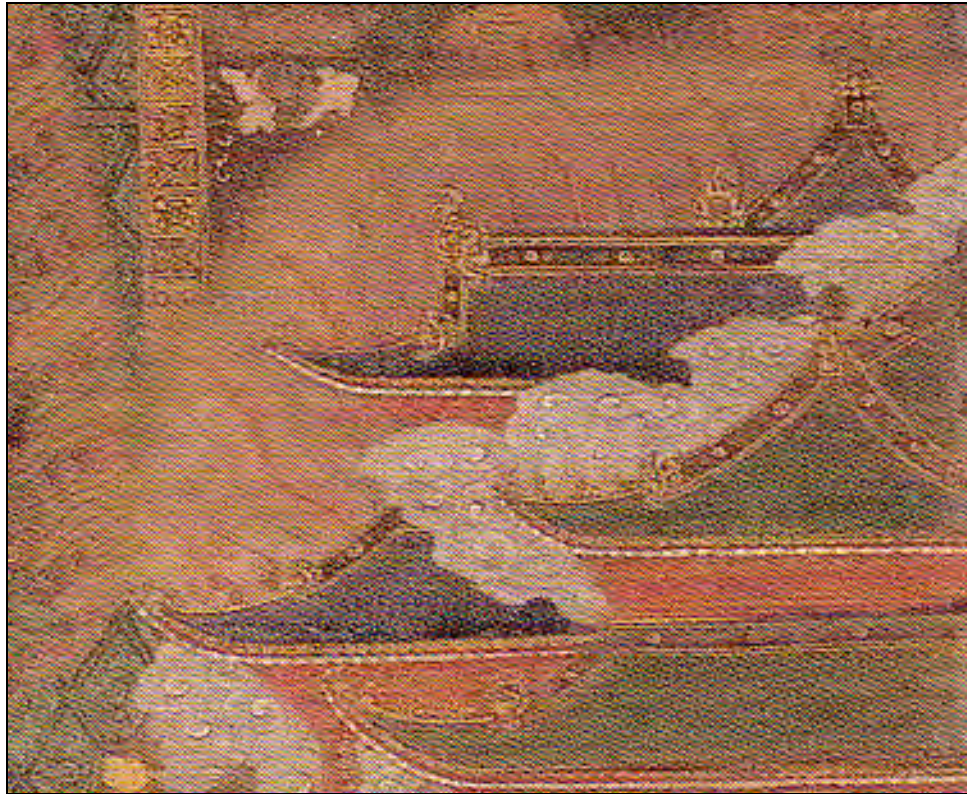


(Fig. III-7) *The Prefatory Story of the Contemplation Sūtra*, attr. 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Yuan or Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 150.5 x 113.2 cm. Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 53.



(Fig. III-8) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.

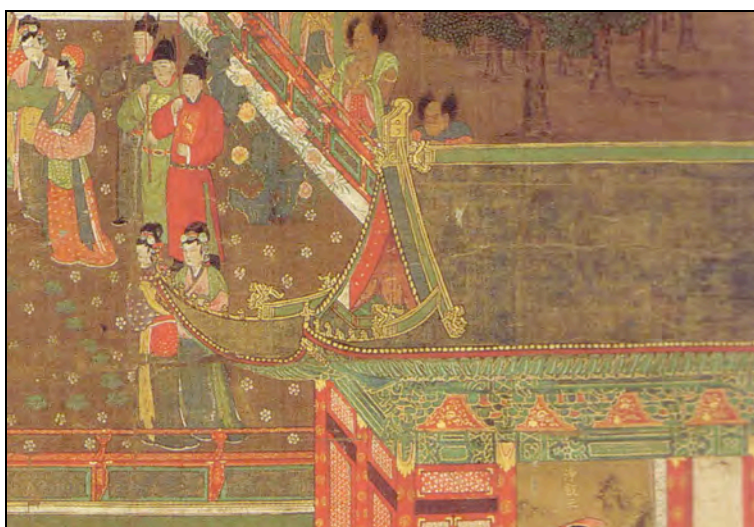




(Fig. III-9) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-40), 1323, Goryeo. Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 56.



(Fig. III-10) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-41), 1465, Joseon. Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 5.



(Fig. III-11) Detail of *Śākyamuni at Birth*, attr. the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 145.0 x 109.5 cm (whole painting). Hongakuji, Fukuoka-ken. *Kōrai-Richō no bukyō bijutsuten*, pl. 28.



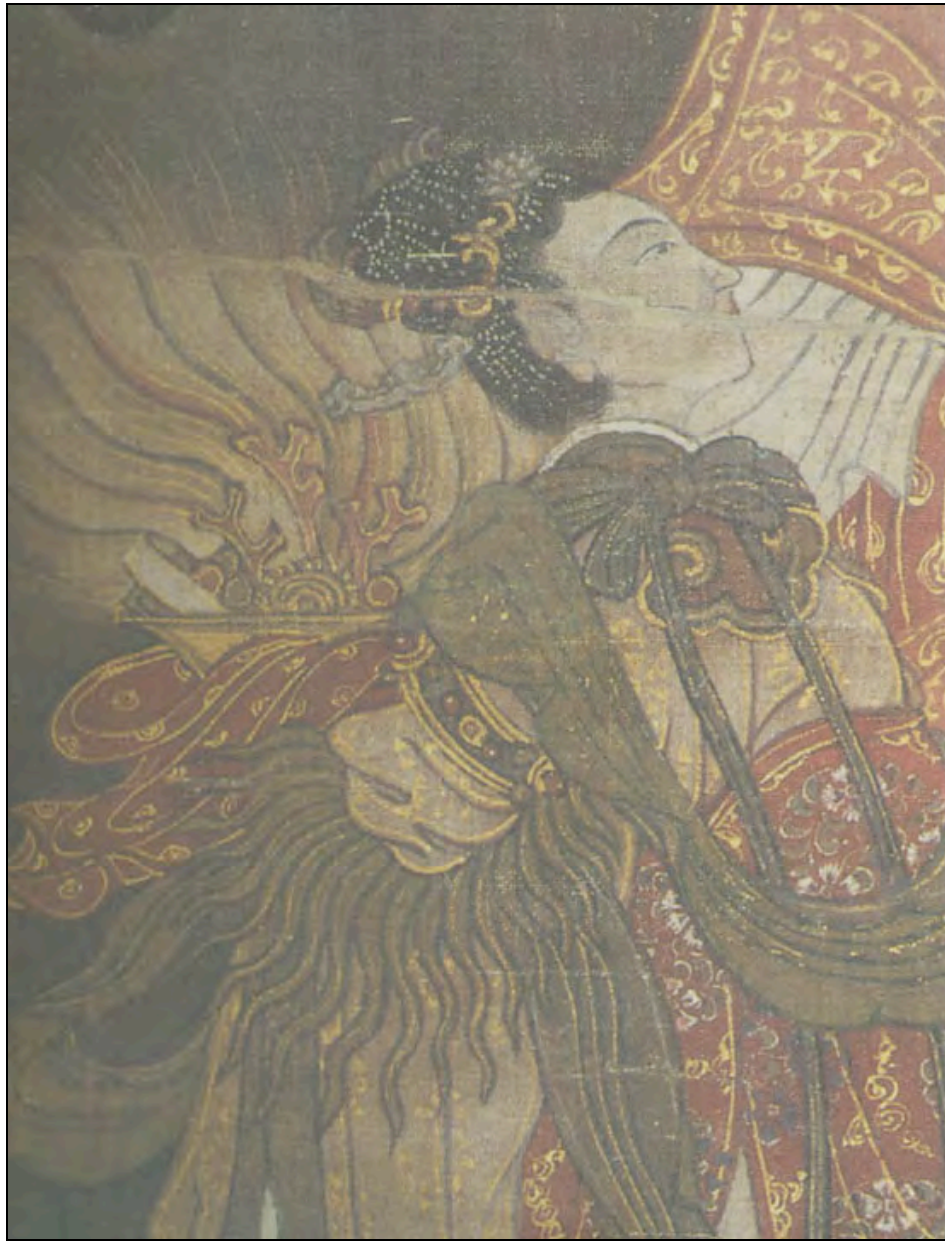
(Fig. III-12) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.



(Fig. III-13) Detail of *Sākyamuni at Birth*, attr. 15<sup>th</sup> cent, Joseon. Hongakuji. Fukuoka-ken. *Kōrai-Richō no bukkō bijutsuten*, pl. 28.



(Fig. III-14) Detail of the mural painting on the north wall of King Mingying Hall, Yuan. Mural painting; ink and color, 293 x 220 cm (entire). Water God Temple, Guangsheng si, Shanxi sheng. *Shanxi siguan bihua*, pl. 204.



(Fig. III-15) Detail of *The Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, 14th cent., Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink, color and gold on silk, 227.9 x 125.8 cm (whole painting). Daitokuji, Kyōto. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 69.



(Fig. III-16) *Śākyamuni Triad*, 1565, Joseon. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 60.5 x 32 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation, New York. *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600*, cat. no.12,



(Fig. III-17) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.



(Fig. III-18) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the *Jasungung Sanctuary* (fig. II-1).



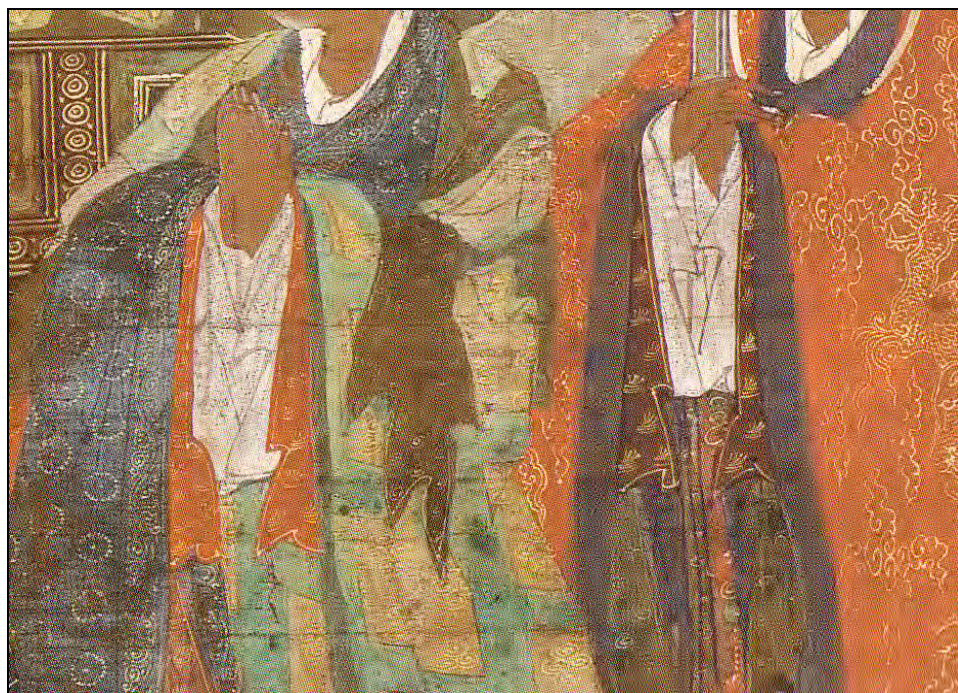
(Fig. III-19) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig.III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.



(Fig. III-20) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* from the Jasugung Sanctuary (fig. II-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 194.



(Fig. III-21) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig.III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.



(Fig. III-22) Detail of *Kṣitigarbha and the Ten Kings of Hell* (fig. II-9)





(Fig. III-23) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, fig. 116.



(Fig. III-24) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43). Photo by Yi Yongyun.



(Fig. III-25) Detail of *The Illustrated Handscroll of the Imperial Horse Race*, attri. late 13 or early 14 century, Kamakura. Handscroll; colors on paper, 34.3 x 384.0 cm (whole scroll). Kubosō Memorial Museum, Ōsaka. *Komakurabe gyōkō emaki kenkyū*, p. 16–19 and fig. 10 and 11.



(Fig. III-26) Detail of *The Illustrated Handscroll of the Diary of Murasaki Shikibu* attri. early 13th cent., Kamakura. Handscroll; colors on paper, 21.1 x 449.2 cm (the whole scroll of the Fujita bijutsukan version). Fujita Museum of Art, Ōsaka. *Murasaki Shikibu nikki ekotoba*, p. 41.



(Fig. III-27) *Amitābha Pure Land*, attri, mid 12th cent., Heian. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk, 155.5 x 139.5 cm. Saizen'in, Wakayama-ken. *Nihon bukkyo bijutsu meihōten*, pl. 128



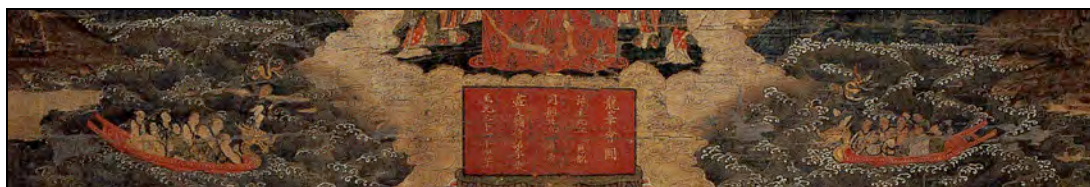
(Fig. III-28) Detail of *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-27).



(Fig. III-29) Detail of *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-27).



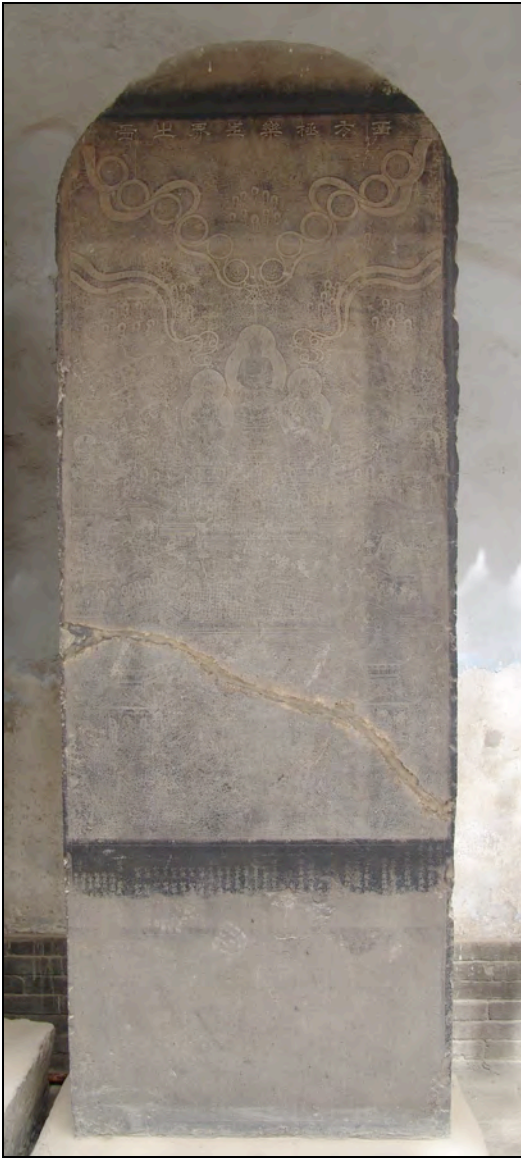
(Fig. III-30) Yi Seong, *The Descent of Maitreya*, 1294, Goryeo. Hanging scroll; ink and colors, and gold on silk, 227. 2 x 129. 0 cm. Myōmanji, Kyōto. *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.



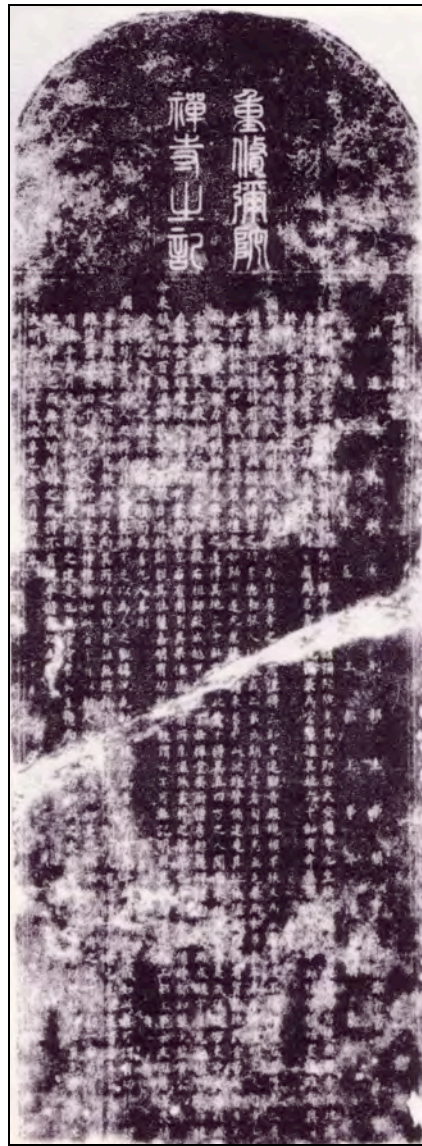
(Fig. III-31) Detail of *The Descent of Maitreya* (fig. III-30). *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.



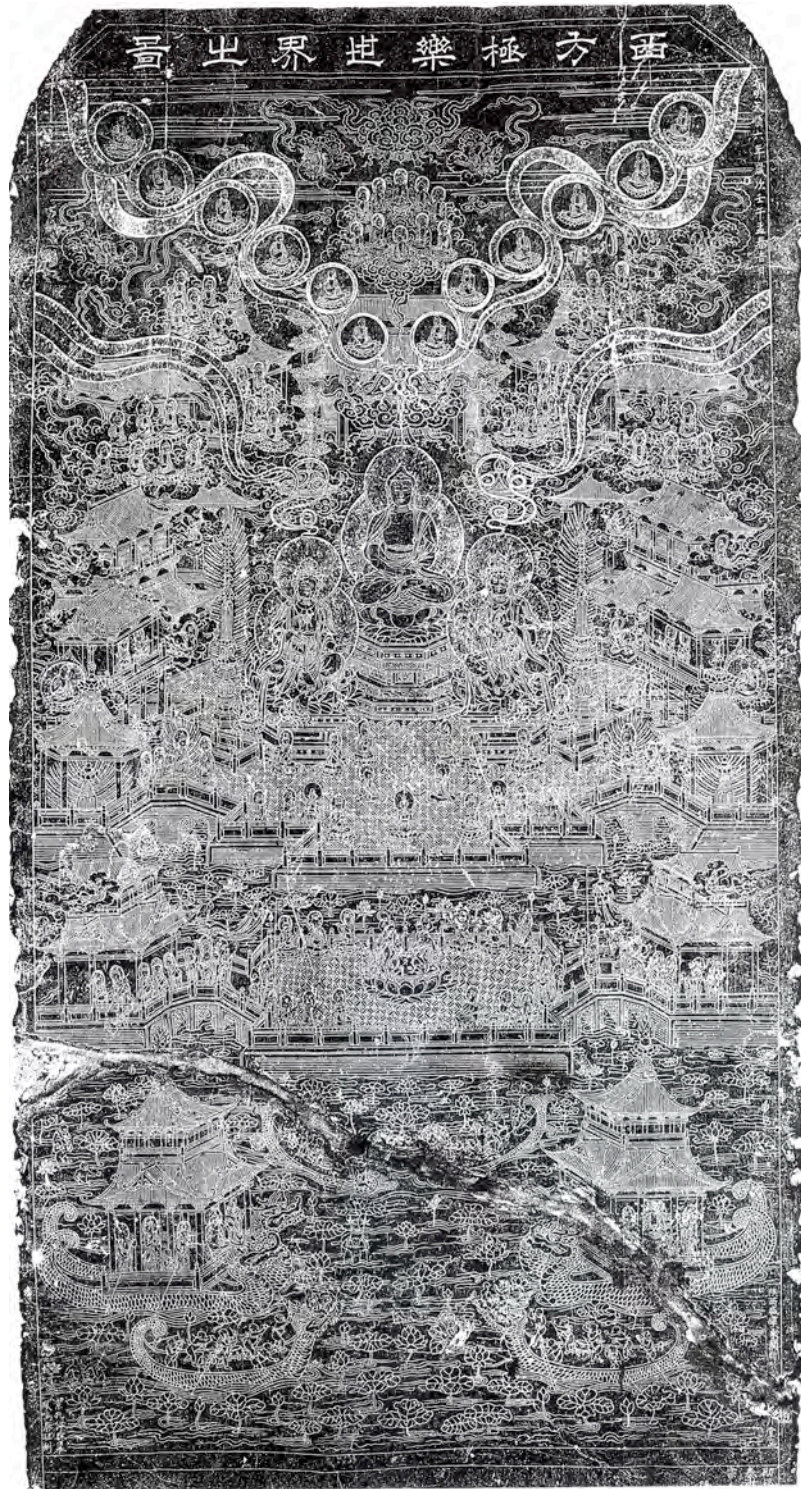
(Fig. III-32) Detail of *The Descent of Maitreya* (fig. III-30). *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.



(Fig. III-33) *The Stele of the Record of the Renovation of Amitābha Monastery*, 1462, Ming. 268 x 90 x 21 cm. Shanxi Provincial Museum Xi'an. Photo by Chang Qing.

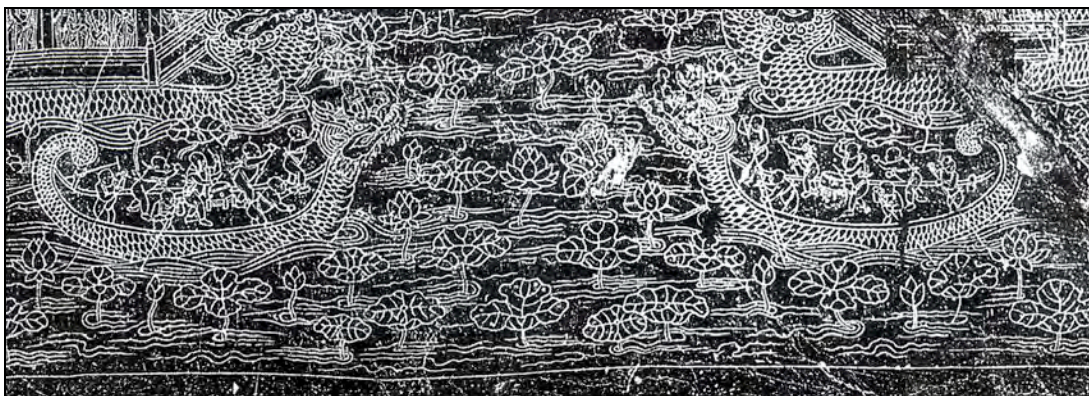


(Fig. III-34) *The Record of the Renovation of Amitābha Monastery*, verso of (fig. III-33). Ink rubbing; 164.5 x 85.0 cm. *Xi'an Beilin quanji* 103:134.

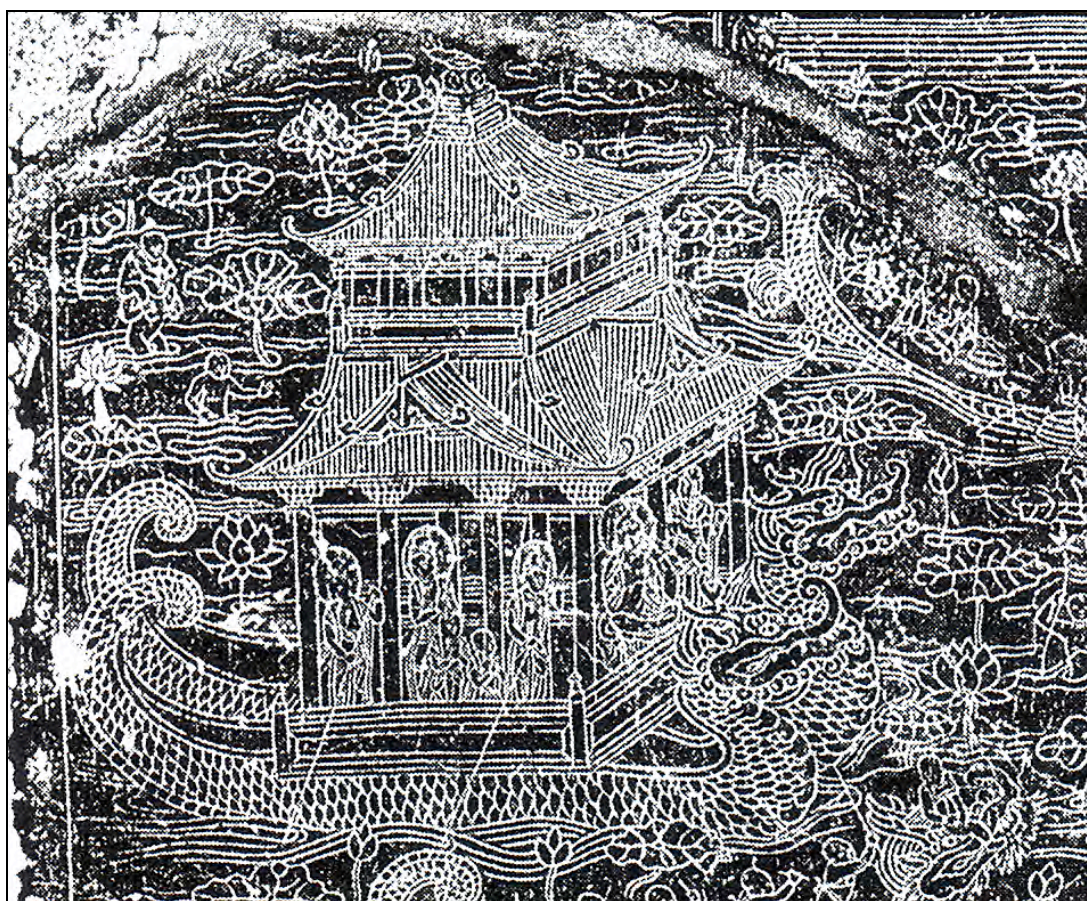


(Fig. III-35) *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region*, 1462, Ming, recto of (fig. III-33). Ink rubbing; 164.5 x 85.0 cm. *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.

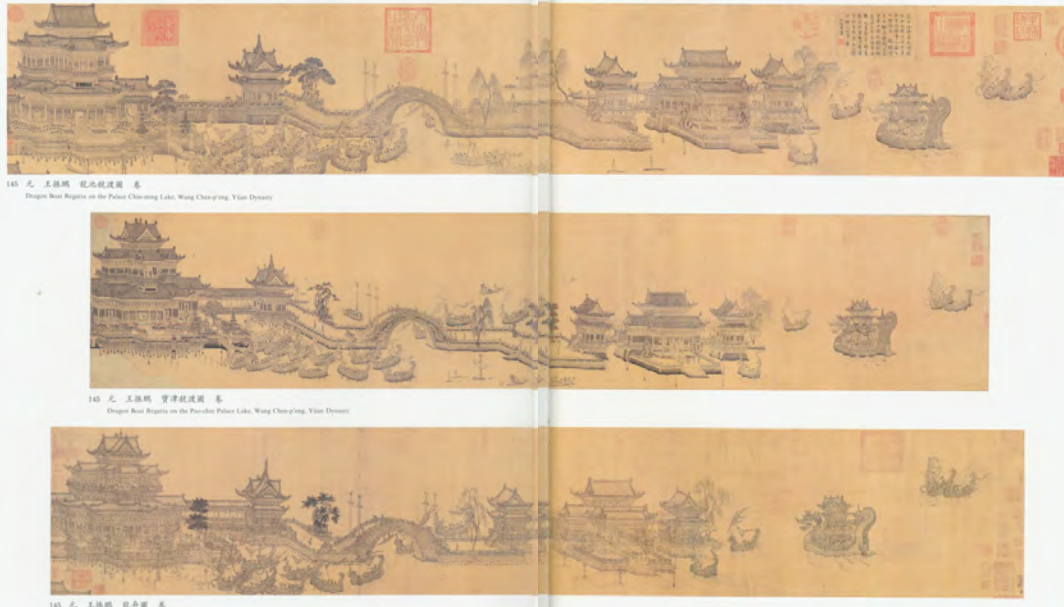




(Fig. III-36) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.



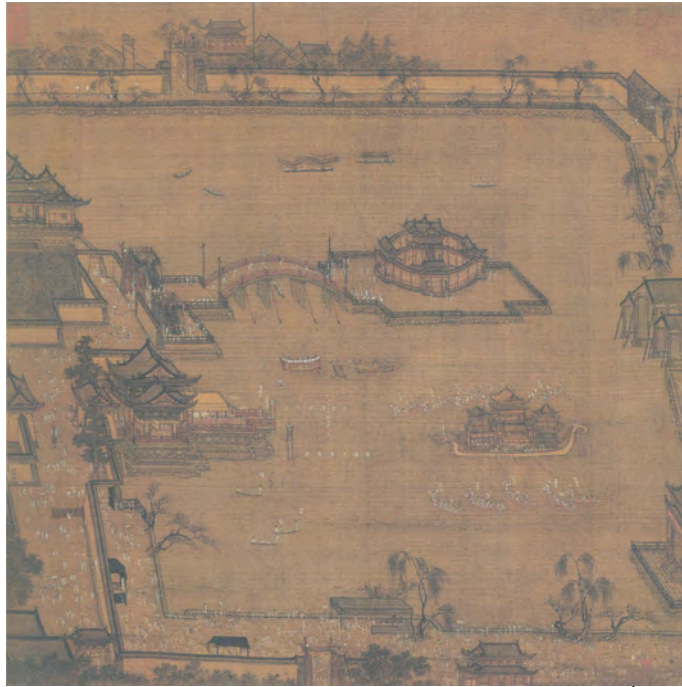
(Fig. III-37) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.



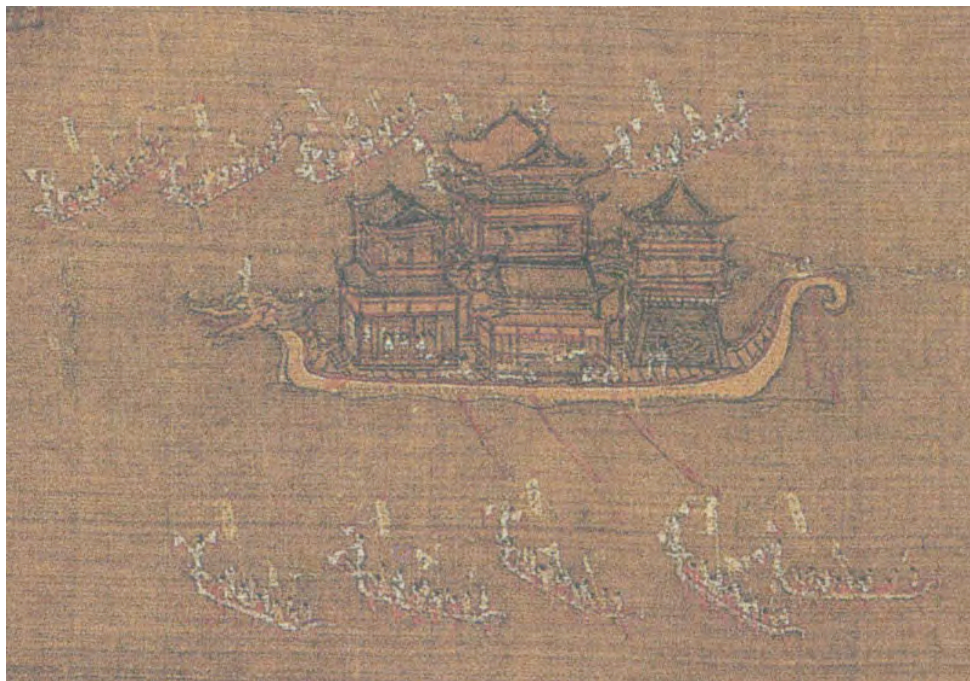
(Fig. III-38) Wang Zhenpeng, paintings of *Imperial Dragon-Boat Regatta*, attr. early 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Yuan. Handscrolls; ink on silk, 30.2 x 243.8 cm (top). National Palace Museum, Taipei. *Gugong canghua daxi* 4, pl. 145.



(Fig. III-39) Detail of the bottom scroll *The Dragon Boat* of (fig III-38)



(Fig. III-40) *Competing for the Prize on the Golden Bright Pond*, attr. 12<sup>th</sup> cent (after 1127), Tianjian Municipal Museum of Art. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*



(Fig. III-41) Detail of *Competing for the Prize on the Golden Bright Pond* (fig. III-40).



(Fig. III-42) Detail of You Qiu 尤求, *Enchanting Spring at the Han Court*, 1568, Ming. Handscroll; ink on paper, 27.3 x 822.7 cm (whole scroll). Shanghai Museum. *Power and Glory*, pl. 133.



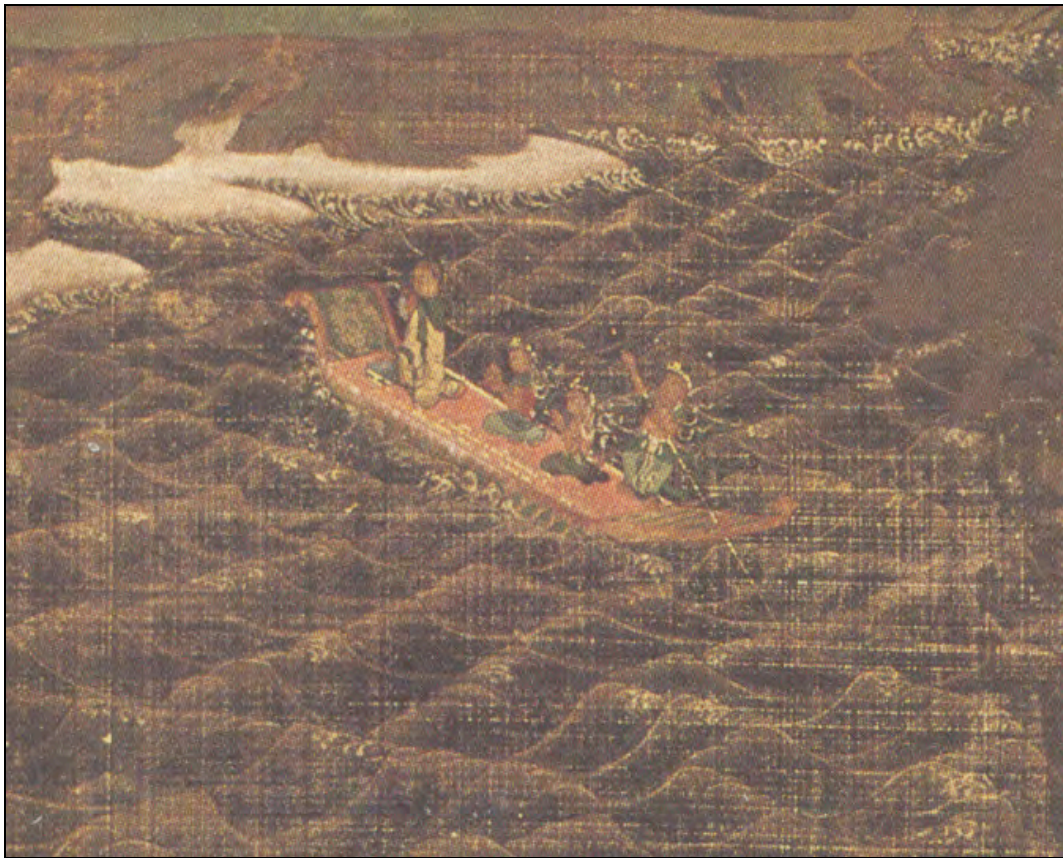
(Fig. III-43) *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss*, attr. 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Kamakura. Screen; colors on silk, 101.0 x 42.3 cm (each panel). Konkaikōmyōji, Kyōto. *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31.



(Fig. III-44) Detail of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (fig. III-43). *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31.



(Fig. III-45) Detail of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (fig. III-43). *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31.



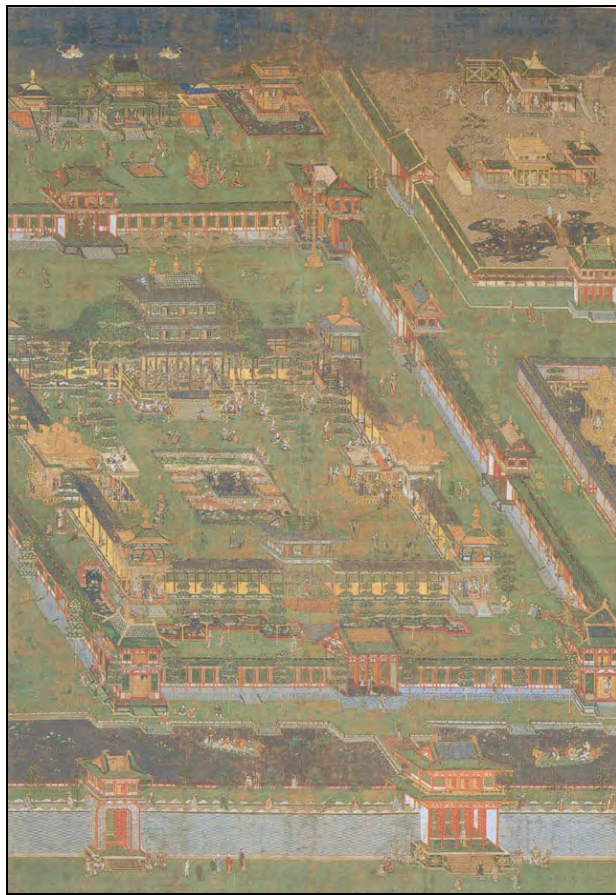
(Fig. III-46) Detail of *Hell and the Land of Ultimate Bliss* (fig. III-43). *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, pl. 31.



(Fig. III-47) *Amitābha Pure Land*, Kamakura. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 85.5 x 78.0 cm. Private collection, Tōkyō. *Gokurakue*, pl. 138.



(Fig. III-48) Detail of *Amitābha Pure Land* (fig. III-47), *Gokurakue*, pl. 140.



(Fig. III-49) *Maitreya's Ascension to Tuṣita Heaven*, Kamakura, Enmeiji, Ōsaka.

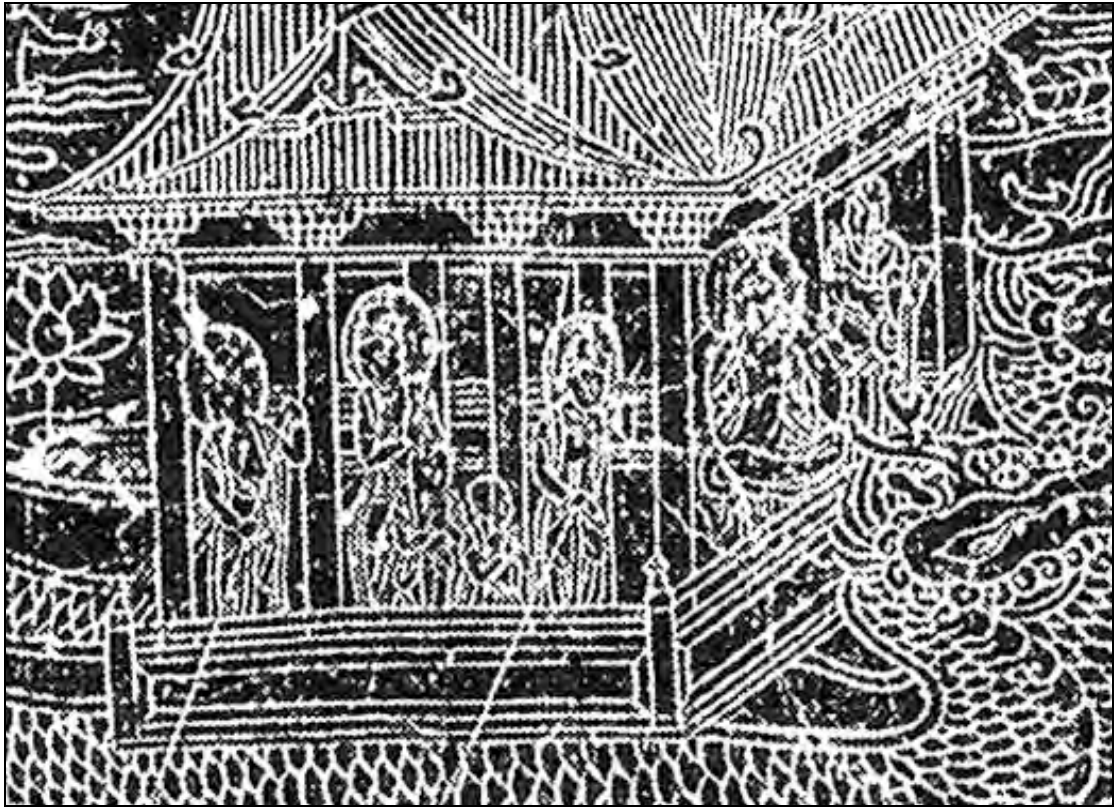


(Fig. III-50) Detail of *Maitreya's Ascension to Tuṣita Heaven* (fig. III-49).





(Fig. III- 51) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.



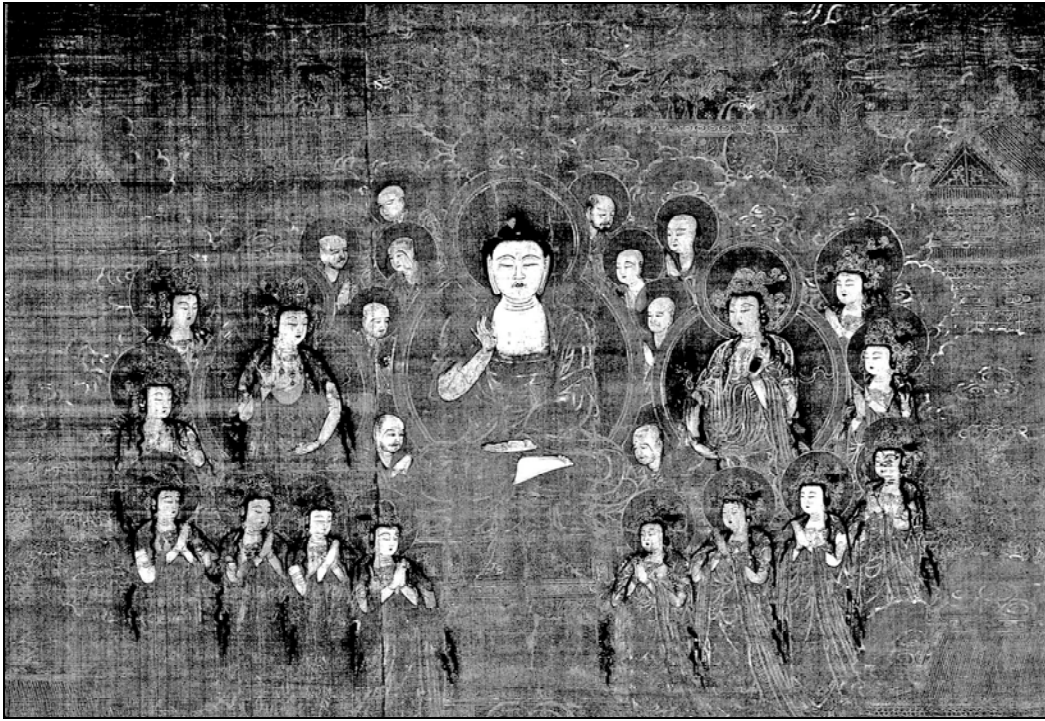
(Fig. III- 52) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.



(Fig. III-53) Detail of *The Painting of King Sāla* (fig. III-1). *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 196.



(Fig. IV-1) *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat of the Nine Grades of Rebirth in the Western Paradise*, 1582, Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold and colors on red silk, 115.1 x 87.8 cm, Raigōji, Kagawa-ken. *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-2) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-3) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-4) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, 128.



(Fig. IV-5) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-6) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-7) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.

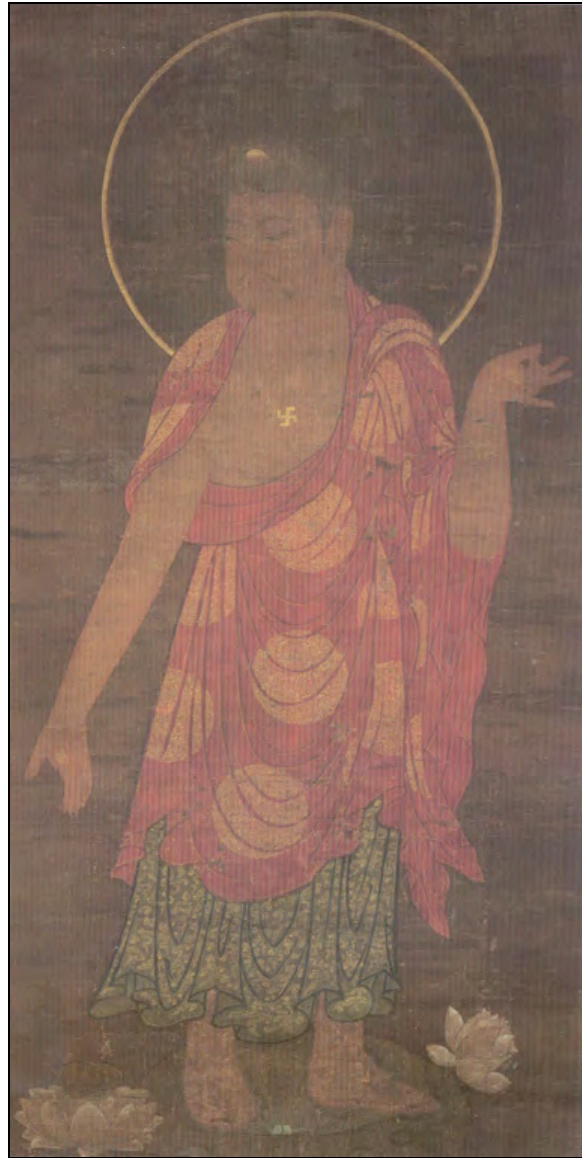


(Fig. IV-8) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.





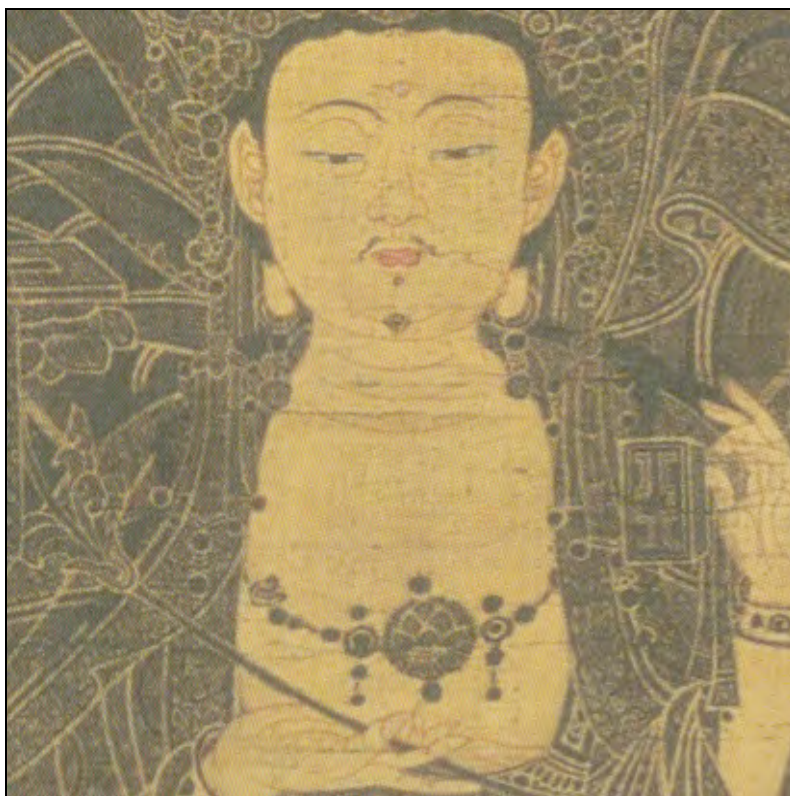
(Fig. IV- 9) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-10) *Amitābha's Welcoming Descent*, 1286, Goryeo. Hanging scroll; colors on silk, 203.5 x 105.1cm, Tōkyō National Museum. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 26.



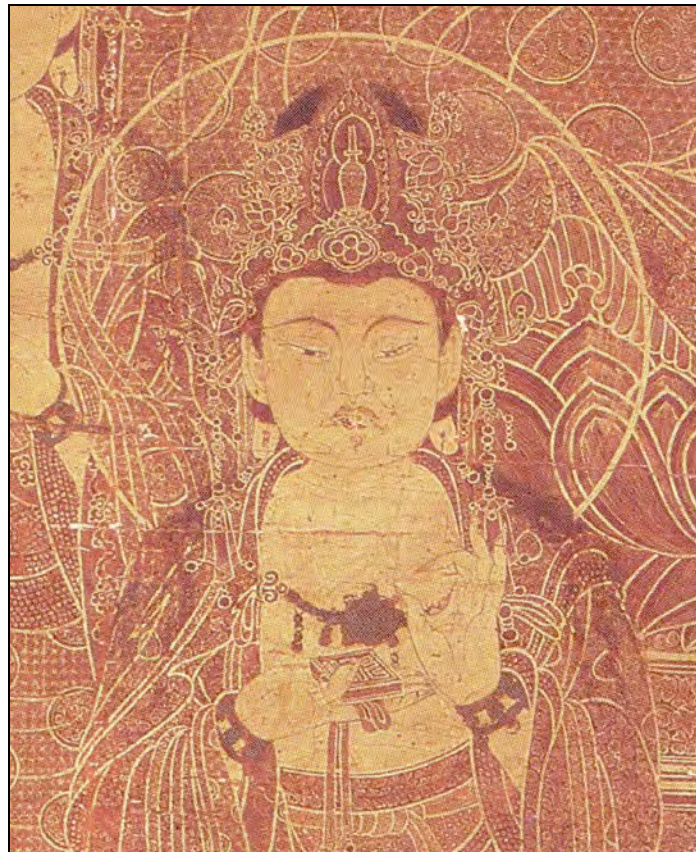
(Fig. IV-11) *Amitābha Triad*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on indigo blue silk, 164.9 x 85.6 cm, Sontaiji, Yamanashi-ken. *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu*, I-33.



(Fig. IV-12) Detail of *Amitābha Triad* (fig. IV-11). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, fig. 110.



(Fig. IV-13) *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on red silk, 155.5 x 145.5 cm, Zenmyōji, Fukui-ken. *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 22.



(Fig. IV-14) Detail of *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (fig. IV-13). *Kōrai-Richō no bukkyō bijutsuten*, pl. 22.



(Fig. IV- 15) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-16) Detail of Gamnotaeng, 1591, Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on hemp, Asadadera, Nara.



(Fig. IV-17) Bodhisattva Guiding the Soul, Dunhuang.



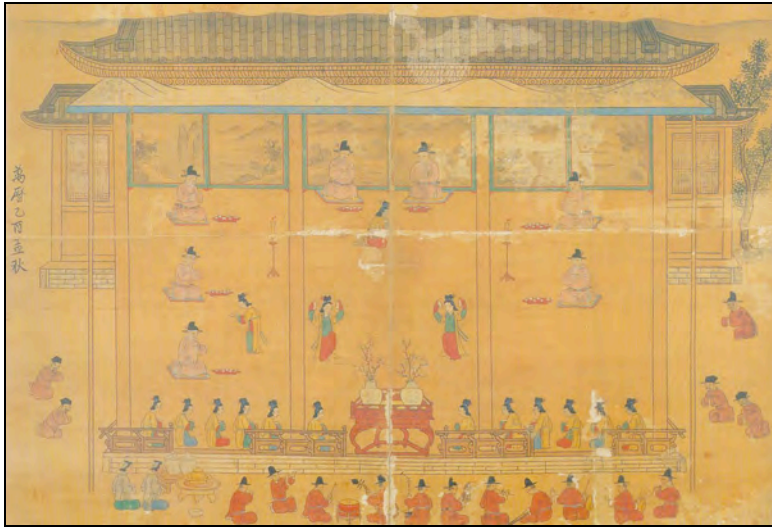
(Fig. IV-18) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-19) Detail of *The Assembly for Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1).  
*Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11,  
pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-20) *Portrait of Madame Yi, Welcoming the Tenri University, Nara-ken.*



(Fig. IV-21) *Banquet in Honor of Retired Officials of King Seonjo's Administration*, 1585, Joseon. Album (originally hanging scroll?); ink and color on silk, 40.4 x 59.5 cm, Seoul National University Museum, Seoul. *Joseon jeongi gukbojeon*, pl. 58.



(Fig. IV-22) Detail of *Banquet in Honor of Retired Officials of King Seonjo's Administration* (fig. IV-21).





(Fig. IV-23) Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-24) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43), Photo by Yi Yongyun.



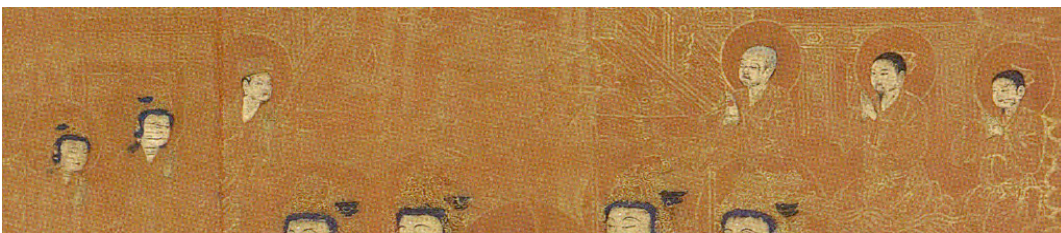
(Fig. IV-25) Detail of *The Descent of Maitreya* (fig. III-30). *Nichiren to Hokke no meihō*, pl. 25.



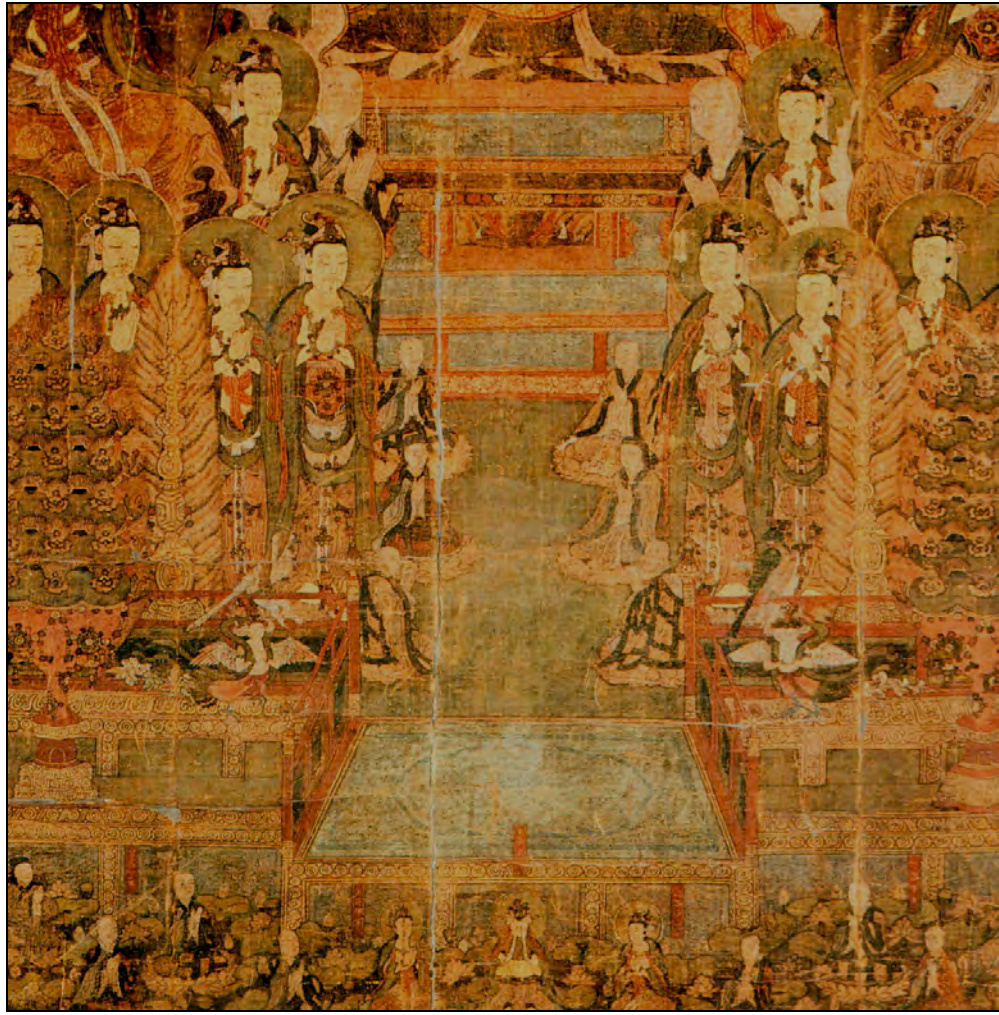
(Fig. IV-26) Detail of *Boat Race on the Dragon Pond*, 1323, top scroll of (fig III-38).



(Fig. IV-27) Detail of *The Illustration of the Land of Ultimate Bliss in the Western Region* (fig. III-35 and 51). *Zhongguo meishu quanji*, Huihua 9, pl. 79.



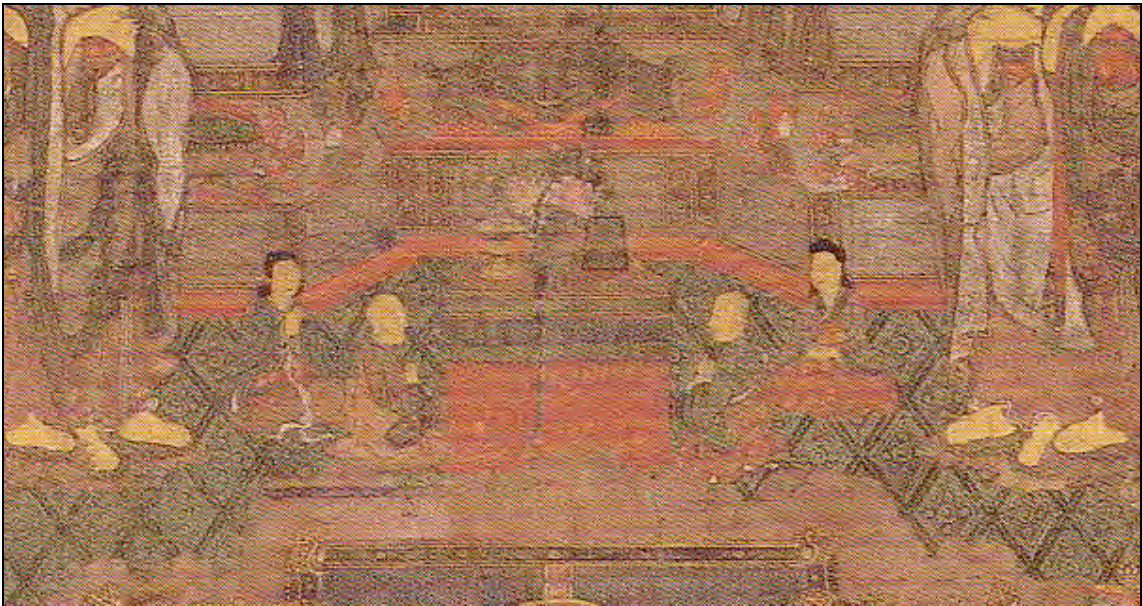
(Fig. IV-28) Detail of Detail of *The Assembly for Welcoming the Dragon Boat* (fig. IV-1). *Sekai bijutsu daizenshū*, Tōyōhen 11, pl. 128.



(Fig. IV-29) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-42). Goryeo, *yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 4.



(Fig. IV-30) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-39). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 55.



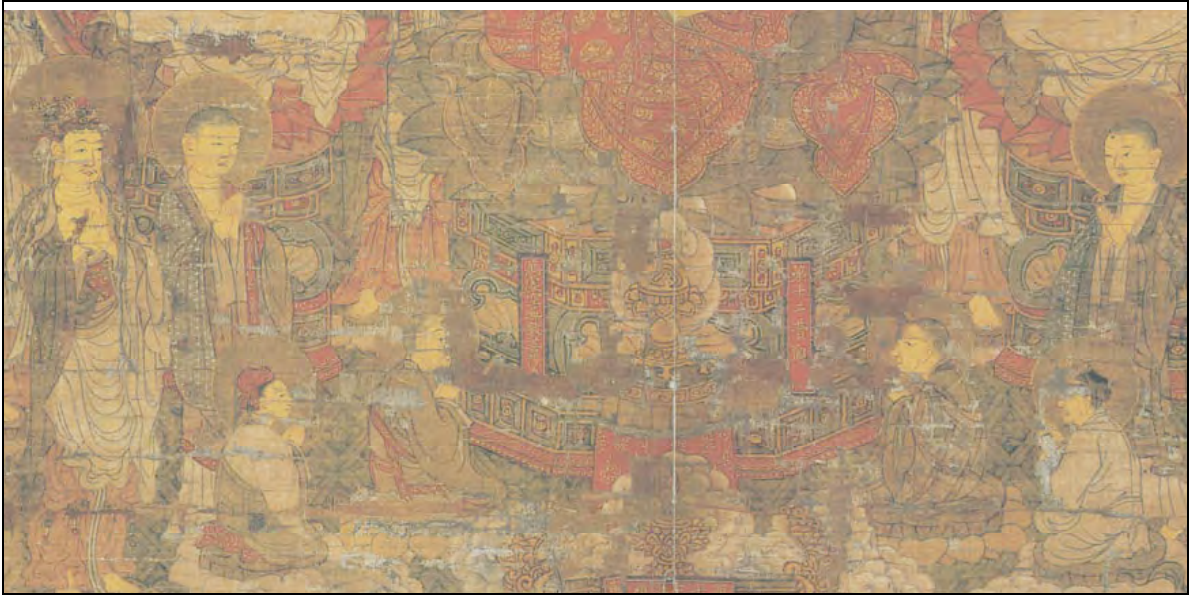
(Fig. IV-31) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-40), *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 56.



(Fig. IV- 32) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.



(Fig. IV-33) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-43). *Bulgyo jungang bangmulgwan gaegwan teukbyeoljeon—Bul*, pl. 29.



(Fig. IV- 34) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-39). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 55.





(Fig. IV-35) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, Song or Kamakura copy. Hanging scroll; colors on silk, 209.3 x 105.0 cm, Amidadera, Nara. *Higashi Ajia no hotoke tachi*, pl. 144.



(Fig. IV-36) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, Song or Kamakura copy. Hanging scroll; colors on silk, Chōkōji, Kyōto. *Raigōzu no bijutsu*, ref. pl. 4.



(Fig. IV-37) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Goryeo, Hanging scroll; color on silk, 183.0 x 121.0 cm, Daikōji, Ibaraki-ken. *Goryeo Dynasty: Korea's Age of Enlightenment*, pl. 19.



(Fig. IV-38) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent. Goryeo, Hanging scroll; color on silk, 202.8 x 129.8 cm, Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.



(Fig. IV-39) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, the fourth month of 1323, Goryeo. Hanging scroll; color on silk. 214.0 x 112.5 cm, Rinshōji, Aichi-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 55.



(Fig. IV-40) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*. the 10<sup>th</sup> month of 1323, Goryeo.  
Hanging scroll; color on silk, 224.2 x 139.1 cm, Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 56.



(Fig. IV-41) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 1465, Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 269.0 x 182.1 cm, Chion'in, Kyōto. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 5.



(Fig. IV-42) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 1434, Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 222.6 x 160.8 cm, Chionji, Kyōto. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 4.



(Fig. IV-43) *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; color on silk, 127.5 x 69.5 cm, Hōrinji, Nara. *Bulgyo jungang bangmulgwan gaegwan teukbyeoljeon*—*Bul*, pl. 29.





(Fig. IV-44) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.



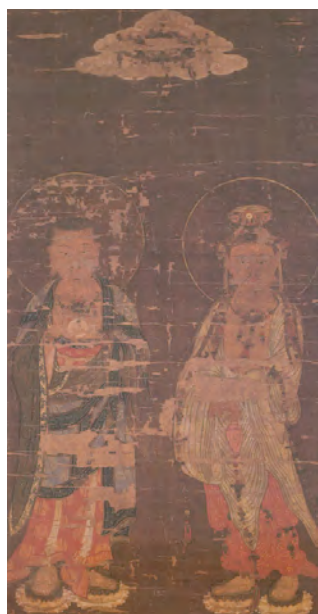
(Fig. IV-45) *Frontispiece of Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, ca. 1350, Goryeo, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, KS. Courtesy of Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.



(Fig. IV- 46) No Yeong, *Amitābha and the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*(recto) and *Kṣitigarbha* (verso), 1307, Goryeo. Plaque; gold-line drawing on black-lacquer, 22.5 x 13.0cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul. *Goryeo bulhwa daejeon*, pl. 27.



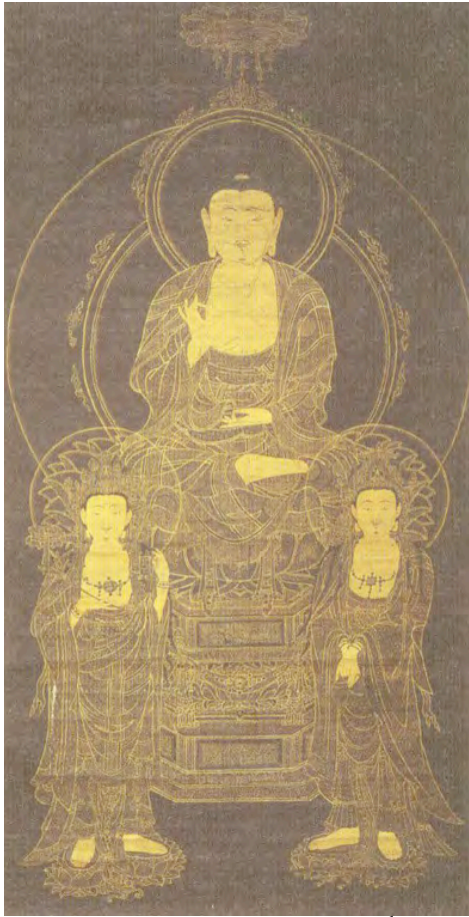
(Fig. IV-47) *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on indigo blue silk, 90.0 x 45.2 cm, Anain, Gifu-ken. *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeongu*, I-90.



(Fig. IV-48) *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Goryeo. Hanging scroll, colors on silk, 99.0 x 52.2 cm, Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 20.



(Fig. IV-49) *Standing Avalokiteśvara and Kṣitigarbha*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Goryeo. colors on silk, Private Collection, Japan. *Donga ilbo*, March 6, 2008 (internet edition).



(Fig. IV-50) *Amitābha Triad*, 15<sup>th</sup> cent. Goryeo. Hanging scroll; gold on indigo blue silk, 164.9 x 85.6 cm, Sontaiji, Yamanashi-ken. *Joseon jeongi bulhwa yeonggu*, I-33.



(Fig. IV-51) *Amitābha Triad*, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; colors on silk, 139.0 x 87.9 cm, Nezu Museum, Tōkyō. silk, *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 10.



(Fig. IV-52) *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, late 15<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold on red silk, 170.9 x 90.9 cm, Saifukuji, Fukui-ken. *Goryeo, yeongwonhan mi*, pl. 16.



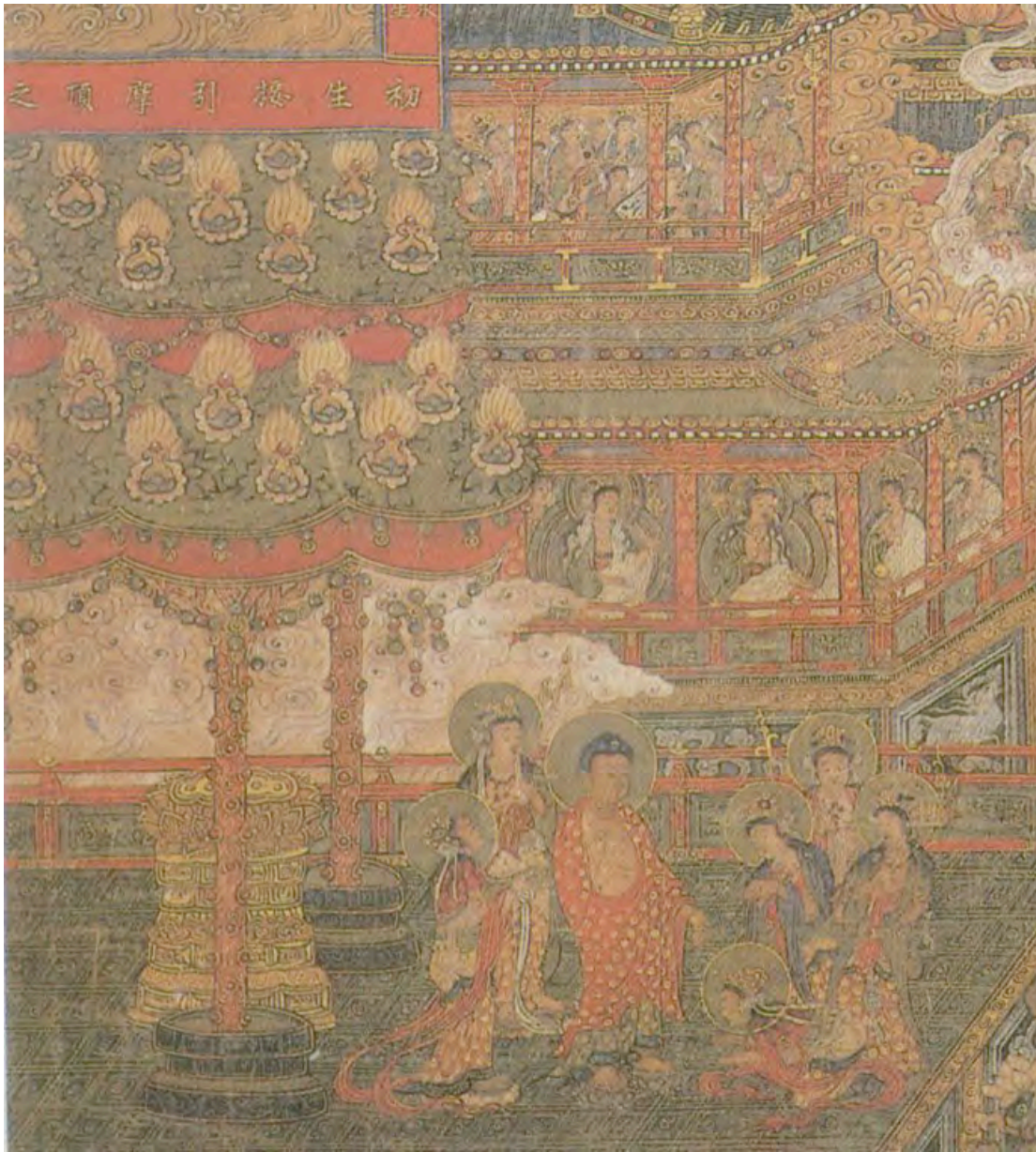
(Fig. IV-53) *Water-Moon Avalokiteśvara*, late 14th cent., Goryeo, Hanging scroll; color on silk, 146.9 x 85.9 cm, Kozanji, Yamaguchi-ken. *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 98.



(Fig. IV-54) Śākyamuni and the Ten Disciples, 16<sup>th</sup> cent., Joseon. Hanging scroll; gold and silver on silk, 59.5 x 37.8 cm, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne. *Art of the Korean Renaissance*, cat. no. 40.



(Fig. IV-55) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.



(Fig. IV-56) Detail of *The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations* (fig. IV-38). *Goryeo sidae ui bulhwa*, pl. 54.





(Fig. IV-57) *A Figure Riding the Dragon*, excavated from a tomb of the Chu Kingdom (–223 BCE), Changsha, Hunan sheng,



(Fig. IV-58) *The Dragon Boat*, woodblock-print, frontispiece of *The Amitābha Sūtra*, 1577, Joseon, printed at Yongcheonsa, Jeollanam-do, 30.5 x 19.4 cm, Gim Minyeong Collection, Seoul. *Bulseo reul tonghae bon Joseon sidae seunim ui ilsang*, entry 12.



(Fig. IV-59) Top: *Three Generations of Buddhas*, bottom: *The Illustration of the Genealogical Account of Girimsa*, attr. 1788, Joseon, 225.5 x 335.5 cm, the Dongguk University Museum at Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do. *Hanguk ui bulhwa* 18, pl. 3.



(Fig. IV-60) Detail of *The Illustration of the Genealogical Account of Girimsa* (fig. IV-59).



(Fig. IV-61) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, attr. 18<sup>th</sup> cent., exterior wall, the Ten Kings Hall, Eunhasa, Gimhae, Gyeongsangnam-do (now in the Dongguk University Museum, Gyeongju, Gyeongsangbuk-do) .



(Fig. IV-62) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, mural, exterior wall of the Jeweled Hall of Ultimate Bliss (Geungnak bojeon), Tongdosa, Gyeongsangnam-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2008),



(Fig. IV-63) North wall of the Jeweled Hall of Ultimate Bliss, Tongdosa. Gyeongsangnam-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2008),



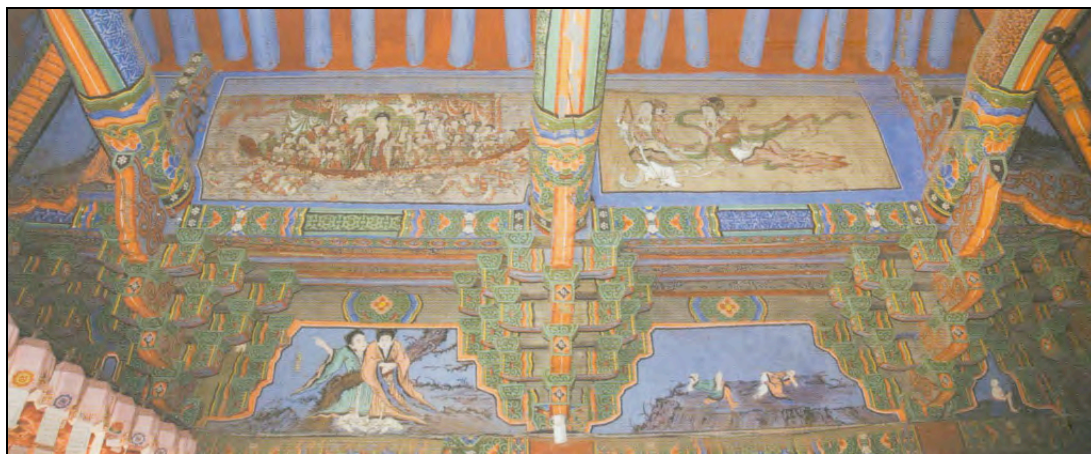
(Fig. IV-64) *The Dragon Boat of Wisdom*, dated to 1809, outer wall of the Hall of the Ultimate Bliss, Silleusa, Jecheon, Chungcheongbuk-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2007).



(Fig. IV-65) Outer wall of the Hall of the Ultimate Bliss, Silleusa, Jecheon, Chungcheongbuk-do, *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2007).



(Fig. IV-66) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, late nineteenth century, the interior west wall of the Hall of the Great Hero, Cheongnyongsa, Anseong, Gyeonggi-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2006), p. 100.



(Fig. IV- 67) The interior west wall of the Hall of the Great Hero, Cheongnyongsa, Anseong, Gyeonggi-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2006), p. 99.



(Fig. IV-68) *Welcoming the Dragon Boat*, late nineteenth century, the exterior north wall of the Jeweled Hall of the Great Hero, Bogwangsa, Paju, Gyeonggi-do. *Hanguk ui sachal byeokhwa* (2006), p. 141.





(Fig. IV- 69) *The Dragon Boat of Wisdom*, 1898, Tongdosa. *Hanguk ui bulhwa*.



(Fig. IV- 70) Detail of The Illustration of the Sixteen Contemplations, Chion'in, Kyōto (fig. IV-40).