



Fig.1. A Transformation Tableau of the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment. Late Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392), c. Thirteenth or fourteenth century. Ink and colors on silk, 165.5 x 85.5 cm. Photograph ©2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

## Form and References of the Goryeo Painting of the Rocana<sup>1</sup> Assembly in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

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The collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, includes a Buddhist scroll painting of a transformation tableau of *Yuanjue jing*, or the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*<sup>1</sup> (圓覺經, Fig. 1). The painting, which was purchased in Japan late in the nineteenth century by the wealthy Boston physician William Sturgis Bigelow, was long believed to be Chinese; however, by 1992 at the latest, it had been identified as a Korean painting from the late Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392).<sup>2</sup> As Yukio Lippit (2005) summarized:

*“The scene depicted in the painting represents the court of the Vairocana Buddha. Flanked by the bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra, the central deity Vairocana sits in the lotus position with his hands assuming an unusual mudra that helps to distinguish him iconographically. In front sit the Ten Bodhisattvas, facing a large assembly of assorted members of the Buddhist pantheon: these figures can be identified through cartouches inscribed in*

*gold ink, and match perfectly the description of the Buddha’s assembly recorded in the sutra text... Representational habits and comparison with dated works suggest that this painting was produced in the first half of the 14th century, and the auspicious srivastas on the palms of the central deities reflect a common Goryeo-period attribute. Although its function is unclear, it is possible to speculate that it was hung as part of a ritual observance involving the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment such as the ‘Perfect Enlightenment Retreat’ formulated in the 8th century by the Chinese monk Zongmi.”*

To understand the iconography and reference of the Boston scroll, this paper focuses on the Rocana triad, or images of the Rocana assembly, and traces the lineage of the Goryeo painting back to China. Scholars have previously identified a number of similar Rocana triad images in Sichuan, Hangzhou, and Japan, and have asserted that icons of this type derive from Chinese images produced for the Huayan (華嚴, Avatamsaka) Sect of Buddhism in the Five Dynasties (907-960) and Song (960-1279) periods. Since most of the related images are found in Sichuan, some scholars have speculated that Sichuan might be the likely origin of the iconography. However, the earliest extant similar image is located in Hangzhou, which has traditionally enjoyed a much higher status than the Southwest region of China, in terms of both religion and culture. In fact, it is almost inconceivable that, during the Song and Yuan (1279-1368) periods, the far Southwest region could have exerted any in-

<sup>1</sup> In Chinese Buddhist texts, most sutras translated by Huayan monks use “盧舍那” (i.e. Rocana), while sutras by Esoteric monks generally use “毗盧遮那” (i.e. Vairocana). In some cases, the two names are interchangeable. The inscriptions of many well-known Tang and Song Huayan images, including Feilaifeng (discussed herein), use Rocana, rather than Vairocana. Since this paper focuses on Huayan belief, I also use Rocana.

<sup>2</sup> On May 23, 2011, during the Yeongwol Yonsei Forum in Yeongwol, Korea, Professor Pak Youngsook from the University of London told me that she identified the painting as a Goryeo piece when she visited the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1970s. However, she has not published her attribution.



fluence over Hangzhou, which was then the nation's primary political and Buddhist center. Therefore, the images found in Hangzhou should be the key to understanding the iconography and references of the Boston Goryeo scroll. The goal of this paper is to analyze the transmission of Huayan Buddhist art from China to Korea by focusing on the iconography of the Boston Goryeo scroll and the Rocana assembly found in niche 5 of Feilaifeng in Hangzhou. The paper examines how the artists inherited the tradition and created unique features for the Rocana assembly, as well as how Hangzhou played an important role in the transmission of Huayan Buddhist images.

### Textual Reference

Actually, the Boston Goryeo scroll does not correspond exactly to the sutra. The full name of the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* is *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyijing* (大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經), and it was translated by the Kashmir monk Buddhadrata (佛陀多羅) in 655 at the White Horse monastery (白馬寺) of the Eastern Capital Luoyang. A Chinese Mahayana sutra divided into 12 sections, the sutra details a series of discussions on meditation practice, with the historical Buddha Sakyamuni answering questions asked by Manjusri, Samantabhadra, and ten other bodhisattvas. The text deals with such issues as the origin and meaning of ignorance, sudden and gradual enlightenment, and original Buddhahood. Although most figures in the sutra correspond to those depicted in the Goryeo scroll, they do not match precisely. In both the Goryeo scroll and the sutra, those gathered to listen to the Buddha's preaching include the 12 bodhisattvas; 80,000 strong men holding vajras (八萬金剛); 28 Heavenly Kings (二十八天王, including Brahma, 大梵天王); and 100,000 Ghost Kings (十萬鬼王) and Guardian Kings (諸天王). However, some attendees mentioned in the sutra do not appear in the scroll; the eight groups of protectors (天龍八部) are absent, for example, as are the King of Sumeru (須彌山王), and several others. The most notable difference, however, is the identity of the main Buddha; in the sutra, the main Buddha is Sakyamuni, but the scroll features Rocana, the Supreme Buddha and the main Buddha of Huayan teaching (see the discussion below), whose name does not appear in the sutra.

Meanwhile, many of the iconographic and formal details of the Goryeo scroll are not mentioned in the sutra. In the painting, for example, the main Buddha is seated in the lotus posture, wearing the typical robe and a crown with a strip of fabric that hangs down from either side over his shoulders. His elbows are bent, and his exposed forearms are raised and flexed, permitting the hands to form a mudra with the palms facing upward and the thumbs touching the ring fingers. This iconography—especially the unusual mudra—distinguishes the main figure as Vairocana, rather than as Sakyamuni. Moreover, the sutra states that Bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra were the first of the 12 great bodhisattvas who asked the Buddha to preach the Buddhist dharma, but it does not otherwise afford them any special position. In the scroll, however, those two bodhisattvas are larger than the other figures and very prominently placed alongside the main Buddha, dominating the upper half of the representational space. The three figures form a triangle, with Manjusri seated on a lion to the left, and Samantabhadra seated on an elephant to the right. Each bodhisattva is flanked by a groom and a small boy who kneels in front of each animal. Though not described in the sutra, this composition and iconography claim a long religious and artistic lineage. In addition, the artist painted ten demons on the left and eight strong male figures on the right, representing the 100,000 Ghost Kings and the 80,000 strong men who hold vajras. Beneath these two groups are four guardian kings: two on either side, with an attendant behind each. On the right side, one guardian king holds a pagoda, portraying the Northern Guardian King Vaisravaṇa. In the lower section are 15 bodhisattva-like figures, representing the 28 Heavenly Kings (二十八天王); the figures include the Brahma, who is mentioned in the sutra, and also Sakra Devanam-indra, who is not mentioned in the sutra. Two apsaras fly above the main Buddha (one on either side), representing the eight groups of protectors mentioned in the sutra.

This iconography raises obvious questions. Since most figures in the scroll correspond directly to the sutra, why has the main Buddha been switched from Sakyamuni to Rocana? Why did the artist highlight the three figures of Rocana, Manjusri, and Samantabhadra? In fact, the Boston Goryeo scroll's Rocana triad is not based exclusively on the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, but draws from a long tradi-

tion of Huayan belief and art. In Chinese Buddhist texts, the Rocana triad is called *Huayan sansheng*, or the “Three Saints of Huayan” (華嚴三聖). The worship of Rocana Buddha is associated mainly with the three Huayan sutras.<sup>3</sup> In these sutras, Rocana is the superior Buddha of dharma bodies and the dharma-realm. Rocana, also named Vairocana (毘盧遮那)<sup>4</sup>, lives in a pure land called the “Lotus World,” which attracted numerous devout Buddhists. The Huayan Sect was founded during the Tang Dynasty (618-907) by Monk Dushun (杜順, d. 640). According to Chapter 44 of the *Huayan sutra*, which was translated by Buddhahadra (佛馱跋陀羅, 359-429), Sakyamuni Buddha preached the dharma at Jetavana, a park near Sravasti. At that gathering, the Buddha was assisted by two exceptional bodhisattvas: Manjusri (文殊), an idealization of wisdom, and Samantabhadra (普賢), famed for keeping his vows. Although the sutra highlights these two great bodhisattvas, it does not mention Rocana Buddha, and is thus does not relate directly to the Rocana triad. By contrast, Rocana triads are widely discussed in books and treatises by Chinese monks, especially those of the Huayan Sect. For example, the monk Fazang (法藏, 643-712), another founder of the Huayan Sect, often mentioned Rocana and the two great bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra in his works, as in Chapter 1 of *Huayanjing tanxuan ji* (華嚴經探玄記, *Record on Exploring the Profound Theory of Huanyan Sutra*).

The Rocana triad depicted in the Boston Goryeo scroll is not recorded in the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, but does appear in some Chinese monks' commentaries related to the rituals of the sutra.

<sup>3</sup> There are three translations of this sutra. From 418 to 420, during the Eastern Jin period (317-420), Buddhahadra (佛馱跋陀羅, 359-429), an Indian monk in Yangzhou, translated the sutra into 60 chapters. Then from 695 to 699, during the Tang period (618-907), a Khotanese monk named Siksananda (實叉難陀, 652-710), active in the eastern capital of Luoyang, translated the sutra into 80 chapters. Finally, in 798, the Kashmiri monk Prajna (般若) translated the Huayan Sutra into 40 chapters.

<sup>4</sup> In the three Huayan sutras, the superior Buddha of the Lotus World and dharma-realm is referred to by two different names: *Lushena* (Rocana) and *Biluzhena* (Vairocana). In the *Huayan sutra* translated by Buddhahadra, the Buddha of dharmakaya is called only *Lushena*. In the *Huayan sutra* translated by Siksananda, this Buddha has two names: *Lushena* and *Biluzhena* or *Bilushena* (毗盧舍那). Prajna, the third translator, also uses both *Lushena* and *Biluzhena*. Hence, *Lushena* and *Biluzhena* are considered to be interchangeable.

After translating the sutra, the Tang monk Zongmi (宗密, 780-841) wrote a treatise called *Yuanjue jing daochang xiuzheng yi* (圓覺經道場修證儀, *Rite in the Ritual Place for the Practicing and Testimony of Yuanjue jing*), in which he described how to conduct the ritual of the sutra. According to Monk Zongmi, to conduct the ritual, one should install three images—Rocana, Manjusri, and Samantabhadra—to serve as the focus of meditation and worship. Zongmi then mentions the other ten bodhisattvas and various deities from the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*, to support and protect the ritual place (*daochang*, 道場). A Northern Song (960-1127) monk named Jingyuan (淨源, 1011-1088) also wrote commentaries on this ritual, which were compiled in 1069 under the title *Yuanjue jing daochang lueben xiuzheng yi* (圓覺經道場略本修證儀). Jingyuan states that one should install the Rocana triad in the hall for the ritual, so that they appear there as the Three Saints of Huayan. A case containing the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment* should be placed in front of the Rocana Buddha, together with a lotus lantern, incense, and various dharma implements. Buddhist devotees entering the ritual place should chant the name of Rocana while making one circumambulation around the Buddha. Then the monks would invite other deities, including the ten other great bodhisattvas, deities, and protectors mentioned in the sutra, and make offerings to them. These records clearly demonstrate the importance of Rocana Buddha and his principal attendants in the ritual of the *Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment*. Rather than faithfully depicting the scenes as described in the sutra, however, the Boston scroll actually represents the model for conducting the ritual of the sutra.

The fact that neither the sutra nor the commentaries provide any textual references for the iconography of the Rocana triad raises several questions: Why are the two bodhisattvas represented on animals and assisted by a groom and a child? What is the reference for this unconventional iconography? The answers to these questions may be found by tracing the tradition of the Boston scroll back to China, particularly the earliest surviving examples of a similar Rocana triad, found in the Hangzhou area, in eastern coastal China.



### Artistic Tradition

Feilaifeng (“Peak that Flew in from India”) is the largest extant rock-cut cave temple site in the Hangzhou area; it is notable for its caves and cliff sculptures produced from the tenth through the fourteenth centuries. The earliest surviving images from this site date to the tenth century, while more than 200 images survive from the Song Dynasty, and more than 100 remain from the Yuan Dynasty. Among these images is a Rocana triad similar to the one depicted in the Boston Goryeo scroll (Fig. 2). The triad, found in niche 5 at Feilaifeng, is dated 1022, and bears an inscription that states that the image depicts 17 figures of Rocana (盧舍那, *Lushena*) Buddha’s assembly.<sup>5</sup> The main Buddha in niche 5 and the one in the Boston scroll are similar in terms of costumes and gestures, and the attendant bodhisattvas in both images are sitting on the same animals, indicating that main figure in each work is Rocana Buddha.

Like the Boston scroll, the three main figures in the Feilaifeng triad form a triangle and are larger than the other figures, demonstrating their importance in the group. Behind both Samantabhadra and Manjusri are two guardian kings, followed by two bodhisattvas. Samantabhadra is seated atop an elephant while Manjusri rides a lion, and the grooms for the animals can be seen in the lower left and right corners of the niche, respectively. At the bottom of the composition, two small boys are crouch on either side of the pedestal in front of the animals. Two apsaras, one of eight groups of Buddhist guardians, appear on the left and right, above the lobed outer edge of the niche; the apsaras were carved in lower relief than the other figures. All these figures symbolize the members of the gathering to hear

<sup>5</sup> The inscription, carved on the left of niche 5 of Feilaifeng, can be translated as:

Disciple Hu Chengde (胡承德) reverently commissioned carvers to carve the 17 figures of Rocana (*Lushena*, 盧舍那), Buddha’s assembly for the four graces (*si’en*, 四恩) [that he received] and [on behalf of the sentient beings of] the three realms of existence (*sanyou*, 三有). [Hu Chengde] wishes [for] visitors to look upon and revere [them], [and that everyone can be] reborn in the Pure Land together. Recorded on a day in the fourth lunar month of the [first] year of Qianxing (1022) of the great Song.

弟子胡承德伏為四恩三有，命石工鐫盧舍那佛會一十七身。所期來往觀瞻，同生淨土。時大宋乾興元年四月日記。



Fig. 2. Rocana Buddha assembly in niche 5 of Feilaifeng. Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), dated to 1022. *Images of Feilaifeng Peak* (飛來峰造像) edited by Gao Nianhua (高念華). (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2002, fig. 17).

Rocana’s sermon. The niche and the scroll feature similar compositions and related iconography for the major figures. In fact, the scroll seems to be a more complex version of the Feilaifeng triad.

By the second half of the eighth century, images of the Rocana assembly had become popular, and often featured Samantabhadra riding an elephant and Manjusri riding a lion, along with grooms, small boys, and other attendants. A good example of such a depiction is found in cave 155, which dates to the ninth century, at the Chonglong shan (重龍山, “Double Dragon Mountain”) grottoes in Zizhong, Sichuan province. In this cave, Rocana wears a robe similar to that of the Rocana at Feilaifeng. Manjusri is shown atop a lion and Samantabhadra on an elephant, and both are accompanied by a groom and a small boy. Beside each stands one lesser bodhisattva and one guardian king, so the total number of figures is fewer than the Feilaifeng triad.

Ishida Hisatoyo has reasonably suggested that the two small boys in the Rocana assembly at Chonglong shan represent Sudhana, a boy from Fucheng (“Blessed City,” 福城) who is mentioned in Chapter 62 of the *Huayan sutra* translated by Siksananda. According to the sutra, when Sudhana was born, numerous treasures filled his chamber. In his past lives, he had made offerings to Buddhas and established his good karma by committing no wrongdoings, so people called him “Shancai” (善財, “Kindness and Assets”). According the Huayan sutras, Sudhana once visited and paid homage to 53 individuals, including Manjusri and Samantabhadra. Thus, the two small boys in the image from cave 155 of Chonglong shan represent Sudhana’s visits to each of the two bodhisattvas. The depiction of the small boys in cave 155 is so similar to that of the Goryeo scroll and the Feilaifeng niche that we can only conclude that this tradition continued into the fourteenth century.

Although the Rocana figures from both the Boston scroll and Feilaifeng are thought to derive from the Huayan Sect, the style of their crowns are of a type more commonly associated with Esoteric Buddhist art. In fact, Rocana is the main Buddha in both Esoteric and Huayan Buddhism, and eminent monks from the two schools have used the same concept to explain the meaning of Rocana/Vairocana. For example, in Chapter 3 of *Huayanjing tanxuanji* (華嚴經探玄記, *Record on Exploring the Profound Theory of Huayan Sutra*), Fazang (法藏, 643-712) states:

Today [I] checked the Indian version [of the *Huayan sutras*] again; all of them call [the superior Buddha] ‘Vairocana’ (毗盧遮那). ‘Rocana’ (盧舍那) could be translated as ‘Light Shining’ (Guanmingzhao, 光明照), and ‘vai’ (毗) means ‘universally.’ [Thus, the name of this Buddha] means ‘Light Universally Shining’ (光明遍照).

In *Commentary on the Mahavairocana Tantra*, an important work of Esoteric Buddhism, the Tang monk Yixing (一行, c. 673-727) says that: “The Indian pronunciation of ‘Vairocana’ is another name for the sun, meaning to remove darkness and shine everywhere.” This is why Rocana/Vairocana also is called the “Great Sun Buddha” (大日如来).

Therefore, the image of Rocana/Vairocana wearing a crown can be found in both Huayan and

Esoteric Buddhism. The origin of the iconography of crowned Rocana can be traced to the Esoteric *Mahavairocana Tantra*, translated by the Indian monk Subhakarasiṃha (善無畏, 637-735) and Yixing in 724. This scripture says that the arrangement of Rocana’s hair (i.e. his chignon) acts as his crown. Chapter 4 of *Commentary on the Mahavairocana Tantra* by Yixing says that because his chignon resembles a crown, Vairocana looks like a bodhisattva. There are currently no known references to a crowned Rocana Buddha associated with the Huayan Sect of the Tang Dynasty, so these Esoteric sutras may also have served as textual references for the production of Rocana images for Huayan Buddhism. This textual influence may also be seen in a woodblock-printed edition of *Huayan sutra* from the Northern Song period. This printed *Huayan sutra*, with 80 chapters, was translated by the Khotanese monk Siksananda (實叉難陀, 652-710) in 990-1000, under the sponsorship of monks from the Longxing monastery (龍興寺) in Hangzhou. The frontispiece of the sutra features a Rocana triad, with Rocana wearing a crown, flanked by Manjusri on a lion and Samantabhadra on an elephant, and Sudhana in front of the two bodhisattvas. However, this Rocana Buddha makes a different mudra from the Rocana from Feilaifeng and the Boston scroll, with his right forearm raised and his left arm extended down and to the right.

As mentioned, the Rocana figures from both the Boston scroll and the Feilaifeng triad hold their hands in an unusual mudra that cannot be found among any other extant images from the Tang Dynasty. Kamata Shigeo has theorized that the Rocana triad images were transmitted eastward from the Sichuan area during the Five Dynasties (907-960) and Song periods and that the triad at Feilaifeng may reflect this influence. The fact remains, however, that no other image of Rocana with similar crown, costume, and mudra can be found among extant Tang and Five Dynasties images in Sichuan. In addition, the Feilaifeng triad is the earliest known work with this type of Rocana image. Also, as Hangzhou, the location of Feilaifeng, was the capital of the Southern Song (1127-1279), it was much more important than Sichuan for the development of Huayan Buddhism (see discussion below). Therefore, it seems highly unlikely that Sichuan could have been the source of the Feilaifeng triad.

Niche 5 at Feilaifeng was carved in 1022, after





Fig. 3. Rocana assembly in cave 3 of the Miaogao shan grottoes, Dazu, Sichuan. Song period (960-1279). *Collection of the Sculptures from Chinese Grottoes*, vol. 7, *Dazu* (中國石窟雕塑全集-7-大足), edited by Zhongguo shiku diaosu quanji bianji weiyunhui (中國石窟雕塑全集編輯委員會). (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 2000, fig. 107).

which time many Buddha figures and triads appeared with a similar iconography, i.e. with a Buddha wearing a crown or performing the special mudra and seated between Manjusri and Samantabhadra seated on their respective animals. For instance, cave 3 of the Miaogao shan grottoes in Dazu county, Sichuan, which dates from the Song period, has a seated Rocana wearing a crown and flanked by Manjusri on a lion and a Samantabhadra on an elephant (Fig. 3). A groom and a Sudhana figure appear beside each bodhisattva, and two apsaras fly above Rocana. Clearly, some features of the Rocana assembly at Feilaifeng, including the composition and the crown, were also in use in Sichuan by the end of the eleventh century. A few Buddha images outside of Hangzhou include a mudra similar to that of the Rocana at Feilaifeng. For example, the

Dharma Wheel Pagoda (法輪塔) at Dafowan (大佛灣) in Dazu, which dates to the Southern Song, includes a seated Buddha (with the features of a typical Buddha) making the same mudra (Fig. 4). Although this figure may not represent Rocana, the similarity indicates a connection between Hangzhou and Sichuan. Another example is the Vairocana image painted in *The Long Roll of Buddhist Images* (Fig. 5), attributed to Zhang Shengwen (張勝溫), a painter in the Dali kingdom (937-1253). The inscription on the side of this Vairocana translates to “Hail to the Buddha of the Great Sun shining everywhere” (南無大日遍照佛). As mentioned, “Buddha of the Great Sun” is another name for Vairocana in Chinese texts. Instead of a crown, this figure has an *ushnisha*, a protuberance on the top of Buddha’s head symbolizing the expanded wisdom that he gained at his enlighten-



Fig. 4. Seated Buddha on the Dharma Wheel Pagoda at Dafowan in Dazu county, China. Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279). *Summit of Treasures: Buddhist Cave Art of Dazu, China* by Angela Falco Howard (Trumbull, CT: Weatherhill, Inc. 2001, fig. 117).

ment. His elbows are flexed, with the hands raised up to shoulder level, making the same mudra as the Northern Song Rocana at Feilaifeng. This scroll is dated between 1173 and 1176, contemporaneous with the Southern Song, and thus is later than the Feilaifeng Rocana.

#### Huiyin Monastery and the Transmission of the Rocana Assembly Image

The preceding discussion does not suggest that the Rocana Buddha images from Sichuan and Yunnan were directly influenced by the image carved in niche 5 of Feilaifeng. To elucidate the artistic source of the iconography of the Boston scroll, we must examine the historical importance of a Huayan monastery and teaching center called Huiyin-si, or “Intelligent Karma Monastery” (慧因寺), located

in Hangzhou. During the Song period, Huayan teaching underwent a shift. From the fifth into the early ninth centuries, belief in Rocana prospered in Buddhist practice, research, and art. However, in the fifth year of the Huichang reign (845) of the Tang period, the Huayan Sect began to decline; this occurred during the reign of Emperor Wuzong (r. 841-846), an ambitious ruler who did not believe in Buddhism and who openly persecuted Buddhists. Toward the end of the tenth century, however, the Huayan Sect began to recover, thanks in large part to support from Chinese monks and patronage from the Goryeo royal family. In the early period of the Yuanyou reign (1086-1094), the Goryeo Buddhist



Fig. 5 Hail to the Buddha of the Great Sun Shining Everywhere, part of the *The Long Roll of Buddhist Images* attributed to Zhang Shengwen (張勝溫, c. twelfth century), in the collection of National Palace Museum in Taipei. *A Study of the Nan-Chao and Ta-Li Kingdoms in Light of Art Materials Found in Various Museums* (南詔大理國資料綜合研究), by Li Lin-ts'an (李霖燦). (Taipei: The Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica, 1967, plate XXV).





Fig.6. *Kegon kaie zenchishiki zu* (華嚴海會善知識圖, *Painting on the Good Teachers in the Sea Congregation of Huayan*), from the collection of Todaiji in Nara. Ca. Kamakura period (1185-1333). "Paintings of the Huayan Sutras" (華嚴經繪) by Ishida Hisatoyo (石田尚豊) in *Arts of Japan* (日本の美術) 270, fig. 12.

Controller Uicheon (義天, 1055-1101) traveled to Bianjing (present-day Kaifeng, in Henan province), the capital of Northern Song, in order to ask the Song court to teach him about Huayan and to assist him in transmitting it to Korea. In 1088, the Song court recommended that Uicheon go to the Huiyin monastery in Hangzhou to study the teachings of Huayan Buddhism. In conjunction with the monk's request, the court changed the Huiyin monastery from a Chan institution into a *Shifang jiaoyuan*, or "Ten-direction Teaching Cloister" (十方教院), belonging to the Huayan Sect. Therefore, the Huiyin monastery was nicknamed the "Goryeo monastery" (高麗寺). From that time on, the Huiyin monastery was the most important place in China for the study of Huayan teachings. In 1101, King Sukjong of Goryeo (r. 1095-1105) sent an envoy to commission a hall for Huayan sutras at the Huiyin monastery, and also ordered that an image of Rocana flanked by Samantabhadra and Manjusri be installed in the same hall.

The Huiyin monastery continued to play a key role in Huayan education during the Southern Song period, and shared a particularly close relationship with the Southern Song imperial family. Emperor Ningzong (r. 1195-1224), for example, wrote a title plaque reading "Pavilion of the Huayan Sutras" (華嚴經閣) for the monks of Huiyin. During the Baoqing (寶慶) reign (1225-1227) of Emperor Lizong (理宗, r. 1225-1264), the court established the "Hall of Ruling Deities" (神御殿) for the benefit of Emperor Ningzong (寧宗, r. 1195-1224) and the "Confession Hall for the Period of Surangama Blessing the Sages" (楞嚴祝聖期懺堂) in the monastery. Meanwhile, the court commanded that the coffin of Princess Chengguo (成國公主), one of the emperor's aunts, be placed at Huiyin to make offerings. In the Chunyou (淳祐) reign (1241-1252), Emperor Lizong commanded that Guangguo yuan, or the "Extending Fruit Cloister" (廣果院), should be assigned to Huiyin monastery. All of these records indicate the strong patronage of the Southern Song imperial family, and Huiyin's status as the leading monastery of Huayan teaching.

Given the prestige of Huiyin monastery, the Rocana triad of Huiyin monastery could have served as a reference for artists during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Huiyin triad no longer exists, but the triad in niche 5 at Feilaifeng likely gives some idea of its appearance, since it represents some of the typical iconographic characteristics and style

of that period. The previously discussed similarities between the images at Feilaifeng and those from Sichuan and Yunnan suggest a transmission between these three areas. Although it seems highly unlikely that the Feilaifeng triad could have been regarded as a key work that influenced other regions, that image may serve as a representative example of a Rocana triad as depicted in the Hangzhou area in the Song period. Moreover, the Huiyin and Feilaifeng Rocana triads probably shared similar iconographic characteristics. The similarities of Rocana images from Feilaifeng, Sichuan, and Yunnan can likely be attributed to the influence of the Huiyin monastery.

The Feilaifeng triad can also help us to examine the transmission of Huayan teaching between Hangzhou and Japan. Some Japanese collections include paintings of Rocana making the same mudra as the Rocana in the Feilaifeng triad. Around 1185—late in the Heian period (平安, 794-1192) and early in the Kamakura period (鎌倉, 1185-1333)—Vairocana and Sudhana images related to the Huayan sutras became a popular subject in Japanese painting. Ishida Hisatoyo has suggested that this phenomenon probably was related to the transmission of Huayan belief from Song China. For example, *Painting of Good Teachers in the Sea Congregation of Huayan* (華嚴海會善知識圖), from the collection of Todaiji Temple (東大寺) in Nara, shows a seated Vairocana with a pose, mudra, and costume that resemble those of the Feilaifeng Rocana, and surrounded by virtuous visitors (Fig. 6). Ishida reasonably asserts that the Todaiji painting reflects the Song style and that the artist probably had references from the Song China.

In seeking the source of Vairocana images in Japanese painting, Ishida provides two possible Chinese works. One is a Vairocana triad now in the collection of Kenchoji Temple (建長寺) in Kamakura, in which the main figure assumes a posture and mudra similar to the Feilaifeng Rocana, but with his hands in front of his chest (Fig. 7). Manjusri appears at the lower left, riding a lion, and Samantabhadra appears at the lower right, riding an elephant, an arrangement that closely resembles the three main figures of the Feilaifeng triad. This painting was brought to Japan from the Southern Song in 1246 by a Chinese monk named Lanxi Daolong (蘭溪道隆, 1213-1278). Ishida's second possible source is the Feilaifeng triad, which he states represents a style of Rocana assembly that became popular in the Zhejiang area during





Fig.7. *Vairocana Triad* from the collection of Kenchoji (建長寺), c. first half of thirteenth century. "Paintings of the Huayan Sutas" (華嚴經繪) by Ishida Hisatoyo (石田尚豊) in *Arts of Japan* (日本の美術) 270, fig. 14.

the Song period. Hence, Ishida believes that the iconography of Huayan painting was probably imported into Japan via Zhejiang early in the Kamakura period.

Ishida's argument is convincing, but the specific relationship between the Feilaifeng triad and Huayan painting in Japan requires further research and clarification. As discussed, the Huiyin monastery held a place of great influence in Huayan teaching during the Song period, and the Vairocana triad at the Huiyin monastery, no longer extant, was probably similar to the one at Feilaifeng in terms of iconography. When Japanese monks visited Southern Song and sought to acquire Huayan paintings as models for their own works, their first choice would

have been the Huiyin monastery. The Feilaifeng triad, therefore, can be considered as a bridge connecting Huayan belief and the art of Hangzhou—particularly Huiyin monastery—and Japan.

### Hangzhou and the Boston Rocana Scroll

The relationship between Hangzhou and Japan is also significant for exploring the relationship between Hangzhou and Goryeo in the area of Huayan teaching and its art. While the Boston scroll was painted by a Goryeo artist, its iconography certainly derived from China. During the Song period, the Huiyin monastery would have been the destination of choice for Goryeo monks who wished to study Huayan Buddhism and bring works of Buddhist art associated with the Huayan Sect back to Goryeo Korea. The Goryeo scroll is believed to have been painted in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, which would likely make it contemporaneous with China's Yuan Dynasty (1279-1368), meaning that the artist could have followed old traditions or possibly used a new iconography from Yuan. In the same tradition, an extant Goryeo sutra frontispiece dated to 1357, which depicts the same sutra as the Boston scroll, also includes a Rocana assembly, showing the Rocana Buddha with similar costume and mudra. The Goryeo tradition of depicting Rocana with the special mudra also can be seen in a Rocana Buddha painting from Sinwonsa Temple in South Chungcheong Province, painted in 1664 (during the Joseon Dynasty) (National Treasure 299).

Under Mongol rule, imperial patronage and elite participation in Huayan Buddhism remained strong in the Hangzhou area. According to Ming (1368-1644) texts, when Kublai Khan (1215-1294) heard that the Huiyin monastery in Hangzhou was the most important temple of the Huayan Sect, he sent gold and commissioned a stele for the monastery. A Goryeo prince who was the son-in-law of Kublai Khan invited a Huayan monk named Pangu (盤谷, active first half of thirteenth century) to preach Huayan Buddhism in the Huiyin monastery. In addition, some well-known Yuan artists enthusiastically participated in the artistic activities of the monastery. For instance, Zhao Mengfu (趙孟頫, 1254-1322) composed several stele inscriptions, and Huang Gongwang (黃公望, 1269-1354) painted a mural in the Sev-

en Patriarchs Hall. Therefore, the Huiyin monastery, which was still patronized by Goryeo royalty during the Yuan period, would have been the first choice for Goryeo monks and Buddhist artists looking to bring Huayan icons back to Korea. As a result, the Boston Goryeo scroll can be associated with the iconography that flourished in the Hangzhou area. ㄸ

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