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문학석사학위논문

The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati

A Thematic Study between the Buddhist Legend
and Female Salvation

《安樂國太子傳變相圖》 : 불교 설화와 여성 성불 중심으로

2014년 2월

서울대학교 대학원
고고미술사학과 미술사학 전공
박 아 람

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이 논문을 문학석사학위논문으로 제출함

2013년 12월

서울대학교 대학원

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2014년 1월

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Abstract

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This thesis discusses Buddhist women's salvation depicted in *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* (安樂國太子傳變相圖, 紗羅樹幀, 1576), produced during the Chosŏn Dynasty. By reading the story's original text as well as interpreting its pictorial representation, this paper intends to identify how the Royal court ladies of the Chosŏn Dynasty found their religious refuge from patronizing and viewing a certain piece of artwork. Based on this particular narrative painting, it is also crucial to find out the visual representation of noble women taking their final peace in Amitabha Buddha and the Pure Land cult into account. Since the cult of the Amitabha Buddha propagates the promise of rebirth in the Western Pure Land as well as achieving enlightenment of its followers, a Pure Land painting that is intended for pious female viewers may have delivered the essence of Buddhist doctrine all the more dramatically, its pictorial representation drawing powerful attention to the viewers. Concerning the Chosŏn Dynasty's 'Confucian male-dominated' social system which tended to regard Buddhism as public heresy and restricting women's field of activity to the utmost limitation, this

particular piece of scroll painting could have been deciphered as an unexpected visual outcome. It openly uses traditional Korean characters as a tool for pictorial narration at a time when adapting the Chinese characters was common custom at the time. Throughout the painting's story development, instead of directly adapting Buddhist deities, their appearance are veiled as the sacred royal family members whose purpose was to gain Buddhist salvation. Amongst them, a single female figure named Lady Won-ang (駕鴛夫人) is interpreted as the main focus of this narrative picture.

In 1576, two Buddhist nuns asked for royal permission to restore a damaged Buddhist painting. With the passage of time, this vertical scroll picture had been badly worn out; its once luminous colors faded and forms were hardly able to be traced properly. After its restoration plan was accepted, the painting was transformed into another magnificent work of art. People praised it for its colors, which shed lustrous light and its contents were interpreted as if to lead the faithful to the gate of Buddhist enlightenment. The royal patrons who participated in reproducing this painting were also known as fervent female Buddhists who had a connection with other Buddhist arts in the early Chosŏn Dynasty. The painting portrays the narrative story of the filial Prince Sukhāvati (安樂國太子傳). This story is based on one of the indigenous Korean Buddhist sutra, *The Moon's Imprint on the Buddha's Genealogy* (月印釋譜, Wŏrin sŏkpo) which

was edited by King Sejo (世祖) in 1459. The picture delivers the message of firm belief in following the Buddhist path, as well as adding narrative scenes concerning the characters' tragic destiny and sacrifice. The story's hidden heroine Lady Won-ang, once enjoyed the title of a queen, yet she willingly gave up the pleasures of life in order to follow the same path as her pious husband, a Buddhist king. However her life had to face unexpected difficulties which eventually led her to tragic death. But at the story's conclusion, she is rewarded by the Amitabha Buddha's welcoming, boarding on the Salvific Dragon Boat (接引龍船) to be carried away with his filial son to the land of Western Paradise. By reading the story one might be able to detect the didactic message the Buddhist doctrine usually propagates, yet the appearance of Lady Won-ang leaves somewhat questionable issues that suggests further consideration. Instead of limiting her role as a supplementary character, her identity as a devoted wife and mother could also be seen as an ideal figure fitting into the category of the Buddhist-Confucian context as well as asking the fundamental question on the sacrificial practices of Bodhisattva.

This thesis aims to introduce the stories of Prince Sukhāvati, which is portrayed both within the narrative painting and the original text, *The Buddha's Genealogy* from a descriptive and comparative approach. Although the basic storylines do not contrast too excessively from one another, the comparative result

shows that several scenes were added or excluded between the original text and the painting. In addition, analysis by other scholars also suggests a complex and contrasting sequence of the painting. Interestingly, *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* shares a similar story outline with other textual sources as well, such as the one portrayed in *The Record of Kirim Temple in Silla Mountain Hamwŏl* (新羅含月山祈林寺事蹟), and *The Additional Print of Kirim Temple's Historic Record* (別本祈林寺事蹟). The story of Prince Sukhāvati in these temple records too, is later represented as a scroll painting (祈林寺沙羅樹王幀) and its copied version now stored in Kirim temple's Hall of the Vairocana Buddha (大寂光殿). Other than these textual resources, the story of Prince Sukhāvati is also narrated in nineteenth century Korean literature and within these exemplary texts the image of Lady Won-ang becomes entwined with a moralizing drama.

The second part of this thesis discusses from an interpretative perspective *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* with other visual examples found within the tradition of East Asian countries' Buddhist paintings which openly narrate the salvation of women. There are Buddhist paintings such as Queen Vaidehi (韋提希) in *The Taima Mandara* (當麻曼荼羅) and the Japanese medieval princess Chūjō-hime (中將姫, ちゅうじょうひめ) in *Taima Mandara Engi Emaki* (當麻曼荼羅縁起繪卷) which all show the visual representation of Buddhist women experiencing perilous lives, yet found their last peace in Amitabha's Western Paradise.

It should be noted that within the Buddhist traditions of narrative painting, some pictures were adapted as tools for storytelling as well as proselytizing the audiences. In terms of these religious narrative performances and using appropriate images and words, it might be interesting to infer how *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvātī* was accepted by the Royal court ladies at the time of its production during the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Finally, the thesis focuses on defining the identity of Lady Won-ang. Other than being interpreted as an ideal woman propagated by Korean Confucius society, she is also interpreted as the deification of a Buddhist Goddess (Bodhisattva Kuan-yin) in the texts. There are several examples where Buddhist deity underwent indigenous feminine manifestation, being venerated by her followers within the Buddhist tradition of East Asian countries. Especially since the Song Dynasty, the legend of Princess Miao-shan's (妙善公主) filial conduct and her manifestation into the Bodhisattva of Thousand Eyes and Hands (千手千眼觀音) were narrated in numerous Buddhist sutras and paintings. On the contrary, Lady Won-ang was not a prominent religious icon widely known in Korean Buddhist art. Even so, the original texts repeatedly records this female figure as the manifestation of the Kuan-yin, evidently trying to relate the merciful Bodhisattva with the image of motherhood. Within other studies that try to define the identity of Lady Won-ang, some

even suggest it has a certain relation with the Shamanistic influences. One of the Shamanist narratives (敍事巫歌) that derived from Korea's Jeju island has even changed the main characters as a hapless mother and revengeful son. In this respect, Lady Won-ang could be seen as a case whose sacred identity is veiled by another mundane character.

The narrative story of the Prince Sukhāvati must have influenced the female members of the Chosŏn Dynasty to a certain degree. The female salvation represented in religious art might have worked as a promotive agent in propagating new Buddhist iconography as well as introducing idealized feminine characteristics required at the time. Moreover, a painting which was openly related with Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land Buddhism and a certain female character opening the road to salvation could have helped to edify onlookers who would have been mostly women residing in the court's inner chambers. While looking at this particular piece of painting, their expectation to be greeted by the sacred, thus finding salvation, might have been the hidden desire and silent consolation suppressed deeply within their hearts.

Keywords : The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati
(安樂國太子傳變相圖), Female Salvation
(女性成佛), Buddhist Legend (佛教說話),
Amitabha's Pure Land (阿彌陀淨土).

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I. Introduction

The concept of *female salvation in Buddhism* has been of core interest to several scholars since the late half of the twentieth century. Some scholars have attempted to conduct a feminist analysis of the key concepts of Buddhism, inviting provocative discussions of gender and reconstructed the phallogocentric views of Buddhism. Even though misogynistic views have existed throughout all civilizations, these androcentric practices have not expressed mainstream opinions about women in Buddhism.¹⁾ In the texts of primitive Buddhism it describes how Śākyamuni Buddha himself once expressed a negatively adamant attitude towards women entering the Buddhist order.²⁾ When scholars of Buddhist studies focus on the topics of women in Buddhism they also offer an analysis of Buddhist views on women since the days of the Śākyamuni Buddha. By using extensive textual evidence they discuss how the male Buddhists framed ideas of

1) Rita Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), pp. 48-54; Kajiyama Yuichi, "Women in Buddhism," *Eastern Buddhist*, vol. 15, no. 2 (1982), pp. 53-70.

2) Gu Jasang, *Yōsōng sōngbulūi ihae (The Understanding of Female Salvation)*, (Seoul: Bulgyo shidaesa, 2010), pp. 72-77; Seo Youngae, *Pulkyōūi Yōsōngkwon (The View of Womanhood in Buddhism)*, (Seoul: Bulgyo shidaesa, 2006), pp. 273-275. Although Buddha's view of womanhood was not the same as that of the ancient Indian society's gender-prejudiced opinion, being the leader of his community, he also had to concern the unsavory issues which could have risen by allowing women into his sangha.

women and sustained their patriarchal viewpoint.³⁾

It is quite clear in some early Buddhist texts that Śākyamuni Buddha's negative view of womanhood appears to blame them as imprisoning men through temptation.⁴⁾ However, it is clear that there were positive images of women who appeared in ancient Buddhism, such as numerous stories from the *Therīgatha* by the Buddhist nuns.⁵⁾ We cannot ignore that the laywomen became crucial supporters of Mahāyāna Buddhism and amongst them the Pure Land Buddhists willingly accepted the idea of women's salvation. They even insist that women can achieve heavenly rebirth as described in Amitābha Buddha's Western Paradise. This advocates the road to salvation, and this is virtually open to anyone needless of their gender or social status.⁶⁾ In terms of female salvation if such views were indeed reflected in any visual evidence, then how would such scenes be represented? If

3) Kagawa Takao, "Bukkyō no joseikan," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* (1975), pp. 45-53; Minamoto Junko, "Butkyō no joseisei hitei," *Indogaku butkyōgaku kenkyū* (1989), pp. 323-327. Generally speaking, the different Buddhist orders' religious circumstances and the customs of ancient society contributed to the prejudice of women gaining salvation. Minamoto Junko especially argued the Buddhist denial of sexuality degenerated into the unjust discrimination towards women.

4) According to the text in *Aṅguttara-nikaya*, the Buddha is warning his disciples saying women can lead men to the spiritual fetters of defilement using eight different methods, which are: outer appearance; laughter; saying sweet words; singing songs; shedding tears; overdressing oneself; tempting with gorgeous fruits and body contact. *Aṅguttara-nikaya*, A8 : 17-18, Vol. 5 (Seoul: Early Buddhist Sutra Research Institution, 2007), pp. 124-125.

5) *Therīgatha and Therīgatha*, Park Yong-gil trans., (Seoul: Minjoksa, 2006), pp. 225-311; Robert Decaroli, *Haunting the Buddha: Indian Popular Religious and the Formation of Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 40-41.

6) Gu Jasang, *Yōsōng sōngbul ūi ihae* p. 227.

such religious painting was created during the age of predominant Confucianism, what sort of message would it deliver to fervent Buddhist viewers? My discussion in this thesis is based on an analysis of a Korean Buddhist painting and integrate this with an interdisciplinary vision which examines the Buddhist literary context and women gaining salvation. This thesis further aims to analyze other visual examples which reflect the concept of female salvation pictorialized in narrative paintings in a broader context.

The main subject of discussion is *The Narrative Painting of the Prince Sukhāvati* (安樂國太子傳變相圖, 沙羅樹幀) which was created in 1576 (Wanli萬曆 Yr. 4, Seonjo宣祖 Yr. 6) during the Chosŏn Dynasty (Figure. 1). Following the outbreak of Japan's invasion of Korea in 1592, the painting was stolen by a Japanese soldier and it is now held at Kochi-ken (高知縣)'s Seizan Bunko (青山文庫).⁷⁾ Its title is generally known as *The Painting of King Sala* or *The Narrative Painting of Prince Ahn-lahk-gook*. However, in this thesis this painting is referred to as *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*, for the Korean word Ahn-lahk-gook indicates 'Sukhāvati,' or 'Amitabha Buddha's Western Paradise.'⁸⁾ By

7) Kim Jeonggyo, "Chosŏn ch'oki pyŏnmunsig pulhwa: Anragkug t'aechachŏn pyŏnsangto (The Buddhist Paintings from the Early Chosŏn Dynasty)," *Kongkan* 208 (1984), p. 94. In the box which currently stores the paintings, there is a letter stating the name of the donor.

8) Sukhāvati (Kor. Ahn-lahk-gook) literally means Amitabha Buddha's Western Pure Land. In other words it can be described as an idealistic land that dwells full of delight and liberation, free from sufferings. Park Jong-mae Kenneth, *Modern Korean-Chinese-Sanskrit-English Buddhist Dictionary* (Seoul: Prunbook

reading the story's original text as well as interpreting its pictorial representation, this paper intends to identify how the Royal court ladies of the Chosŏn Dynasty found their religious refuge by patronizing and viewing a certain piece of artwork. Because the cult of the Amitabha Buddha and the achievement of enlightenment were propagated in this painting, its pictorial representation would have drawn powerful attention to pious female viewers. At the same time the essence of Buddhist doctrine could have been delivered somewhat more effectively. In *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati's* title, we see the word 'Byeon-sang (變相, Bian-xiang in Chinese).' The term Bian-xiang is normally understood in conjunction with the word 'Bian-wen (變文)' in which Zheng Zhen-duo describes a sutra being 'transformed' into 'popular storytelling.'⁹⁾ Others further defined Bian-wen and Bian-xiang as supplementary devices that are both identical in implication yet adapt different methods of representation through words and images.¹⁰⁾ By adding another

Publishing, 2012), pp. 446-447.

9) Zheng Zhen-duo, *Zhongguo Suwenxueshi (The History of Chinese Secular Literature)*, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai Shudian, 1984), pp. 190-205. Zheng Zhen-duo further defines the categories of Bian-wen into two parts: 1. The stories that are related with Buddhist sutras (關於佛經的古事), 2. The stories that are not strictly derived from the Buddhist sutra (非佛經的古事). Within the stories that are related with the sutras can be divided again in another secondary categories: 1. Strictly follow the lines of the Buddhist text (嚴格的說經), 2. Free-narration instead of following the Buddhist text (離開經文自由敘狀).

10) Wu Hung, "What is Bian-xiang?, On the Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 52, no. 1 (1992), p. 112.

word 'picture/painting (圖),' Bian-xiang tu (變相圖) thus literally signifies the pictures of 'changed aspect,' 'transformed vision,' or 'transformed tableaux.'¹¹⁾ Along with these definition Bian-xiang tu can also be deciphered as 'narrative art,' for the picture itself *narrates* language and visual source simultaneously to unfold certain story in a picture plane.

Within the definition of narrative arts there are several different methods that can be categorized. Amongst them the 'continuous narrative' and 'synoptic narrative' are the ones which mostly resemble the compositional structure of *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*. The continuous narrative illustrates multiple scenes within a single frame which means actions and scenes are portrayed in a single visual field without any pictorial dividers. The sequence of events within the narrative is defined through the reuse of the main characters. It emphasizes the change in movement and state of the repeating characters as indicators of scene or phase change.¹²⁾ A synoptic narrative is quite similar to a continuous narrative in that it depicts a single scene where characters are portrayed multiple times. However, synoptic narrative causes the sequence of events to be more unclear which makes it difficult for those unfamiliar with the

11) Elizabeth Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas: Representation of Sacred Geography* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), p. 15; Victor Mair, *Painting and Performance: Chinese Picture Recitation and Its Indian Genesis* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), p. 1.

12) Vidya Dehejia, "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist art," *The Art Bulletin* vol. 72, no. 3 (1990), p. 386.

story to decipher the picture.¹³⁾ *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* illustrates multiple scenes within a single visual field and characters appear multiple times, which further contribute to the complex scenery sequence. The family of King Sala's efforts to gain salvation is portrayed in this painting and their eventual reward in becoming the Amitabha Triad is represented in the concluding scene.

Concerning the Chosŏn Dynasty's 'Confucian male-dominated' status system which tended to regard Buddhism as public heresy and restricting women's field of activity to the utmost,¹⁴⁾ this particular scroll painting could have been deciphered as an unexpected visual outcome. It openly uses traditional Korean characters as a tool for pictorial narration at a time when adapting Chinese characters was common. Throughout the story development instead of directly adapting Buddhist deities, their true identities are discreetly concealed as sacred royal family members. Amongst them, a single female figure named Lady Won-ang (鴛鴦夫人) is interpreted as the main focus of this pictorial narrative. *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* delivers the message of firm belief in following the Buddhist path, as well as adding scenes concerning Lady Won-ang's tragic destiny and sacrifice.

13) Dehejia, "On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist art," p. 382.

14) Peter H. Lee et al., *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization: From Early Times to the Sixteenth Century*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), pp. 642-643.

By merely reading the story, one might detect the didactic message the Buddhist doctrine usually propagates. However, the appearance of this female character highlights questionable issues that might suggest further consideration. Instead of restricting her role as a supplementary character which helps to highlight Prince Sukhāvati's filial conduct, her identity as a devoted wife and a mother may reflect the 'feminine virtues' which reflect the ideal virtues of the Buddhist-Confucian context at the time. Using both textual and visual resources, the first chapter focuses on introducing the narrative story of the Prince Sukhāvati in general terms. For the primary text, this thesis intends to use the Chosŏn Dynasty's indigenous Buddhist sutra *The Moon's Imprint on the Buddha's Genealogy* (月印釋譜, Wŏrin sŏkpo) compiled and edited by King Sejo (世祖) in 1459. In terms of the descriptive and comparative approach this thesis will further discuss the story of Prince Sukhāvati portrayed both within the painting and the primary text. Although the basic storylines do not differ too excessively from one another, there are still several scenes that are added or excluded when the painting and the text are compared together. Along with this comparative discussion another exemplary painting and texts will be shown which share a similar story outline with *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*. *The Foundation Legend of the Kirim Temple* (祇林寺緣起說畫) is the textual evidence which adapts the story of Prince Sukhāvati as the origination legend of a specific religious site.

This legend is later illustrated within *The Painting of the Three Buddhas* (三世佛圖, 1788 C.E) now stored in Kirim Temple(祇林寺)'s Hall of the Vairocana Buddha (大寂光殿). (Figure. 2)¹⁵⁾ Kirim Temple is a religious site in Southern part of the peninsula which has a direct connection with the story of Prince Sukhāvati. Several sources of textual evidences link this temple with the paradisiacal environment. Other than these textual resources, the story of Prince Sukhāvati is also narrated in nineteenth century Korean literature and within these exemplary texts the salvific image of Lady Won-ang also varies. Another important point of discussion is the names of the court ladies as *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati's* Royal patrons. It might be interesting to consider if these ladies participated in any other group patronage of Buddhist artworks apart from *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*.

For the interpretative purposes, the second chapter discusses *The Narrative painting of Prince Sukhāvati* with other visual examples within the tradition of Buddhist art across various East Asian countries. There are certain paintings in which noble ladies are represented and female characters reflect the theme of gaining salvation. Do other Buddhist court ladies portrayed in these

15) Shin Hyunkyeong, "Chosŏnhuki Kirimsa samsepulhwa yŏnku: Kirimsa ch'angkŏn yŏnki sŏlhwariŭl chungsimŭro (The Study of the Painting of the Three Buddhas in Kirim Temple at the Late Chosŏn dynasty period: Focusing on the Foundation Legend of the Kirim Temple)" (MA diss., E-hwa Women's University, 2012), p. 51.

paintings all share a similar story as in the case of Lady Won-ang? How did these female characters find their ways of salvation when faced with an uncompromising dispute? An examination of narrative paintings linked with the Pure Land cult, Queen Vaidehi in the *Visualization Sutra* (觀無量壽經) is chosen as one of the primary characters who underwent various ordeals before gaining her final peace in Amitabha's realm. The discussion will extend to the problem of these Buddhist narrative paintings' practical uses, suggesting if they were adapted as tools for storytelling and proselytizing lay audiences. In terms of these religious narrative performances and using appropriate images and words, this chapter delves into how *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* was viewed or applied by the court ladies at the time of its production¹⁶⁾ and the *Painting of the Prefatory Part of Amitayur-dhyana-sutra* (觀經序分變相圖) from the Goryeo Dynasty will be examined for a general comparison. (Figure. 3)

In the Chapter Three, the research question focuses on defining the identity of Lady Won-ang in relation to secondary visual images and the Buddhist stories. Other than being interpreted as a faithful woman, in the various versions of the Prince Sukhāvati story she is also interpreted as the deification of

16) Lee Soyoung, "Art and Patronage in Early Joseon," in *Art of the Korean Renaissance 1400-1600*, with essays by Jahyun Kim Haboush, Sunpyo Hong, and Chinsung Chang, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 36-39. Lee Soyoung remarked the painting emphasizes on storytelling which includes plot, drama, characters, and movement in space rather than conveying a simple, static representation.

the Buddhist Goddess, the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin (觀音菩薩). There are several examples where the Buddhist deity underwent an indigenous feminine manifestation, being venerated by her followers within the Buddhist tradition of East Asian countries. However, Lady Won-ang was not a prominent religious icon widely known in Korean Buddhist art. Even so, the texts repeatedly record this female figure as the manifestation of Kuan-yin, evidently trying to relate the merciful Bodhisattva with the image of motherhood. Within other studies that try to define the identity of Lady Won-ang, some even suggest it has a certain relation with Korea's Shamanistic influence. In this respect, Lady Won-ang could be interpreted as someone whose sacred identity is veiled by her mundane character in the Buddhist legend.

The story of the Prince Sukhāvati could have influenced the female members of the Chosŏn Dynasty to a certain degree. The representation of salvific images in religious art might have worked as a promotional agent in propagating new Buddhist iconography as well as introducing idealized feminine symbols. Additionally, through the story's relation with the Amitabha cult one could raise the question of the possibility of women's salvation and their hope of gaining enlightenment after death. A painting with a certain moving story with feminine characters making an appearance could have helped to edify viewers who would have been mostly women residing in the court's inner chambers. While looking at this particular piece of painting, their

expectation to be greeted by the sacred might have been a hidden desire and silent consolation held deeply in their hearts. Identifying and analyzing such topics has been rarely studied in the field of Korean Buddhist art, which offers a chance to investigate the subject from an interdisciplinary perspective.

I. Deconstructing the Story

1. The Story

In 1576 during the Chosŏn Dynasty, two Buddhist nuns (比丘尼) asked for royal permission to restore a damaged Buddhist painting. This vertical scroll painting had been worn out through the passage of time, its once luminous colors had faded and original forms could hardly be retraced properly.¹⁷⁾ After the restoration plan was accepted, it is said that the painting was transformed into another magnificent work of art. The painting record (畫記) follows:

萬曆四年丙子六月日 比丘尼慧因慧月等見沙羅樹舊幀 多歷炎冷 塵昏蠹食丹艸漫滅 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 卦諸金壁之上 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 其願力之化深 誠意之懇至 嗚呼至哉 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 無災無障 壽命無窮 金氏業加氏保體 災如春雪 福似夏雲 權氏 墨石氏保體 壽基益固 福海增清 各各隨喜因緣等 俱崇福慧 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。

17) Gang Soyeon, *Ilhŏpŏrin munhwayusanŭl ch'ajaso* (*Locating the Lost Cultural Heritage*), (Seoul: Buen Libro Publishing, 2011), pp. 34-38.

In the fourth year of The Wanli Emperor (萬曆)¹⁸, in the month of June, when the Buddhist nuns Hyein (慧因) and Hyewol (慧月) looked at the old Sa-ra-su painting (Sarasutaeng, 沙羅樹幀)¹⁹ the picture had been splotted through changes in weather with dust as well as being moth-eaten so badly its deep-cinnabar colors all deteriorated, the forms became faint which made it difficult to trace the shapes properly. Whoever saw the picture felt pity in their hearts. The two Buddhist nuns asked for patronage to the Royal Palace, and after collecting some fortune they asked a skilled painter to restore the painting. They restored the painting before hanging it over the sacred wall (金壁)²⁰. Its representation reflected solemnity, the brilliancy magnified a hundred fold. By the glimpse of the painting people reached toward enlightenment and raised a vow to Bodhicitta (菩提心), letting them instill virtuous merit along with sentient beings. The aspiring edification is ever more deepened; the earnest sincerity reaches out to the extreme. Oh, what an exceeding devotion! Because of this utmost benevolence the Royal Highness (King Seonjo) and the Royal Queen Consort (懿仁王后) would practice

18) This period matches to Chosŏn dynasty's 14th King Seonjo (宣祖)'s 9th reigning year (1576).

19) This indicates the Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati.

20) The Royal Palace.

the heavenly virtue and Queen Dowager Gongüi (恭懿王大妃)'s sacred life would be heightened to that of a mountain, her merciful heart widened as far as the sea, thus saving the world according to her wish, delivering the sentient beings from delusion guided by her own will. Her Ladyship Deokbin (德嬪)'s lifespan will be never-ending, the reward of virtue would also be immeasurable. Her Ladyship Hyebin (惠嬪 鄭氏)'s sacred body will be safe from disaster and hindrance, her life will be stretched to eternity. Kim (金氏) and Eopga (業加氏) will preserve their bodies, any calamities would be vanished into thin air thus fortunes would be revived as that of the sweet summer clouds. Gwon (權氏) and Mukseok (墨石氏) will also preserve their bodies, the foundation of long life would be firmly established, the good fortune which resembles that of the sea would become even more immaculate. Needless to say, that each one of them will follow their own happiness, revere the virtue and wisdom and privilege of tranquility. Oh, what magnificence. In the same year in the early month of July, the Grhapati Daesong (對松居士) wrote in deep reverence."²¹⁾

21) I have used the Korean references when translating the above painting record into English. Gang Soyeon, Jeong Jaeyoung and Hong Yunpyo's writings were the resources which have been mostly useful. Gang Soyeon, *Ilhōpōrin munhwayusanül ch'ajaso*, pp. 34-38; Jeong Jaeyong, "Anragkug t'aechachōn pyōnsangto (The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati)," *Munhōnkwa Haesōg*

Through the painting's record we are able to understand to whom the picture was dedicated and by whom its restoration project was initiated and undertaken. It lists several royal titles and the Chosŏn Dynasty's 14th monarch King Seonjo (宣祖) and his Queen Consort Ŭiyin (懿仁王后) were the main subjects for this sacred dedication. There are also other female royal members of the inner palace mentioned in the record. The Queen Dowager Gongŭi (恭懿王大妃) was once the Queen Consort of the 12th monarch King Yinjong (仁宗) who was only to pass away after his short period of reign. Her Ladyship Hyebin (惠嬪 鄭氏) was the Royal Concubine to King Yinjong. Her Ladyship Deokbin (德嬪 尹氏) was the daughter-in-law of the 13th monarch King Myeongjong (明宗).²²⁾ Amongst the court ladies' names stated in the painting record, Deokbin was one of the prominent figures who had closer connection with Buddhism. At the age of 10 she was betrothed to King Myeongjong's Crown Prince Sunhoe (順懷世子), only to be widowed a year later because of the Crown Prince's sudden death. The young Crown Princess still remained at the palace's inner chamber and she offered numerous Buddhist services for her poor husband's departed soul until her death in 1592. Even after death Deokbin's destiny could not become less

vol. 2 (1998), pp. 157-160; "Anragkug t'aechachŏn pyŏnsangto (The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati)," *Hangul Story*, 2011, <http://news.korean.go.kr/online/see/hangulstory/hangulstory.jsp?idx=16&>.

22) About the exact genealogy line of these Chosŏn dynasty's royal members please refer to the Appendix 1.

unfortunate, for the Japanese invasion of Korea broke a month after her death and busy with preparing the evacuation plan the Royal family could not carry out Deokbin's funerary service. As for the temporary funeral, Deokbin's coffin was buried within the palace domain but even that was brutally blazed to ashes by the invasion army forces.²³⁾

Exactly 10 years after patronizing this piece of narrative painting, Her Ladyship Deokbin as well as including other female royal members supported the expense in producing a seated wooden Amitabha sculpture which is now enshrined in Bong-am Temple (鳳巖寺), Mungyeong, in 1586. (Figure. 4) In 2012 the Korean Cultural Foundation examined the sculpture's inner relics (腹臙物), found a piece of invocation which states the above Royal members' titles. (Figure 5) Including the dates, the invocation clearly mentions to whom the sculpture's production was dedicated and identifies even the names of its sculptors. As mentioned above in the painting's record, within the contents of the invocation too, it prays for all the Royal members' longevity.²⁴⁾ It is interesting that during the reign of King Seōnjo there had been several instances of Royal patronage of Buddhist art under the names of the same consorts and concubines. It is

23) *Seonjo suchōng silrog* (宣祖修整實錄, *The Modified Annals of the Chosōn Dynasty, Seōnjo*), vol. 26 (1592, Mar. 3rd).

24) *Hankugūi sach'al munhwachae* (*Research Report: Buddhist Relics in Gyeongsang bukdo Province II*), eds. Cultural Heritage Administration and Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage, (Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration and Research Institute of Buddhist Cultural Heritage, 2008), pp. 408-409.

Her Ladyship Deokbin and Queen Ŭiyin whose names appear both in the painting record as well as in the sculpture's invocation. Because Deokbin was widowed when she was still very young, it is said that many members of the Royal family took pity on her and in response to Deokbin's enlightened heart this piece of wooden sculpture was dedicated to her.²⁵⁾ Other than in the wooden sculpture of Amitabha Buddha and *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*, Deokbin's name also appears in *The painting of the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva* which was once enshrined in Korea's Jagungjeong Temple(慈宮淨社地藏菩薩圖). (Figure. 6) According to the painting's record this picture was completed between 1575-1577. The record gives information that this piece of painting was patronized by one of the palace ladies and the Buddhist nun, in praying for the repose of the deceased Queen Insun (仁順王后) as well as wishing the long life span of the Royal couple and Her Ladyship Deokbin. (Figure. 7)²⁶⁾

Within the painting record there are other unidentifiable names such as Kim (金), Eopga (業加), Gwon (權) and Mukseok (墨石). It is quite unclear to whom these names are referring to. It might be suggestible that they were palace maids who served

25) "The Statue of the Buddha dedicated to Her Ladyship Deok-bin: the Seated wooden Amitabha Statue in Bong-am Temple," Mungyeong City Hall, 2012, <http://www.gbmg.go.kr/open.content/ko/introduction/news/press/?i=19789>

26) Nishiue Minoru, "Jizōhongankyōhensōzu (The Narrative Painting of the Sutra of the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva's Original Vow in Chion-in)," *Gakusou* vol. 5 (1983), pp. 129-134. Nishiue Minoru however, misinterpreted Deokbin's name as one of King Seonjo's royal concubines, Her Ladyship Inbin (仁嬪 金氏).

the court ladies mentioned at the above during the painting's restoration. However, it is also possible that they donated some fortunes for restoring the painting along with other Royal family members. Some others suggested these unusual names belonged to those of the commoner donors who were related with a palatial Buddhist cloister.²⁷⁾ The Buddhist nuns' name Hyein (慧因) and Hyewol (慧月) on the other hand, are even more difficult to be found in any other historical records. It is unpredictable whether they belonged to the Buddhist Temples within the Palace domain or the Buddhist nuns whose residence belonged to the outside. Even if they were from the Royal Buddhist institution it is still difficult to retrace their identities. Because they asked for Royal permission to restore the old painting, their status as religious figures might not have been too low in rank.²⁸⁾ In some cases, the Royal concubines decided to enter the Buddhist order

27) It is convincing to suggest that they could have been the closer relatives of the Buddhist nuns mentioned in the painting's record or even their parents. In her Ph. D thesis Choe Kyoungwon mentioned these unidentified names could be deciphered as Kim Eopga and Gwon Mukseok, suggesting their names give a strong Buddhist nuance. Choe Kyeong-won, "Marginalized yet Devoted : Buddhist Paintings Commissioned by Nuns of the Early Joseon Palace Cloisters" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2011), p. 165. In the *Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, Eopga and Mukseok appear as someone's first name. During the reign of King Seon-jo their names and related incidents are recorded several times, yet the names in these historical records are connected with the judicial administration or ethical issues risen at the time rather than associated with the Royal family members. *Seonjo sillog* (宣祖實錄, *The Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty, Seonjo*), vol. 43 (1593, Oct. 29th); *Seonjo sillog* (宣祖實錄, *The Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty, Seonjo*), vol. 118 (1599, Oct. 3rd).

28) Kim Jeonghee, *Pulhwa: Ch'anranhan pulkyo misulŭi sekye* (Korean Buddhist Painting: The World of Iridescent Buddhist Art), (Seoul: Dolbegae, 2009), p. 361.

when their late king passed away and such records do appear in the *The Annals of the Chosŏn Dyansty*.²⁹⁾ However, it was not one of the hospitable events to take place in the palace for the Korean Confucianists strongly detested women entering the Buddhist order and it is still problematic to suggest these two Buddhist nuns as former Royal concubines of the time.³⁰⁾

At the court of the Chosŏn Dyansty, palace women not only participated in the daily and ritual life of the court but also produced objects which can be a personal memoir that reflected the individual hand of their creator or religious objects commissioned by the women themselves. Jahyun Kim Harboush remarked that women who were involved in the Chosŏn royal family produced new genres of writing that added to the scriptural and material culture of the society at the time. They are works which attest to the power of the court and such productions were carefully interrelated with the identity and role of the palace women as guardians of the court.³¹⁾ However, in

29) *Sejong sillog* (世宗實錄, *The Annals of the Chosŏn Dyansty, Sejong*), vol. 16 (1422, May. 20th).

30) To know more about the Chosŏn dynasty's Royal women and their fervent practice in Buddhism, please refer to the following paper: Yu Wondong, "Chosŏn chŏnkiŭi pulkyowa yŏsŏng (The Buddhism and Women in the Early Chosŏn Dynasty)," *Asea yŏsŏngyŏnku* vol. 6 (1968), pp. 25-58; Lee Giun, "Chosŏnsitae wangsilŭi pikuniwŏn sŏlch'iwa sinhaeng (The Establishment of the Temples for Buddhist nuns and their religious activities in Chosŏn Dynasty's Royal Court)," *Yŏgsa hagpo* 178 (2003), pp. 29-58.

31) Jahyun Kim Harboush, "The Vanished Women of Korea: The Anonymity of Texts and the Historicity of Subjects," in *Servants of the Dyansty: Palace Women in World History*, ed. Anne Walthall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), pp. 281-284.

terms of the religious materials the palace women of Chosŏn society were being more than the 'guardians of the court.' Their hope of safe rebirth in Amitabha's Pure Land and wishing the wellbeing of the Royal court were reflected in several Buddhist paintings patronized by these palace ladies. They could have been the 'guardians of the court,' but at the same time they also yearned to become the subjects to be 'guarded' by the sacred beings of the Buddhist realm.

The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati tells a Buddhist legendary story which is transmitted throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty. The same story is recorded in various historical documents and other legendary texts. The earliest text version was recorded in Korea's indigenous Buddhist Sutra, *The Moon's Imprint on the Buddha's Genealogy* (月印釋譜, Wŏrin sŏkbo) which was compiled and edited by the seventh monarch of the Chosŏn Dynasty's King Sejo (世祖) in 1459.³²⁾ The story of Prince Sukhāvati is recorded in Volume 8 of the Sutra's, from Verse 220

32) Gamata Shigeo, *Hankug pulkyosa (The Buddhist History of Korea)*, trans., Shin Hyunsuk (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1987), p. 196. *The Moon's Imprint on the Buddha's Genealogy* is the Korean Buddhist Sutra which is the compiled text of *Sŏgpo sangchŏl* (釋譜詳節, *The Selected Stories of Eight Aspects of Buddha's Life*, 1447) and *Wŏrin ch'ŏnkang chikŏg* (月印千江之曲, *The Songs of the Moon's Imprint on a Thousand Rivers*, 1447). When the Queen Consort Soheon (昭憲王后) died in 1446, her second son Prince Suyang (首陽大君) published *The Selected Stories of Eight Aspects of Buddha's Life* to pray for the repose of his mother's soul. When Prince Suyang's father, King Se-jong (世宗) read this text, he further wrote the commemorative songs which was *The Songs of the Moon's Imprint on a Thousand Rivers*. After the Prince Suyang succeeded to the throne and became the King Sejo (世祖), he published *The Moon's Imprint on the Buddha's Genealogy* in 1459 which combined the above two texts together.

to Verse 250 in the poetic structure. After the Verse 250 the whole story is repeated again in the section of the detailed account (詳節部). Around 18th-19th century the same story went through the process of becoming one of Korea's narrative literatures, entitled *The Story of Prince Sukhāvati* (安樂國傳, Kor. Anrakgukjeon). Apart from these two texts there are other versions of Prince Sukhāvati story, yet the one which is represented in the narrative scroll painting mostly adapted the narration extracted from the *Buddha's Genealogy*. The painting's summarized story goes³³:

In the Kingdom of Brahman (梵摩羅國), Saint Gwang-yu (光有聖人) at the Yim-jeong Temple(林淨寺) asked his disciple monk to go to the Western India (西天國) to visit the King Sala (娑羅樹王)'s kingdom,³⁴ and collect the eight attendants who could be of help carrying water for preparing tea. When the monk

33) Gang Soyeon, *Ilhōpōrin munhwayusanil ch'ajasō*, pp. 34-38; Gumagai Nobuo, "Seizan Bunkozō Anrakukokutaishikyōhensō (The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati in Seizan Bunko)," *Kimchaewōn pagsa hoekab kinyōm nonch'ong (The Collective Writings of the 60th Anniversary Commemoration for Dr. Kim Jae-won)*, (Seoul: Eul-yu Publisher, 1969), pp. 1069-1079.

34) In *Lotus Sūtras* Chapter 27, King Sala's name (娑羅樹王佛, or Śalendrarāja in Sanskrit) also appears and his virtuous deeds are praised which will eventually make him into a Buddha. *Myōpōb-yōnhwakyōng (妙法蓮華經, The Lotus Sūtra)*, "Myochangōm-posalp'um (妙莊嚴菩薩品, The Ancient Accounts of King Śubhavyūha)," **T. 262: 9, 60b20-60b27**. 時雲雷音宿王華智佛告四衆言。汝等見是妙莊嚴王於我前合掌立不。此王於我法中作比丘。精勤修習助佛道法。當得作佛。號娑羅樹王。國名大光。劫名大高王。其娑羅樹王佛。有無量菩薩衆。及無量聲聞。其國平正功德如是。其王卽時以國付弟。與夫人二子并諸眷屬。於佛法中出家修道。

arrived at the Royal Palace of King Sala, the King willingly offered his eight palace maidens to be of the Saint's service. (Figure. 1-1) However, for the second time the saint again asks the King to personally attend the service at the Kingdom of Brahman. Thereby the King gave up all his earthly comforts and began the journey to the palace where the Saint resides. At the beginning of this journey the King's Queen Consort Lady Won-ang (鴛鴦夫人) also decides to follow her husband's Buddhist path. (Figure. 1-2)

Not long afterwards the pregnant Lady Won-ang could not make it through the hard journey, and was soon struck with illness. Afraid of becoming a burden to her husband's awaiting future, she asks to be sold as a servant and donates the money for the Buddhist alms. (Figure. 1-3) When they arrived at the house of a wealthy man named Ja-hyeon (子賢長者), Lady Won-ang and the unborn baby were sold for the amounts of 2,000 pieces of gold. (Figure. 1-4) The King advises Lady Won-ang to name the unborn child 'Sukhāvati' and in return the Lady teaches her husband the Buddhist verses of Pure Land (往生偈, Kor. Wang-saeng-ge). (Figure. 1-5)

Having experienced life as a Queen, Lady Won-ang's life met unexpected difficulties and she suffered innumerable mistreatment while living as a servant.

After seven years, Lady Won-ang's son, Prince Sukhāvati escaped his master's household and discovered his missing father, King Sala. When the boy heads toward the Yim-jeong Temple, he came across the eight maidens who were former court ladies of King Sala. (Figure. 1-6) They inform the prince of the king's whereabouts and soon afterward the father recognizes his son from hearing the Buddhist verses of Pure Land sang by the prince himself. (Figure. 1-7) The king soon found out the boy left alone with his mother, Lady Won-ang, behind the wealthy man's house and urges the prince to go back and take good care of her.

However, just before the prince arrived at the master's house, he hears a shepherd boy singing a song: "After your father went missing you went thousand miles away, yet when you came back, your loving mother is nowhere to be found. What a pitiful life you have, lonely Sukhāvati." (Figure. 1-8) Alarmed at the shepherd's song, the prince discovers his escape had aroused the master's anger and Lady Won-ang instead received the ultimate punishment which was being cut into three pieces. (Figure. 1-9) Her corpse was then trashed under a bo tree (菩提樹). Struck with grief, the prince collected the pieces of Lady Won-ang's body, and then rearranged each piece back together. The heart-stricken Sukhāvati

kneeled in prayer to the Amitabha Buddha, wishing his mother's soul to be reborn in the Western Pure Land. Riding on the Salvific Dragon Boat (接引龍船) the Amitabha Buddha himself then came to greet Prince Sukhāvati who acknowledged Prince's filial duty. At this last scene, Lady Won-ang miraculously regained her original self and an overjoyed Prince Sukhāvati rode on the Salvific Dragon Boat with his mother, headed to their final destination - Amitabha's Western Pure Land. (Figure. 1-10)³⁵⁾

The vertical scroll painting of the Prince Sukhāvati's story thus ends. On the painting surface, this complex narrative story is divided into 25 different sceneries, and each scene has the description written in delicate chrysograph. Except the painting record which is in the uppermost space, the entire descriptions of the sceneries' are written in traditional Korean characters (Hangeul). During 16th century Chosŏn Dynasty, the common transcription method was to use both Chinese and Korean characters simultaneously or to use the Korean alphabet to mark the sound of Sino-Korean characters. In the context of the Buddhist documents, they usually adapted both Chinese-Hangeul characters which made it easier for commoners to read or understand the meaning of these challenging religious texts.³⁶⁾

35) For the English translation of the original text and the Narrative Painting, please refer to Appendix 2 and 3 at the end of the thesis.

This piece of narrative scroll painting shows the most unconventional aspect by mainly using Hangeul characters. The story of Prince Sukhāvati is included in Volume 8 of the *Buddha's Genealogy*³⁷⁾ but no one can specifically state since when and by whom the story of Prince Sukhāvati was written. It is unclear from which source King Sejo extracted this story except Korean scholars mentioned that the king directed the Sutra's compilation in order to pray for the safe rebirth of both his parents (King Sejong and Queen Consort Soheon) in heaven and his eldest son Prince Crown Ŭigyeong (懿敬世子) who suffered an untimely death at the age of 20.³⁸⁾

Several scholars have undertaken a picture analysis of *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*. Of these, Gumagai Nobuo (熊谷宣夫) and Hong Yunpyo's analysis usually emerge as

36) "Anragkug t'aechachŏn pyŏnsangto."

37) Gumagai, "Seizan Bunkozō Anrakukokutaishikyōhensō," p. 1079.

38) Sa Jaedong, "Anragkug-t'aechachŏn-yŏnku (The Study on the Sutra of Prince Sukhvati)," *Ŏmun yŏnku* vol. 5 (1967), p. 101. The existing wood-block printed book of the *Buddha's Genealogy* is presumed to be re-published around the year 1572. The volume 8 was binded together with the volume 7 and published into a single book. On the book's preface it records the designation era 'Yunggyeong (隆慶), Year 6' which matches with the year 1572. It should be noticed that between 'Gajeong (嘉靖, 1522-1566)' and 'Yunggyeong (隆慶, 1567-1572)' era, the Korean zen Buddhist Bou (普雨禪師) and his followers actively took the revival campaign of Buddhism in Chosŏn dynasty. During this religious campaign the Buddhist temples of Korea reissued the volumes of the *Buddha's Genealogy*; thus 1572 edition could be included as one of the books published at the time. The *Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati's* production year is recorded as Year 1576. Even though it is a presumed supposition, those who participated in producing this piece of scroll painting could have been aware of the 1572 edition of the *Buddha's Genealogy* and possibly used its textual support when the painting's restoration work was proceeded.

representative examples when discussing this Buddhist painting. (Figure. 8 and Figure. 9) When comparing these two picture analyses however, there are several distinctions that can be pointed out. In Gumagai's analyses, he adds Scene 1 and Scene 1a as the beginning of the picture where the horizontal writings indicate Saint Gwang-yu and King Sala's residences.³⁹⁾ Perhaps this order could have followed Verse 220 of *The Buddha's Genealogy*, which introduces the characters' individual dwellings at the very beginning of the story. Gumagai further defines the scene where the disciple monk sent by Saint Gwang-yu asks for palace ladies as fitting into the second narrative order.⁴⁰⁾ In Hong Yunpyo's analysis the same scene is defined as the beginning of the story. To put it simply, the former's interpretation precedes a scene of the latter's. These two analyses further show the contrasting sequences of the narrative painting. For example, in analyzing the scene where the Lady Won-ang fell ill and decides to sell herself to the wealthy man's servant, the narrative order of both scholars show contrasting results. Hong Yunpyo's case follows the narrative order from *The Buddha's Genealogy* (Figure. 10), whereas Gumagai's case is out of sequence in a complex zig-zag composition. (Figure. 11) Another contrast appears to occur in the painting's concluding scenes where the Prince attempts escape and finds his longing father. In Hong Yunpyo's

39) Gumagai, "Seizan Bunkozō Anrakukokutaishikyōhensō," p. 1069.

40) Ibid.

interpretation, after Prince Sukhāvati was captured by the wealthy man's servant, the boy succeeds in his second escape and is finally able to unite with his father, King Sala. (Figure. 12) On the other hand, Gumagai misinterpreted the Prince's homecoming from King Sala as the Prince falls captive, following the wealthy man's pursuit. (Figure. 13)⁴¹⁾ In *The Buddha's Genealogy* Prince Sukhāvati's only successful escape is described in Verse 239 and in the repeated story after Verse 250 the Prince is described as attempting the escape on two occasions. In all aspects, Hong Yunpyo's analysis seems to offer a more systematic approach and is less perplexing for contemporary onlookers when following the pictorial order.

As already mentioned, *The Buddha's Genealogy* is dated as the earliest existing document that narrates the story of Prince Sukhāvati. By the 19th century, the same story is developed in Korean literature, which is titled as *The Story of Sukhāvati* (安樂國傳). Here, the characters are revealed as more secularized images who are willing to show their humanistic emotions and ways of discerning between good and evil is clearly reinforced throughout the whole story.⁴²⁾ For example, the wealthy master appears to be a villain who only indulges in carnal desire and tries to satisfy that lust through the helpless Lady Won-ang. When the Lady

41) Gumagai, "Seizan Bunkozō Anrakukokutaishikyōhensō," p. 1075.

42) Jo Hyunwoo, "Anragkugchōnūi t'ongsogsōng yōnku (The Study on the Popular Nature of Anragkugchōn)," *Hankug munhag ironkwa pip'yōng* vol. 32 (2006), pp. 172-176.

strongly rejects the master's lustful demands, he tries every possible ways to persecute both the Lady and her son Prince Sukhāvati.⁴³⁾ There are also other secondary characters who offer supports to the Lady and the Prince, such as the celestial nymphs (仙女), the white-haired elderly man (白髮老翁) and the child servant sent from heaven (天童). These incidental characters in the story of Prince Sukhāvati suggest a strong influence from Taoism (道教) which offers an altered impression of the Buddhist characters to a certain degree.⁴⁴⁾ Moreover, in *The Buddha's Genealogy* the Buddhist belief of *samsara* is propagated by revealing the true identities of mundane characters' such as Amitabha Triad and Śākyamuni, whereas in *The Story of Sukhāvati*, the characters 'instantly achieve' their status of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.⁴⁵⁾ In other words, the latter's case

43) *Idid.*, p. 177.

44) *Ibid.*, p. 181. *Anragkugchön (The Story of Sukhāvati)*, eds. Kim Gidong and Jeon Yutae, (Seoul: Seomundang, 1984), pp. 25-29. (長者가) 모시 닷 동 계추리 닷 동 배 닷 동 열닷 동을 내주며 “五日 내로 織造하여 들이라. 못 마치면 依託하지 못하리라”하니, 鴛鴦夫人은 우두커니 받아가지고 처소로 돌아와 놓고 탄식하고 우노라니, 난데없는 仙女 들어와 夫人께 읊하고... 모시와 계 배추리를 매는 듯 짜는 듯 일시에 疋을 지어 三日 내 바치니, 長者가 신기히 여기더라... 세월 如流하여 安樂國 나이 十歲라, 長者가 이르되 “二十匹 마소에게 나무하여 싣고 오라. 실수하면 이 자리서 죽이리라” 분부하니, 顛之倒之한 安樂國 深山窮谷으로 들어가 애통해하더니, 난데없는 童子들 나타나 나무를 베고 묶더니 마소 수대로 실어 놓고 간데 없어지더라.

45) *Wōrin sōkpo (月印釋普, The Moon's Imprint on the Buddha's Genealogy)*, ed. King Sejong the Great Memorial Society, vol. 7, 8 (1993), 其248-其250; *Anragkugchön*, p. 34. In the *Buddha's Genealogy* the last scene reads: "Saint Gwang-yu is the present Śākyamuni Buddha, King sala is the present Amitabha Buddha, Lady Won-ang is the present Bodhisattva Kuan-yin, Prince Sukhāvati is the Present Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta, the disciple monk is the present Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and the Eight palace maids are the present Eight

openly teaches a moral lesson of gaining rewards which are followed by practicing good deeds as well as giving the impression of a happy ending for the family. However in the former's case, the doctrine of gaining Buddhist salvation and achieving sacred status through the cycle of *samsara* is proselytized.⁴⁶⁾

2. The Duplicated Image

The story of Prince Sukhāvati has been transmitted with other various versions of texts and songs throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty. Its imitated image is currently handed down in the name of *The Buddhist Painting of King Sala in Kirim Temple* (祈林寺紗羅樹王幀). (Figure. 14) The painting is known to be produced around 1788 which forms the lower part in *The Painting of the Three Buddhas* (三世佛畫). (Figure. 2)⁴⁷⁾ It reveals the Kirim

Maha-Bodhisattvas." However, in *The Story of Sukhāvati*, the same last scenery is described in a even more detailed way: "The revived Lady Won-ang and her son Prince Sukhāvati boarded on the ship with the help of the Eight palace maids and when finally landed in the realm where the Śākyamuni Buddha resides, the already awaiting King Sala greeted both his wife and son. Admiring at the royal family's willingness towards achieving Buddhist salvation, Śākyamuni instantly decides to make the King Sala as the Amitabha Buddha, Lady Won-ang as the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin, his disciple monk as the Bodhisattva Maitreya, Prince Sukhāvati as the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta, and the Eight Palace maids the Eight Vajras(八金剛). Note on the slight difference in the sacred identities of the disciple monk and the Eight Palace maids.

46) Jo Hyunwoo, "Anragkugchŏnŭi t'ongsogsŏng yŏnku," pp. 186-188.

47) *Hankugŭi pulhwa (The Buddhist Painting of Korea)*, ed. Buddhist Cultural

Temple's origination legend (祈林寺創建緣起說話) in a long horizontal picture composition. The picture was once enshrined in Kirim Temple's Hall of the Medicine Buddha (藥師殿), now stored in the Museum of Dongguk University, and at present its copied version is enshrined in Kirim Temple's Hall of the Vairocana Buddha (大寂光殿). In this Buddhist painting, not only the Temple's origination legend was portrayed but the picture itself mostly adapted the story contents of the Prince Sukhāvati, reconstructing the history of the specific religious site as that of the Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land.⁴⁸⁾

The origination legend of Kirim Temple was written around the 18th century and there are several transmitted versions of this temple record.⁴⁹⁾ Of these, the most quoted and explained in relation to the story of Prince Sukhāvati is *The Building Record of the Kirim Temple* (祈林寺重創記) compiled by the Korean Buddhist monk Hye chong (慧聰) in 1705 and *The Record of Kirim Temple in Silla Mountain Hamwŏl* (新羅含月山祈林寺事蹟) which was

Properties Research Institute, vol. 18 (Yangsan: Buddhist Cultural Properties Research Institute, 1999), p. 186.

48) Heo Sangho, "Chosŏnhuki kirimsa sarasuwangt'aeng tosangko (A Study on the Iconography of Sarasuwangtaeng of Kirimsa in the Late Joseon Dynasty)," *Tonggag-misulsahag* vol. 7 (2006), p. 307.

49) Oh Daehyuk, "Pulkyo munhagŭi hwansangsŏngkwa sach'al yŏnki sŏlhwa (Maya(巫) in the Buddhist Literature and the Legends about the Temple of Korea)," *Pulkyo ōmun nonchib* vol. 9 (2004), p. 20. In Korea, there are numerous origination legends of Buddhist Temples and most of them are included in *Samkug yusa* (三國遺事, *The Heritage of Three States*). The historical records of Kirim Temple is also included in *The Heritage of Three States*, however it only suggests fragmentary information of the temple and the mentioning of Prince Sukhāvati does not appear at all.

compiled by the monk Bul hye (不慧) in 1740. Both temple records transformed Prince Sukhāvati's story's summary into the Kirim Temple's foundation legend.⁵⁰⁾ It is unclear whether the authors of this temple legend were aware of the contents from *The Buddha's Genealogy*. As a result of the similarity between Prince Sukhāvati's story and the Kirim Temple records, some experts do prefigure that copies of *The Buddha's Genealogy* might have once existed in Kirim Temple, thereby the monks used this text as a basic resource when creating the foundation legend of the temple.⁵¹⁾ It is also possible that the Kirim Temple legend was not the story which originated from the actual site, but more likely being a fictive tale cited from one of the ancient records (古記).⁵²⁾ Especially, *The Building Record of the Kirim Temple* explains in detail that the temple itself was found by Saint Gwang-yu and the family of King Sala later came to this place in order to follow the Buddhist path.⁵³⁾ *The Record of Kirim Temple*

50) Shin Hyunkyong, "Chosŏnhuki Kirimsa samsepulhwa yŏnku," pp. 24-25.

51) Heo Sangho, "Chosŏnhuki Kirimsa sarasuwangt'aeng tosangko," pp. 306-307. It is also suggested that this piece of painting was an imitated copy from the other picture that could have been existed around the mid-17th century in Kirim Temple's Hall of the Medicine Buddha.

52) Sa Jaedong, "Anragkug t'aechachŏne taehayŏ (On Matters of the Sutra of Prince Anlakkuk)," *Kugŏ kugmunhag* vol. 91 (1984), pp. 332-333.

53) Hye chong (慧聰), *Kirimsa chungch'angki* (祈林寺重創記, *The Building Record of the Kirim Temple*), 1705. 梵摩羅國光有聖人 自西以來往此山, 創一精藍各曰林井是謂大梵家, 而建植優曇花外鑿五種水花竹相映影落金池, 彷彿安養界也。西天國沙羅大王捨其寶位率其妃子而赤來 于此雜草培化 功成道貞而受 彌陀觀音勢至尊容 人傳羅王之應身 若西方之遺蹟金堂三佛是也…。 *Chŏnt'ong sach'alch'ongsŏ* (*The Series of Traditional Buddhist Temples of Korea*), ed. The Buddhist Temple and Culture Institute, vol. 15 (Seoul: The Buddhist Temple and Culture Institute, 2000), pp.

in *Silla Mountain Hamwöl* notes that the temple was established in 643 C.E. but does not specifically mention the name of the founder. Rather, it tells the story of Prince Sukhāvati as the temple's origination legend.⁵⁴⁾ Apart from the records of Kirim Temple, there are no other explanations of Saint Gwang-yu's exact whereabouts or why he decided to establish this temple. *The Record of Kirim Temple in Silla Mountain Hamwöl* also explains at Mountain Hamwöl there used to be a place named 'Mrgadava (鹿野苑)' where the Saint preached Buddhism to his people.⁵⁵⁾ According to Prince Sukhāvati story Saint Gwang-yu was known as the Śākyamuni Buddha and if Mountain Hamwöl was the place of preaching Buddhist law, it is likely that this sacred site was once understood where Śākyamuni delivered his first discourse. Only this time, the preaching site is not India's Sarnath, but Mountain Hamwöl which is situated in Korea's southern province. Mrgadava was once compared with Jetavana-vihara (祇園精舍) and Jetavana was pronounced as 'Ji-rim (祇林)' in ancient Chinese. Since Ji-rim is used in the same way as the word 'Kirim (祈林),' Korean monks might have adapted this phrase when sacralizing the origination legend of Gi-rim Temple.⁵⁶⁾

99-102.

54) Bul hye (不慧), *Sinra hamwölsan kirinsa sachög* (新羅含月山祈林寺事蹟, *The Record of Kīm Temple in Silla Mountain Hamwöl*), 1740. 新羅第二十七善德大王之十二年癸卯 始創是寺則唐貞觀十七年(643年)也。

55) *Sinra hamwölsan kirinsa sachög*. 山之陽有鹿野苑即光有聖人最初轉經之處也. *Chōnt'ong-sach'al-ch'ongsö*, p. 103.

Other than the previous two records, there is another text entitled, *The Additional Print of Kirim Temple's Historic Record* (別本祈林寺事蹟, specific date unidentified). In this version Kirim Temple is even introduced as the Yimjeong Temple (林井寺) where in the story of Prince Sukhāvati it was the place where Saint Gwang-yu resided.⁵⁷⁾ The text's content itself follows the style of popularized classical literature.⁵⁸⁾ Just in *The Story of Sukhāvati*, *The Additional Print* also adapted exceedingly dramatic events of mother and son when they had to endure hardships in the wealthy man's house. These events are related with the secondary characters such as the celestial people from heaven and their appearance mostly resembles the above-mentioned Taoist images from *The Story of Sukhāvati*.⁵⁹⁾ The origination legends and

56) Oh Daehyuk, "Anragkug t'aechakyōngkwa ikongponp'uliūi chōnsūng kwankye (A Study on the Transmitted Relationship Between the Sutra of Prince Sukhāvati and the Narrative Shamanism)," *Pulkyo ōmun nonchib* vol. 6 (2001), pp. 228-229.

57) Ibid. Oh Daehyuk explains however, that matching Kirim Temple to Saint Gwang-yu's Yimjeong Temple is preposterous. He argues that Yimjeong Temple symbolizes Venuvana (竹林精舍) where the first Buddhist monastery was built for Śākyamuni Buddha by King Bimbisara, and its Korean pronunciation 'Jukrimjeongsa' even reminds the Saint's 'Yimjeong-sa.'

58) Heo Sangho, "Chosōnhuki kirimsa sarasuwangt'aeng tosangko," pp. 309-311; Oh Daehyuk, "Anragkug t'aechakyōngkwa ikongponp'uliūi chōnsūng kwankye," p. 265. Especially in *The Additional Print of Kirim Temple's Historic Record* the tragic ordeals the characters had to go through are described all the more dramatically. Such narrative approach does not appear in the previous Kirim Temple records and it is very likely the *The Additional Print* was influenced by the literaturized version, *The Story of Sukhāvati* 『安樂國傳』.

59) *Hankug sach'al chōnsō* (韓國寺刹全書, *The Collected Works of Buddhist Temples of Korea*), "Pyōlpon kirimsa sachōg (別本祈林寺事蹟, The Additional Print of the Kirim Temple's Historic Record)," ed. Gwon Sangro, vol. 1 (Seoul: Dong-guk

the painting equally relate Kirim Temple with Buddhist paradise, and in so doing participate in the mission of sacralizing the temple itself. In addition to such purpose, through circulating the origination legend it openly encouraged people to take part in Buddhist service, thereby fulfilling virtuous merits as well as playing the role of religious promotion by targeting the public.⁶⁰⁾

While *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* has multiple viewpoints that cause viewers' eyes to move in various directions, *The Buddhist Painting of King Sala in Kirim Temple* has simple horizontal composition scenes which are sequenced from left to right. Compared to the 25 scenes represented in *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*, the *Buddhist Painting of King Sala's* has been reduced to that of the 11 scenes with comments describing each scene. In the picture composition, Saint Gwang-yu's Kingdom of Brahman and King Sala's Royal Palace are situated at extreme opposite sides, visually dividing the two different worlds. (Figure. 14) *The Buddhist Painting of King Sala* focuses on Lady Won-ang and the prince's continuing tribulation,

University Press, 1979), p. 202. 解散當迫, 長者雖有欲犯奸之心, 門亦閉鑰, 輾轉多魔, 不得任意, 不勝忿怒而叱曰, 重直買婢, 豈可空閑, 縱織紡績女奴之所當仰役, 一日一疋, 不爲重役, 如役遲延, 那得生耶。於是, 將五十尺人毛五束, 出給曰, 織造上納。夫人受持歸房, 喊喊向壁, 天女下降, 一夜間織畢, 乘明入納, 無日不止也。… 以鑄鐵陷窞, 待兒六歲, 囚禁穿裡, 使其自枯死矣。兒與母, 各執利石相鑽, 所穿僅得針竅, 夫人壓乳, 流入於陷窞, 飲安樂國而止渴。又持一器食, 置之窞邊, 則無數螻蟻, 各啞啞一粒食, 向窞中而入, 施安樂國, 如有有日, 足以扶生。… 以給九車而噴樵, 安樂國驅乘至山下, 則天人下降, 斫者斫, 束者束, 一時滿載九乘…。

60) Oh Daehyuk, "Anragkug t'aechakyöngkwa ikongpon'uliüi chönsüng kwankye," p. 265.

deliberately making those two characters as the leading protagonists and arousing the viewers' interest throughout the story development.⁶¹⁾ *The Buddhist Painting of King Sala* is the only remaining picture with contents that correspond with *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*. As centuries of time have passed, the story of Prince Sukhāvati developed into Korea's indigenous literature and even the background of the characters, as well as the circumstances are dramatized. Before concluding this chapter, the next part will summarize the overall narrative character of the story of Prince Sukhāvati in relation to the text and analyze the characters' connection to the Amitabha Triad.

3. The Interpretation

When the narrative painting and story from *The Buddha's Genealogy* are compared together, most of the sceneries correspond with each other except for a few minor differences. For example, in the narrative painting when Lady Won-ang fell ill while traveling, she requested to sell herself to the wealthy man's house for the sum of 2,000 pieces of gold. However, in the original text she asks for the amount of 4,000 gold pieces for herself and her unborn baby. In the painting where the prince tried his escape in order to find his father, King Sala, the

61) Heo Sangho, "Chosŏnhuki kirimsa sarasuwangt'aeng tosangko," pp. 316-322.

wealthy man's servant is represented as pursuing the boy on the run. However, in *The Buddha's Genealogy* all these sceneries are omitted, instead the boy gets to see his father in a single successful escape.⁶²⁾

Perhaps the largest difference between the text and the painting is represented at the end of the scene. In the original text's last verse, it reveals the characters' true identity as Śākyamuni (Saint Gwang-yu), Amitabha Buddha (King Sala), Bodhisattva Kuan-yin (Lady Won-ang), Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta (Prince Sukhāvati), Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (the disciple monk) and the eight Maha-Bodhisattvas (eight palace maids). However, in the scroll painting's final scene it only shows the Amitabha Buddha who took the oar in his Dragon Boat with Lady Won-ang and the prince boarded the ship, ready to sail away. (Figure. 1-10) According to the textual interpretation, Amitabha Buddha in the painting must be the manifestation of King Sala. However, both Lady Won-ang and the prince still remain as mundane characters instead of turning themselves into Amitabha's attendant bodhisattvas. Other characters such as Saint Gwang-yu, his disciple monk and the eight palace maids are not

62) *Wōrin sōkpo* 其239. In the *Buddha's Genealogy* when the Prince Sukhāvati story ended in Verse 250, the whole story is repeated again in a much more descriptive approach. Although the general story contents are similar to one another, the scene where the Prince tries his escape is represented as a failure and the cruel punishment (刺字, tattooing the name of the crime on the criminal's face with the sharp tools and ink) also awaits for the poor boy when he is captured by the servant and sent back to the rich master's house. The Prince then tries his second escape which eventually succeeded.

even represented in their Buddhist manifestation in this last scene. It is true that King Sala's family members are the most important characters to be highlighted in this drama. Unlike those mentioned in the original text, the royal family's sacred conversion into Buddhist deities are not wholly performed in this painting. Thus, the secular images of Lady Won-ang and Prince Sukhāvati are untouched and saved for the viewers' appreciation. The Amitabha Buddha riding on the Salvific Dragon Boat was one of the popular images to be depicted within the Pure Land cult. When representing Amitabha Buddha on the Salvific Dragon Boat, the Buddha himself either stands on the ship accompanied by Bodhisattvas and heavenly beings or waiting for the approaching boat with attendant Bodhisattvas. Not long after the reproduction of *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*, another Buddhist painting that represents Amitabha Buddha taking his female devotee in the Salvific Dragon Boat was painted (*The Western Paradise of Amitabha*, 西方九品龍船接引繪圖, 1582).⁶³ (Figure. 15) It was dedicated to Her Ladyship Hye-bin (惠嬪 鄭氏) whose name also appeared in *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*. In this painting, the Amitabha is attended by the eight Bodhisattvas and the single female devotee is escorted by this

63) Choe Kyeongwon, "Chosŏn chŏnki pulhwae poinŭn chŏbinyongsŏn tosangŭi yŏnwŏn (The Iconographic Source of the Salvific Dragon Boat Seen in Buddhist Paintings of the Early Joseon Dynasty, 1392~1592)," *Misulsa yŏnku* 25 (2011), pp. 287-290; Park Eungyeong and Jeong Eunwoo, *Sŏilpon chiyŏg hankugŭi pulsangkwa pulhwa (The Buddhist Sculptures and Paintings of Korea in West Region of Japan)*, (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa, 2008), p. 286.

sacred group. The image of the Salvific Dragon Boat was also illustrated in wooden prints during the 1570's in Chosŏn Dynasty. (Figure. 16) In this example too, the Amitabha is attended by Bodhisattva Kuan-yin and Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta who greet the approaching Dragon Boat with the devotees full on board.⁶⁴⁾

Generally, the story of Prince Sukhāvati is known as one of the Jataka tales of the Amitabha Triad. However, this story does not form as part of the Mahayana Buddhist sutras nor is it categorized as that of the orthodox Buddhist context.⁶⁵⁾ According to Korean language historians, the story of Prince Sukhāvati is interpreted as one of the legendary tales, embodied with sources of narrative literature written for lay Buddhists to propagate the religious belief and virtuous deeds.⁶⁶⁾ It is yet unclear from which textual source the story of Prince Sukhāvati was influenced or originated. Amongst the Pure Land sect's sutras, there is a text entitled *The Collected Writings in Relation to Amitabha's Western Paradise* (安樂集). It was written by the Tang Dynasty's Buddhist monk Dao-chuo (道綽) between 605-649 C.E. The sutra actively propagates the lay people's rebirth in Pure Land by worshipping the Amitabha Buddha as well as encouraging readers to take part

64) Ibid.

65) Sa Jaedong, "Anragkug t'aechachŏne taehayŏ" p. 331. It is even suggested the story of Prince Sukhāvati has the distinct feature that belongs to the fabricated sutra (偽經).

66) Sa Jaedong, "Anragkug t'aechachŏn yŏnku," p. 104; Heo Sangho, "Chosŏnhuki kirimsa sarasuwangt'aeng tosangko," pp. 303-304.

in Buddhist chanting (念佛).⁶⁷⁾ It also divides the concept of rebirth into two categories: gaining enlightenment from the cessation of defilement through individual practice in one's own life time (聖道門), or achieving enlightenment with aid from Amitabha Buddha's power of the original vow (本願力) in the Pure Land (淨土門).⁶⁸⁾ The word 'Anlak (安樂)' meaning 'Amitabha's Western Paradise' or 'Sukhāvātī' is also used as the title of this sutra. It is unclear whether *The Chronological Record* was influenced by this Chinese Pure Land sutra. Yet in the story of Prince Sukhāvātī, the importance of chanting Buddhist verses is also introduced by Lady Won-ang when the royal couple were going through the sorrow of their separation.⁶⁹⁾

Another noticeable element in the story of Prince Sukhāvātī is the revealing of King Sala's family identity as the Amitabha Triad, giving the impression of the Buddhist Jataka tale. The

67) Dao chuo (道綽), *Anragchib* (安樂集, *The Collected Writings in Relation to Amitabha's Western Paradise*), translated by Bo-un (普雲) (Seoul: Hye-an Publisher, 2013), pp. 174-198; Mochizuki Shinko, *Mochizuki butkyō tajiten* (*The Mochizuki Buddhist Dictionary*), vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankou kyokai, 1934), p. 96. Anragchib's fourth chapter('The Importance of Reciting Buddhist Chant') openly propagates receiving numerous merits by carrying out Buddhist chanting. The author describes one of the (probably the largest)benefits from practicing Buddhist chant is to be 'reborn' in the household of the Buddhas.

68) "*The Collected Writings in Relation to Amitabha's Western Paradise*" 2013, ko.wikipedia.org/wiki/안락집

69) *Wōrin sōkpa* 其232-其233. "The Lady asked, "If not in a dream where shall I be able to meet you again? If a man practices virtue he shall receive profit..." thus the Lady taught King Sala the Buddhist hymn of rebirth in heaven... (the Lady remarked) "If you memorize this Buddhist hymn of rebirth, in heaven your worn out clothes will be replaced with new one and your sense of hunger will also be ceased.""

stories which describe Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as family members can be found in other various Pure Land sutras.⁷⁰⁾ Mochizuki Shinko (望月信亨) defined in his book that 15 Jataka tales can be traced to the Mahayana Buddhist Sutras and especially discuss the Amitabha Triad's Jataka narrated in the *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra* (無量壽經) and *Karunāpundarikasūtra* (悲華經). In *Karunāpundarikasūtra* the Amitabha Triad's past life is described as royal family members that can be seen as similar to those of the story of Prince Sukhāvati's. In this Buddhist sutra, the Amitabha and his bodhisattvas are represented as the king and his royal crown princes. The sutra narrates their eventual enlightenment and manifestation into Buddhist deities, yet unlike the story of Prince Sukhāvati, the sutra does not add any dramatical scenes of the royal family.⁷¹⁾

There is another case which describes the Amitabha Buddha and other Buddhist deities as members of royal family. The story is derived from Japan's illustrated hand scroll of Kumano Gongen (熊野權現), where India's royal family is manifested into Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.⁷²⁾ In this legendary depiction, the queen also

70) Mochizuki Shinko, *Jōdokyōshikenkyū (The Studies on Pure Land Buddhism)*, (Tokyo: Kaneobunendo, 1931), pp. 111-112.

71) *Ibid.*, pp. 118-123.

72) Ikumi Kaminishi, *Explaining Pictures: Buddhist Propaganda and Etoji Storytelling in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 160. The Kumano Gongen embodies Pre-Buddhist Japanese animism (shinto, 神道) and the feminine symbolism. In this Kumano Gongen handscroll the mountain ascetic, the king and Queen and their royal prince are manifested as Amitabha Buddha (阿彌陀佛), Yakushi Buddha (藥師佛), Thousand-armed Kannon (千手觀音) and

goes through the bodily sacrifice in order to save her baby prince from harm.⁷³⁾ Although this Indian queen's suffering is quite distanced from Lady Won-ang's case, her circumstance and eventual death for the sake of the baby prince's safety is noteworthy. At the end of the story the dead queen is miraculously revived by the mountain ascetic and after the happy reunion the royal family with the ascetic sail away to Japan's Kumano Mountain. There they established a new residence and became the protective deities of Kumano Gongen, amongst them the queen herself is manifested as 'the Thousand-handed Kuan-yin'.⁷⁴⁾

In the *Sutra of the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin (Who Explains) the Conditions to Be Born in Pure Land* (觀世音菩薩往生淨土本願經), the Amitabha Triad and the Sakyamuni Buddha's story is again narrated as another example of family history. This time they are not fixed into any Royal lineage but described as the family of an Indian Brahman named Dirghanakha. The story is narrated by the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin who explains his previous rebirth as a

Eleven-headed Kannon (十一面觀音).

73) Ibid., p. 219. In the kingdom of Magadha, when the beautiful Queen Gosui won the affection of the king, the jealous consorts plotted to have her killed. The pregnant queen was taken to the mountain and she pleaded to her assassin to wait until she safely deliver the baby. As soon as she gave birth to the son she was killed. The baby prince was spared but left alone with his dead mother. He sucked the breast of his beheaded mother and later was saved by the mountain ascetic. The story of a baby hanging onto the headless mother's breast was widely known in Japan.

74) Ibid.

little boy with the younger brother. In this flashback, the family tragedy influences the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin's vow to save all sentient beings and help them to be born in the Pure Land.⁷⁵⁾ The boy's mother, who is later to be manifested as the Amitabha Buddha, also represents the symbol of compassion and love, advocating her sons to embark on a Buddhist career that is based on Confucian duties.⁷⁶⁾

About the story of Prince Sukhāvati, scholars have commented it could have been based on one of the Three Pure Land Sutras (淨土三部經), *The Visualization Sutra* (觀無量壽經) and the characters appearing in the sutra's introduction part (序分) could have given the ideas in creating the family of King Sala.⁷⁷⁾ Volume 8 of *The Buddha's Genealogy* stresses Bhikku Dharmakara (法藏比丘)'s story where he gives up his throne and joins the monastic order to raise the Pure Land. Such story content might be seen as similar to the King Sala's example who also gave up his kingdom to devote his life to Buddhism.⁷⁸⁾ Yet Volume 8 of

75) Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism Images of the Feminine in the Mahayana Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 264-278. In this book the author provided the full English translated version of the Sutra. Paul is convinced that the sutra is a Chinese origin rather than Indian, and there is no other versions written in Sanskrit or Tibetan. The text concentrates on the popularity of the Pure Land teachings from the sectarian point of view.

76) Ibid.

77) Sa Jaedong, *Pulkyokye sōsamunhagūi yōnku* (*The Study of Buddhist Narrative Literature*), (Seoul: Jung-ang Munhwasa, 1996), pp. 300-301; Gumagai, "Seizan Bunkozō Anrakukokutaishikyōhensō," p. 1067.

78) Sa Jaedong, *Pulkyokye sōsamunhagūi yōnku*, pp. 304-309; Heo Sangho, "A Study on the Iconography of Sarasuwangtaeng," pp. 303-304.

The Buddha's Genealogy only describes the main body (正宗分) of the *Visualization Sutra* and Bhikku Dharmakara's 48 vows (四十八大願) from the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūhasutra* (無量壽經), whereas the introduction part of the *Visualization Sutra* is entirely omitted. The reason for omitting the introduction is that the tragic story of Queen Vaidehi could have been treated as an unsuitable subject for the Buddhist sutra compiled by the monarch himself.⁷⁹⁾ *The Buddha's Genealogy's* compiler Se-jo had a dark past which was his usurpation of the throne from his young nephew, King Danjong (端宗). Because of this, King Sejo might have felt the story of Queen Vaidehi and her rebellious son, Ajatasatru, was similar to him concealing his past and intentionally omitting its whole contents when compiling this sutra.⁸⁰⁾ Whether the compiler of *The Buddha's Genealogy* deliberately edited the story of Queen Vaidehi or not, this Buddhist text's main purpose was to pray for the repose of the deceased Queen Soheon (昭憲王后). Especially, Lady Won-ang's suffering in the story and her eventual salvation in Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land gave effective emphasis to Queen Soheon's good deeds and praying for the queen's welfare in her future life (追薦).⁸¹⁾ In the last

79) Heo Sangho, "Chosŏnhuki kirimsa sarasuwang't'aeng tosangko," pp. 303-304.

80) Ibid.

81) Yim Hyeryeon, "Sechongpi soheonwanghuüi wisang chŏngribkwa yŏghal (The Establishing the Correct Status and Role of the Queen Soheon)," *Hankug immulsa yŏnku* vol. 18 (2012), pp. 200-203. Although Queen Soheon's personal character is known as benevolent and generous, her private family trouble is recorded as one of the miserable tragedies in the early history of Chosŏn dynasty. Her father-in-law, King Taejong (太宗) aimed to strengthen the absolute

verse of Volume 7 of *The Buddha's Genealogy*, it concludes by describing how women removed their female bodies and became male before entering Amitabha's Pure Land (轉女爲男 極樂往生). The beginning of Volume 8 includes the story of Queen Vaidehi and how she learned 16 methods of contemplation followed by the Buddha explaining nine grades of rebirth with the Bhikku Dharmakara's 48 vows. The story of Prince Sukhāvati then continues in Volume 8's final passage, presenting Lady Won-ang as another female character after Queen Vaidehi. King Se-jo might have taken the above contents' order *intentionally* to stress Queen So-heon's deceased soul attaining rebirth in the Pure Land.⁸²⁾ In other words, it is possible to interpret the story of Prince Sukhāvati having the significant meaning in helping the spirit of the deceased female to attain rebirth in the Pure Land.

authority of the monarchy and had excessive hold onto suppressing the maternal relatives' influence over royal affairs. For the best solution, King Taejong dismissed his wife's relatives as well as the daughter-in-law's family members from the key posts in government and ordered death penalty to most of them. Especially Queen Soheon had to witness her mother and siblings's social downfall to the lowest class (賤人), and even herself being threatened to be disposed from the position of a queen. However both King Taejong and her husband King Sejong defended for her remaining as Queen Consort.

82)Oh Daehyuk, "Anragkug t'aechakyŏngkwa ikongponp'uliüi chönsŭng kwankye," pp. 216-220.

II. The Salvation of Female Buddhists in the Complexity of the Pure Land

In the previous chapter, this paper discussed the contents of *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* with related textual and visual resources. Although the story's origin remained unclear, it is undeniable that the painting propagated the message of faith in Amitabha's Pure Land and the followers' rebirth in Buddhist paradise after death. In the story's development we were able to presuppose the important role skilfully played by a specific character: Lady Won-ang. She was the one who had to go through the trials of life, only to have her true identity later revealed at the end of the story as the merciful Bodhisattva Kuan-yin. Lady Won-ang was a royal consort wedded to King Sala and she willingly gave up the comforts of the palace to accept the hardships resulting from the separation from her loving husband. Until she meets her tragic death, Lady Won-ang's life path is marked by sacrifice, devotion and virtuous deeds. These all highlight her character, which reflects Buddhist ideals.

Apart from the case of Lady Won-ang will there be any other examples that narrate female Buddhist seeking salvation within the realm of Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land cult? Just as in the case of Lady Won-ang's turbulent life, did these women needed

to pay for life's worth in order to achieve salvation in the Pure Land? This chapter focuses on the Buddhist women's perilous lives which eventually made them as a 'localized saint'. By showing how their narrative stories were represented in the East Asian tradition of Buddhist painting, this chapter further discusses which aspect these artworks were used as a means of visual tools for proselytization.

1. Buddhist Court Ladies in the Land of Bliss

In the tradition of Buddhist narrative stories there are several female characters who are either related with the cult of the Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land cult or themselves being manifested (顯現) as Buddhist deities. Perhaps the most well-known lady whose life is marked by the tribulation and salvation would be Queen Vaidehi (韋提希) from *The Buddha Speaks the Sutra on Contemplation of Amitayus* (*Visualization Sutra* or *Amitayur-dhyana-Sutra*, 佛說觀無量壽經). In Korea, there are a few versions of the Buddhist paintings that represent Queen Vaidehi's story extracted from the *Visualization Sutra's* introduction chapter, titled the *Painting of the Prefatory Part of Amitayur-dhyana-sutra* (觀經序分變相圖, Kor. Kwankyöng söpun pyönsangto). (Figure. 3)⁸³

83) Jo Suyeon, "Söpogsa kuchang koryö kwankyöng söpun pyönsangto (The Painting of the Prefatory Part of Amitayur-dhyana-sutra in the Saifuku-ji at the Goryeo Dyansty)," *Kangchwa misulsa* vol. 37 (2011), pp. 104-107; Yeom Jungseop, "Koryö kwankyöng söpun pyönsangtoüi üimi koch'al 1: kwankyöng söpunüi

Unlike Lady Won-ang's relationship with her filial son, Queen Vaidehi had to witness her husband receiving unjust persecution by their own son Ajatasatru (阿闍世) and later because of attempts to save her husband king, the queen is imprisoned in the palace tower. While the queen moans in the prison she asks what sort of bad karma could have brought her such a heinous child and wonders if there is any possible way to untangle the misery of life. The Śākyamuni Buddha then miraculously manifests before the queen to show her the dazzling lands shone by the great pervading light.⁸⁴⁾ After the queen settles in the

naeyongkwa yōgsachōg paekyōng chungsimūro (Consideration 1 on Contents and Meaning of Goryeo <Kwankyōng sōpun pyōnsangto>, Focusing on Content Analysis and Historical Background in the Prefatory Part of Amitayur-dhyana-sutra)," *Onchi nonch'ong* vol. 24 (2010), p. 432; Yeom Jung-seop, "Koryō kwankyōng sōpun pyōnsangtoūi naeyongkwa ūimi koch'al 2: kwankyōng sōpun pyōnsangtoūi naeyong p'yohyōn (Consideration 2 on Contents and Meaning of Goryeo <Kwankyōng sōpun pyōnsangto>, Focusing on Visual Expressions of the Painting of the Prefatory Part of Amitayur-dhyana-sutra)," *Hankug chongkyo haghoe* vol. 63 (2011), pp. 108-125.

84) *Pulsŏl kwannuryangsukyōng* (佛說觀無量壽佛經, *The Buddha Speaks the Sutra on Contemplation*), T. 365: 12, 341a02-341a07. 爾時王舍大城有一太子。名阿闍世。隨順調達惡友之教。收執父王頻婆娑羅。幽閉置於七重室內。制諸群臣一不得往。國大夫人名韋提希。恭敬大王。澡浴清淨。以酥蜜和糲用塗其身。諸瓔珞中盛葡萄漿蜜以上王。… T. 365: 12, 341a14-341a21. 時阿闍世問守門人。父王今者猶存在耶。時守門者白言。大王。國大夫人身塗糲蜜。瓔珞盛漿持用上王。沙門目連及富樓那。從空而來為王說法。不可禁制。時阿闍世聞此語已。怒其母曰。我母是賊。與賊為伴。沙門惡人。幻惑咒術。令此惡王多日不死。即執利劍欲害其母。… T. 365: 12, 341a29-341b27. 即便捨劍止不害母。敕語內宮。閉置深宮不令復出。時韋提希被幽閉已。愁憂憔悴。遙向耆闍崛山。為佛作禮而作是言。如來世尊在昔之時。恒遣阿難來慰問我。我今愁憂。世尊威重無由得見。願遣目連尊者阿難。與我相見。作是語已。悲泣雨淚遙向佛禮。未舉頭頃。爾時世尊在耆闍崛山。知韋提希心之所念。即敕大目犍連及以阿難。從空而來。佛從耆闍崛山沒。於王宮出。時韋提希禮已舉頭。見世尊釋迦牟尼佛。身紫金色坐百寶蓮華。目連侍左。阿難在右。釋梵護世諸天在虛空中。普雨天華持用供養。時韋提希見佛世尊。自絕瓔珞舉身投地。號泣向佛白言。世尊。我宿何罪生此惡子。世尊復有何等

Amitabha Buddha's Western Pure Land, she is taught sixteen different methods of contemplating the Dharma (十六觀法) by the Śākyamuni Buddha, thus a visualizing technique builds up in the mind's eye methodically, one step after another.⁸⁵⁾ Alexander Soper once defined the various aspects of vision using four different Chinese verbs as 'gaze (觀),' 'contemplate (想),' 'see (見),' and 'envision (念).' 'Seeing' belongs to the property of sight and eye while 'contemplating' is associated with mental concentration which visualizes the image in the mind, whereas 'gazing' combines both actual seeing of an image and imagining it in the mind.⁸⁶⁾ In these complex acts of visualizing the Pure Land what would be the role entrusted to Queen Vaidehi? Some suggest Queen Vaidehi as a woman who is not dominated by nature and not a masterful dowager who only knew her own limitation of character.⁸⁷⁾ Yet many scholars agree that her appearance in the Sutra makes the queen as the 'protagonist' or

因緣。與提婆達多共為眷屬。唯願世尊。為我廣說無憂惱處。我當往生。不樂閻浮提濁惡世也。此濁惡處。地獄餓鬼畜生盈滿。多不善聚。願我未來不聞惡聲。不見惡人。今向世尊五體投地。求哀懺悔。唯願佛日教我觀於清淨業處。爾時世尊放眉間光。其光金色。遍照十方無量世界。還住佛頂。化為金臺如須彌山。十方諸佛淨妙國土。皆於中現。或有國土七寶合成。復有國土純是蓮花。復有國土如自在天宮。復有國土如頗梨鏡。十方國土皆於中現。有如是等無量諸佛國土嚴顯可觀。令韋提希見。

85) Hank Glassman, "Show Me the Place Where My Mother Is!," in *Approaching the Land of Bliss : Religious Praxis in the Cult of Amitabha*, eds. Richard K. Payne and Kenneth K. Tanaka, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), pp. 150-151.

86) Alexander Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959), p. 144.

87) Isaline B. Horner, *Women Under Primitive Buddhism* (Kapaa, Hawai'i: Gutenberg Publishers, 2011), pp. 49-50.

a 'didactic device' for introducing the idea of visualization as an alternative method of meditation.⁸⁸⁾ In other words, Queen Vaidehi's narrative story demonstrates women can also understand the depth of the Buddhist teachings.

Even though Lady Won-ang's case quite differs to that of Queen Vaidehi's, it is undeniable that both women are deeply related with the Amitabha's Pure Land cult by becoming faithful devotees during their tumultuous times. Within the Pure Land Buddhists' focus of attention, the issue on women's salvation was not an unusual topic of discussion. However, the female salvation described in some Pure Land Buddhist Sutras are deciphered as biased sexual discrimination against women and some of the paragraphs are even contradictive when describing the details of the visual appearance of the Pure Land. The general contradiction and most often-cited Buddhist verse is the 35th vow made by the Bhikku Dharmakara (法藏比丘). In the *Larger Sukhavativyuha Sutra* (無量壽經) of Sanskrit version, the text reads:

Blessed One, let me not awaken fully to supreme and perfect awakening if, after I have attained awakening, any women...in the measureless Buddha-fields...on hearing my name...conceive the aspiration to awakening, feel disgust at their female nature, and yet are reborn again as women when

88) Glassman, "Show Me the Place Where My Mother Is!" p. 150; Kaminish, *Explaining Pictures*, pp. 68-69.

they leave their present birth.⁸⁹⁾

The Amitabha Buddha's 35th vow is often interpreted as a classical example of early Indian misogyny and unjust treatment towards women attending the Land of Bliss.⁹⁰⁾ On the other hand others also remarked the vow itself is the sort of 'generalized blessings,' and because this vow does not specifically say women cannot be reborn in Sukhāvati as women, it ought not to be categorized as that of sexual discrimination.⁹¹⁾ The famous 35th vow in the *Larger Sukhavativyuha Sutra* is later edited in other Chinese versions of the Pure Land scriptures. And their treatment toward female rebirth in the Pure Land is not far from being discriminative and deliberately trying to view paradise with jaundiced eyes, making the place as an archetypal female-free zone.⁹²⁾ Whether Sukhāvati was paradigmatically filled with the

89) Luis O. Gómez, *Land of Bliss : The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light* (Honolulu, Kyoto: University of Hawai'i Press, Higashi Honganji Shinshū Ōtani-Ha, 1996), p. 74; Paul Harrison, "Women in the Pure Land : Some Reflections on the Textual Sources," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* Vol. 26 (1998), p. 555.

90) Gómez, *Land of Bliss*, p. 232.

91) Harrison, "Women in the Pure Land," pp. 555-556.

92) The Bhikku Dharmakara's 35th vow is retold in many other Pure Land Sutras, and within the contents that explain women entering the Sukhavati they also suggest various differentiated conditions. The following sutras can be exemplified as such: *Pulsöl amit'a samya sampulsal nupultankwa tointokyöng* (佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛壇過度人道經, *The Sutra of Immeasurable Life*), T. 362: 12, 301a27-301b03; *Pulsöl muryangskyöng* (佛說無量壽經, *The Buddha Speaks the Infinite Life Sutra*), T. 360: 12, 268c21-268c24; *Pulsöl taesüng muryangsu changömköng* (佛說大乘無量壽莊嚴經, *The Buddha Speaks the Sutra of Immeasurable Life in Majestic Ornamentation*), T. 363: 12, 320b8-320b12; *Pulsöl tae amit'akyöng*

single-sex or not, nonetheless the relation between Amitabha's Pure Land and the female salvation appears in other various local Buddhist contexts.

Even though in some Buddhist texts women are sexually challenged when trying to take religious vows or accepting monastic path, in some rare cases they are depicted as the one who willingly became eminent nuns and devote their lives to the Buddhist Dharma.⁹³⁾ Chūjō-hime (ちゅうじょうひめ, 中將姫), the medieval Japanese heroine is also the one who fits into this category. She is portrayed as the aristocratic lady wandering in exile (きしゅりゅうり, 貴種流浪) which was the principal motif of medieval Japanese literature and such role of a wanderer was especially related with women or 'Wandering Princess (さすらいひめぎみ, 流難姫君)'.⁹⁴⁾ In this legend, the aristocrat's daughter, Chūjō-hime, was loathed by her stepmother, and even her own father plotted a scheme against his own daughter. Faced with life-threatening incidents, Chūjō-hime escapes her household and later enters the Taimadera (堂麻寺). At the Taimadera she decides to take on the life of a recluse and begins to dedicate her life to the worship of Amitabha Buddha. After spending seven days meditating, the apparitional nun and the weaver appeared before

(佛説大阿彌陀經, *The Buddha Speaks the Sutra of Amitabha*)』, T. 364: 12, 329c12-329c15.

93) Bernard Faure, *The Power of Denial: Buddhism, Purity, and Gender* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), pp. 198-199.

94) Glassman, "Show Me the Place Where My Mother Is!" p. 142.

the princess. The nun asked for a sufficient amount of lotus stems and when the materials were handed to her, she extracted the fibers from the stems and dyed each of them in five colors.⁹⁵⁾ Then the weaver came forward and placed a loom at the hall, and began to weave a beautiful and magnificent mandala. When the picture was completed the apparitional nun mounted the picture on two pieces of jointless bamboo and explained its details to the princess, pointing out with a bamboo rod the scenes she is explicating. Afterwards both the nun and the weaver disappeared to the western sky quick as lightening, leaving behind the princess with the shiny mandala.⁹⁶⁾

The above story is the summarized content of the Japanese medieval literature and the legendary tale represented in the *Taima Mandala Engi Emaki* (當麻曼荼羅緣起繪卷) (Figure. 17), which explains how Japan's famous *Taima Mandala* (當麻曼荼羅) was created. (Figure. 18) At the end of the story the apparitional nun and the weaver's identities are revealed as the manifestation of Amitabha Buddha and Bodhisattva Kuan-yin. In other words, Amitabha revealed himself as the body of a woman who created the map of Pure Land for the Buddhist damsel in distress. The

95) Ōgushi Sumio, *Raigō Keishutsu (The Representation of Amitabha Buddha Welcoming the Spirit of His Believer)*, (Kyoto: Hōjō sensho, 1983), pp. 8-9.

96) Kaminish, *Explaining Pictures*, pp. 72-73; Glassman, "Show Me the Place Where My Mother Is!," pp. 143-146; Research Centre for Nonwritten Cultural Materials, "Taima Mandala Engi Emaki," in *Multilingual Version of Pictopedia of Everyday Life in Medieval Japan Compiled from Picture Scrolls* ed. Institute for the Study of Japanese Folk Cultural Kanagawa University, Vol. 3 (2011), p. 86.

textual history of the Chūjō-hime legend is complex and its detailed comparison need not be treated here. However, it is worth noting how the legend of Chūjō-hime became popularized and circulated in medieval Japan. Because such cases worked as the religious spokesmen, especially a female Buddhist character gaining popular appeal through the various entertainments and proselytization. During the transition from the Kamakura (鎌倉) to the Muromachi (室町) period this Buddhist legend gained popular appeal, its contents were adapted to both the religious and public plays such as in puppet theatres and illustrated books.⁹⁷⁾ The Japanese playwright Zeami Motokiyo (世阿彌 元清, 1363-1443) also applied the story of Chūjō-hime in his Noh plays,⁹⁸⁾ and in the version of Otagi-zōshi (御伽草子, a literature genre in the style of fairy tale that was popular during the Muromachi period) the adaptation of the story offered a dramatic narrative to medieval audiences.⁹⁹⁾

In addition to such public plays there were also active Pure Land preachers in the expansion of the Taima Mandala legend. Shōkū (證空, 1177-1247), the member of the former Seizan (西山)

97) Ibid.

98) Elizabeth Ten Grotenhuis, "Chūjōhime: The Weaving of Her Legend," in *Flowing Traces: Buddhism in the Literary and Visual Art of Japan*, eds. James H. Sanford, William R. LaFleur and Masatoshi Nagatomi (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 188-192.

99) Chieko I. Mulhern, "Otagi-zōshi, Short Stories of the Muromachi Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 29, no. 2 (1974), p. 187; Chieko I. Mulhern, "Analysis of Cinderella Motifs, Italian and Japanese," *Folklore Studies* vol. 44, no. 4 (1985), p. 2.

branch of the Pure Land sect actively adapted the *Taima Mandala* as an aid to his preaching.¹⁰⁰⁾ In 1436, another Pure Land monk, Yuyo Shōsō (酉譽聖聰), also wrote the *Taima Mandala Sho* (當麻曼茶羅疏, 1436) which exists as the earliest surviving written version of the Chūjō-hime legend.¹⁰¹⁾ And from this book the legend added 'Cinderella-like' motifs to make the heroine's life ever more dramatic which helped to arouse the sympathetic emotion from audiences.¹⁰²⁾ It is unclear whether the Chūjō-hime was a figure who existed during the medieval period of Japanese history. Yet there are various versions of the stories, paintings and even sculptures that are related with the princess and her miraculous tale embedded with Taimadera. (Figure. 19) Especially one of the tales explains the origination legend of the Taimadera and from this specific story the mystical development of Chūjō-hime was eventually established, giving the new impression on this religious site.¹⁰³⁾ Such a relationship reflects the case of

100) Glassman, "Show Me the Place Where My Mother Is!," p. 144.

101) Tanaka Takako, *Nihon <Seijo> Ronjōsetsu, Saigu · Megami · Chūjō-hime (The Discussive Writings on Japanese <Female Saints>, Ancestral Shrine · Goddess · Princess Chūjō)*, (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2010), pp. 33-36.

102) Ibid.

103) Gangoji Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, *Chūjō-hime Setsuwano Chōsa Kenkyū Hōkokusho (The Report on Researching Princess Chūjō's Legendary Tales)*, (Nara: Gangoji Bunkazai Kenkyūsho, 1983), pp. 7-8; Tanaka, *Nihon <Seijo> Ronjōsetsu*, pp. 27-32. In *Kenkyū Onjunreiki* (建久御巡礼記) the text records that in the year 1191, a noble lady took the Buddhist order and went pilgrimage to the Buddhist temples in Southern part of Japan. During her pilgrimage the noble lady visited Taimadera and she happened to hear the origination legend of the temple. However in this legend the heroine is not Chūjō-hime but the wife of the Imperial Prince Maroko (麻呂子) who was the heir of Emperor Yomei (用明天

Kirim Temple's origination legend discussed in the previous chapter where the story of Prince Sukhāvati influenced the temple's foundation story and its relation to mystic figures such as Saint Gwang-yu. Although there are points of difference according to texts that introduce the Chūjō-hime legend, nearly all related sources actively propose a single, unified theme: a woman with a determined resolution filled with Buddhist devotion through gaining the Amitabha's mandala thus attained the path that leads to Buddhist salvation.

So far this paper had discussed Buddhist court ladies who were portrayed within the realm of Amitabha Buddha's Western Paradise. Of these, Queen Vaidehi and Chūjō-hime's interrelation to Pure Land Buddhism could be found within the Buddhist sutras as well as in other visual resources. Each woman had to suffer the brutal threat from their family members, by either

皇). According to the legend in 763 C. E when the royal couple completed building the Taimadera, the crown princess wished to see the Amitabha's Pure Land for the sake of the sentient beings. Soon afterwards a kenin(化人) appeared before the crown princess and using the fiber strands extracted from the lotus stems, miraculously weaved the magnificent picture of the Pure Land. Another similar legend related to this mandala is in *Taimadera Ruki* (當麻寺流記) which introduces the daughter of a Yokohaku Udaijin (横佩右大臣). Her name appears to be 'Chūjō' and she yearned to see the Amitabha Buddha. Again the apparitional nun and the weaver appeared who completed weaving the mandala for this lady. Some scholars suggest the story of Prince Maroko's wife is overlapped with that of the daughter of a Yokohaku Udaijin. Beside the *Taimadera Ruki* and *Kenkyu Onjunreiki*, there are still numerous records that introduce the name 'Chūjō'. However the exact origin of the name Chūjō-hime or why such name was adapted so often are not found in any other textual evidences.

being repelled or imprisoned. Interestingly, Queen Vaidehi and Chūjō-hime are the noble characters who are equally related with the Taima Mandala. In the Mandala's Court of Prefatory Legend (序分義), the tragic story of Queen Vaidehi is narrated in eleven scenes read from the bottom to the top of this vertical court.¹⁰⁴⁾ Chūjō-hime herself was the leading protagonist in creating this piece of painting from the outset of the story. These unexpected visual elements served to make the story of women's salvation through Pure Land devotion more appealing, convincing and exciting for lay audiences.¹⁰⁵⁾ Queen Vaidehi in the *Visualization Sutra* portrays a suffering mother who took refuge in visualizing the land of bliss. Chūjō-hime's case was a daughter in distress whose faith worked as a testament with the Amitabha Buddha and *Taima Mandala* represented as its visual outcome. If we look back to Lady Won-ang's case she neither chose the path of 'mediator' nor the 'receiver' of the blissful vision. It is true that all three ladies directly or indirectly took the task of transmitting the splendor of the Pure Land. Yet Queen Vaidehi and Chūjō-hime were mere conduits for attaining salvation whereas Lady Won-ang had proven herself as a merciful Buddhist Goddess through sacrifice.

104) Kaminish, *Explaining Pictures*, p. 60.

105) Glassman, "Show Me the Place Where My Mother Is!," p. 147.

2. The Problem of Proselytization

This section of the thesis will discuss the narrative painting's picture composition and how the picture itself was practically adapted by its viewers. Because *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* has an unconventional picture composition and word narration, to infer how the picture was used might be difficult to resolve. Similar references which describe the tradition of pictorial narration in China and Japan certainly displayed different aspects, which tended to treat the Buddhist pictorial narration not only as a tool for proselytization but as one of popular culture as well.

In several cases narrative arts were used as illustrative devices during performances. In China, picture recitation was categorized as a folk tradition which left a very scarce historical record and was once viewed as a product of elite society.¹⁰⁶⁾ Although the stories represented come from various sources, the audience for such narrative arts belonged to the highly literate and cultured imperial court and elite institutions they supported. Especially the creation of a picture scroll was usually a collaborative work between patrons, artists and scribes. Even when the circumstances of a specific work are indefinite, knowledge of religious, social, or intellectual currents can fill in the gaps in our knowledge and make a difficult or obscure work more understandable.¹⁰⁷⁾ In

106) Mair, *Painting and Performance*, pp. 1-3.

107) Karen L. Brock, "Chinese Maiden, Silla Monk: Zenmyō and Her Thirteenth

Japan, narrative art was adapted in a more practical matter. The 'explanation of a picture (繪解き)' began around the Heian (平安) period and the solicitors of Pure Land Buddhism often used etoki as a method of persuasion.¹⁰⁸⁾ Etoki was the visual performances mostly demonstrated in Japanese temples. The participants can be categorized as 'monks (説繪僧)', 'uta bikuni (歌比丘尼)', or 'kanjin (勸進)'.¹⁰⁹⁾ However strictly speaking, these highly specialized performing arts belonged to the province of people from the bottom level of society who were associated with temples but not fully involved with religious pursuits.¹¹⁰⁾ Amongst the etoki performers, the most well-known and studied subject is Kumano Bikuni (熊野比丘尼) whose mission was to spread the cult of the Kumano Mountains (熊野信仰). They mostly propagated the fundamental teachings described in the Huayan Sutra (華嚴經), using the *Visualization Mandala of the Heart and Ten Worlds of Kumano* (熊野感心十界曼荼羅, shortly named as the *Kumano Ten Worlds Mandala*). (Figure. 20)¹¹¹⁾ The *Kumano Ten Worlds Mandala*

Century Japanese Audience," in *Flowering in the Shadows: Women in the History of Chinese and Japanese Painting* ed. Marsha Weidner (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), p. 185.

108) Kaminishi, *Explaining Pictures*, p. 103.

109) Janet R. Goodwin, *Alms and Vagabonds* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), pp. 116-117.

110) Barbara Ruch, "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of a National Literature," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, eds. John W. Hall and Takeshi Toyoda (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 296-297. For better definition of etoki performers, please refer to Ichiro Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan: Continuity and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 212-215.

111) Kaminishi, *Explaining pictures*, pp. 139-144; Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, p. 124. Even though it is named as 'mandala,' this painting does not include the

has two distinguished theologies which reflect a pessimistic view of samsara and an optimistic hope of rebirth in Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land.¹¹²⁾ Obviously by using this piece of Buddhist painting, the Kumano Bikunis sought laywomen, making them as an appropriate target for their religious proselytization. Whoever saw the Kumano Bikuni performing before the painting must have gained a great impression and if the viewer was female the impact would have been all the more vivid, for the *Kumano Ten Worlds Mandala* has images of female sinners suffocating in hell, waiting to be saved by the Jizo Bodhisattva (地藏菩薩). (Figure. 21)¹¹³⁾ Even today such public pictorial performances are occasionally carried out by Buddhist nuns and monks in the modern temples of Japan. (Figure. 22)

If then, in terms of such visual proselytization what can we analogize from *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*? It is

cosmic diagrams emphasizing circles and squares. Grotenhuis made a considerable point in making the term 'hensozu (變相圖),' and since the painting used by the Kumano bikunis has combined transforming images of Buddhist heaven and Hell as well as the arch of human life, it is more preferable to categorize the picture as hensozu.

112) Kaminishi, *Explaining pictures*, p. 144.

113) Takemi Momoko, "Menstruation Sutra Belief in Japan," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* vol. 10, no. 2-3 (1983), pp. 239-240. In the *Kumano Ten Worlds Mandala*, at the bottom right corner of the picture there are several long-haired women floating in a red pool of blood. The same image is also illustrated in Japan's *Tateyama Mandala* (立山曼荼羅). Such horrific scene of women suffering in hell is in relation with the belief in *Blood Basin Sutra* (血盆經). This sutra is known to be brought from China to Japan during the Muromachi period, and people believed by dedicating one's self to this sutra women who had been condemned to the blood pool hell after dying in childbirth would be able to gain salvation.

only a rough presumption but to say the painting was used in any public proselytizing tool is a tempting suggestion. In the painting's record one can see the word 'Geum-byeok (金壁)' which indicates its display somewhere in the 'Royal Palace'. The record also provided the names of the Buddhist nuns who commissioned the painting along with other Royal Palace ladies whose virtuous deeds were gravely praised. With the exception of their names and place of display, it is hard to retrace how the painting might have been practically used by viewers residing in the Royal Palace at the time. Usually the painting used for etoki performances had uniquely distinct wear and tear, mostly at the critical scenes because of the performer's use of pointers repeatedly tapping onto the picture surface.¹¹⁴⁾ On the other hand *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* does not bear such artificial deterioration on its surface. However, it might have been seen as disrespectful or inappropriate for Confucian viewers to see the sacred painting being 'pointed at' by the someone if there were indeed any such ritual performance taking place in the palace. If the painting was used in any similar way for etoki performances the possibility of adapting simple body gestures could also be proposed. Some Korean scholars argue the narrative character from the story of Prince Sukhāvati derived from Buddhists' sermons or ceremonies.¹¹⁵⁾ They analyzed the story's

114) Kaminishi, *Explaining pictures*, p. 34.

115) Gyeong Inam, "Goryeo pulkyososŏlŭi hyŏngsŏng chŏnkae (The

descriptive style, which embodies the combined form of prosaism (散文) and verse drama (韻文), giving the impression that is similar to public storytelling (講唱). Instead of presuming the story of Prince Sukhāvati as one of early Chosŏn Dynasty's narrative literature works, it is also suggested the story's origin could be traced further back to the Goryeo Dynasty (918-1392 C.E) and no later than 15th Century.¹¹⁶⁾ In other words, there is a possibility the story itself was once written in Chinese characters and practically involved propagating Buddhist faith to lay devotees in Goryeo society. Since then, the story of Prince Sukhāvati may have developed into a popular genre written in the Korean alphabets (Hangeul) following the establishment of the Chosŏn Dynasty.

In terms of *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati's* visual composition, it further increases the puzzling question for viewers. If we look into the general depiction of the *Taima Mandala*, the sixteen visualizations and the pictorialization of Queen Vaidehi's tragedy are represented mostly as a vertical court. (Figure. 23) Such straightforward picture composition could lead viewers and picture performers to more easily understand or deconstruct the story. Even when we look into the scenes of Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land and the Nine Degree's of Rebirth,

Development of Goryeo Dynasty's Buddhist Novels)," in *Hankug sŏsamunhagsaui yŏnku*, ed. Sa Jaedong (Seoul: Jung ang Munhwasa, 1995), pp. 945-947.

116) Sa Jaedong, "Anragkug t'aechachŏn yŏnku," p. 124.

viewers are encouraged to see the picture as resembling a performance to be played by the grand orchestra.¹¹⁷⁾ The Amitabha's welcoming decent images (來迎圖) were also extremely important Buddhist paintings in the Pure Land cult. (Figure. 24) The complex configurations of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas have become independent subjects which gave visual accentuation on the devotees of Pure Land. Such an enlarged scene of the devotee's salvation could have given significant effect to those who saw the picture and in understanding the message of the Buddhist doctrine.

However, in *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* the case is quite distanced from the examples discussed above. The painting neither embodies the simple vertical composition, nor singularly emphasizes an image of the devotee accepted by the Amitabha Buddha. The painting is filled with arrays of traditional Korean scripts, not to mention the overlapping images of same characters within the picture frame that further complicates the viewer. Even if the viewer was familiar with the story, the painting's unusual composition undoubtedly could have given the perplex impression to those who first saw it. The Buddhist painting, which is visually deciphered as collage of figures,

117) Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, p. 32. In analysing Amitabha's Pure Land and the nine ranks of rebirth depicted in Dunhuang, Grotenhuis categorized the nine figures reborn in the Western Paradise as those seated in the modern day concert or opera hall. She suggested the depiction of the upper-degree to the lower-degree births resembles the audience's seats before the performing stage.

architecture and landscape is not an unusual case in the East Asian tradition of Buddhist art. Scholars such as Minamoto Toyomune (源豊宗) and Akiyama Terukazu (秋山光和) offered analyses concerning the complex composition of the narrative painting which is *The Pictorial Biography of Prince Shōtoku* (綾本著色聖徳太子繪伝, 1069) in Hōryūji (法隆寺), Japan. (Figure. 25) Unlike the small scale of *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*, this vast piece of chronological picture set once decorated the whole walls of the Yumedono (夢殿) precinct in Hōryūji. Even though in scale they are in strong contrast, yet in the schematic diagram of the scenes both pictures share a general composition that are in a terrible tangle, almost presenting the pictorial labyrinth. About *The Pictorial Biography of Prince Shōtoku*, Ikumi Kaminishi suggested such a complex composition scheme could be aimed at the etoki performer's narrative conduct as if he had orchestrated a superbly complicated jumble of movements.¹¹⁸⁾ Minamoto Toyomune explains that the painting's compositional order took precedence over the narrative order which meant they were free from chronological restrictions, whereas Akiyama Terukazu asserts that the painting is a geographical organization of a narrative story.¹¹⁹⁾

To substitute these opinions to *The Narrative Painting of Prince*

118) Kaminishi, *Explaining pictures*, p. 41.

119) Akiyama Terukazu, *Heianjidai sezoku-ga no kenkyū (The Study on Secular Paintings of Heian Period)*, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 2002), pp. 196-197.

Sukhāvati might seem preposterous because it is hard to prefigure if the artist overvalued the narrative painting's compositional order or specifically followed any geographical sense from the actual site. If the picture has taken the format of a long roll of scroll painting which illustrates particular scenes one after another, its complex composition would not have been a major problem. Instead the picture shows the story in irregular sequence, deliberately making the scenery connection more difficult to decipher. When representing scenery transition the Buddhist painting sometimes uses rocks, mountains, rivers, rocky hills, clouds or trees as one of the expressive background props.¹²⁰⁾ For example, in the *Painting of the Prefatory Part of Amitayur-dhyana-sutra* from the Goryeo Dynasty (Figure. 3), the complexity of the pictorial composition and the method of scenery transition can be easily compared with *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*. The *Painting of the Prefatory Part* is packed with palatial buildings at both sides. The Śākyamuni Buddha is placed at the off-centre to the upper-right. Queen Vaidehi and King Bimbisara's vow is pictured at both sides in the middle. The rebellious Ajatasatru attempts to murder his mother Queen Vaidehi at the bottom right and the Śākyamuni's disciple Purna (富樓那) is preaching to King Bimbisara at the bottom left. Such scene arrangement makes a large triangular composition with the Buddha in the centre, placing the king and

120) Kim Jeonggyo, "'Chosŏn ch'oki pyŏnmunsig pulhwa," p. 94.

prince at each sides which stresses the opposing relation of father and son. The capacious representation of buildings, trees and clouds from the *Painting of the Prefatory Part* ease the stiff vertical-horizontal composition, working as the effective props in expressing pictorial perspective and change of the scenes.¹²¹⁾ *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* however, does not bear the coherent representation in its arrangement of figures and background. The repetition of figures are dispersed from top to bottom, placement of buildings and trees are bundled into groups and it is hard to draw a clear symmetrical composition from the painting's overall view.

Despite of the narrative painting's complexity, it might seem suggestible that the painting offers the possibility of being practically used other than merely being hung on the 'wall of the Royal Palace.' Whether venerated by the pious royal ladies or being used as the visual tool for proselytization, *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* must have engraved the Buddhist legend's salvific message on the viewer's mind. Although the practical use of the painting still remains a questionable issue, the painting's heroine Lady Won-ang's virtuous deeds and her ultimate sacrifice in the story must have touched the onlooker's heart.

121) Jo Suyeon, "Söpogsa kuchang koryō kwankyōng sōpun pyōnsangto," pp. 111-112.

III. The Identity of Lady Won-ang

The final chapter will discuss how Lady Won-ang's overall image changed from its original source and the vernacularized development of the story of Prince Sukhāvati. It will mainly focus on the image of Lady Won-ang who is the hidden heroine of *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*. According to *The Buddha's Genealogy* and in the narrative painting, Lady Won-ang's sacred character is drawn as a mother and wife who willingly sacrificed her life. This eventually concludes by transforming her identity into the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin.¹²²⁾ A secular woman's manifestation into Buddhism's most popular deity is not an unusual case to be found in the East Asian Buddhist tradition. Firstly looking at several examples of Buddhism's feminized manifestation and analyzing Lady Won-ang's identity, the second part will focus on pictorial images of Lady Won-ang in relation to other Buddhist paintings. Lastly, the transformation of Lady Won-ang's character and its representation will be discussed and related to other sources.

122) Jo Hyeonseol, "Sŏngnyŏwa agnyŏ: Chosŏn chŏnki pulkyokye sosŏlŭi yŏsŏng hyŏngsang kwa yuka iteolrokiŭ chŏbchŏme kwanhan siron (A Sacred Woman and a Wicked Woman: Images of Women in the Early Chosŏn Dynasty's Buddhist Novels and its Contact to the Confucian Ideology," *Pulkyo ōmun nonchib* vol. 8 (2003), pp. 73-74. Jo Hyunseol defined Lady Won-ang's identity as that of a wise mother and saintly wife who sacralized herself through ordeals.

1. The Cult of the Feminized Buddhist Deity

The manifestation of the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin into the female form is especially propagated in the *Lotus Sutra* (妙法蓮華經). In this text, out of the 33 forms Kuan-yin could make, 7 of them are known as female.¹²³⁾ In China, Kuan-yin began to link the traditions of the Pure Land cult with the Lotus sutra, making the direct relation with the Amitabha Buddha.¹²⁴⁾ Beginning from the T'ang Dynasty through to the Ming Dynasty, the idea of Kuan-yin appearing in the female form became very common, at the same time producing innumerable forms of Kuan-yin using various mediums.¹²⁵⁾ Other than making productive art works, in the indigenous stories women's activities as nuns, mothers and servants also had tremendous influence in transmitting the cult of the female Kuan-yin. Amongst those stories, the legend of Princess Miao-shan (妙善公主) was one of the most revered Buddhist heroines in China since the Song Dynasty. To extend the ever more compassionate character of this Buddhist deity, the

123) *Myōpōb yōnhwakyōng* (妙法蓮華經, *The Lotus Sutra*), "Myōūm posalp'um (妙音菩薩品, *The Kuan-yin Sutra*)," T. 9 : 262, 57b10-57b15. 應以比丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆夷身得度者。卽現比丘比丘尼優婆塞優婆夷身而爲說法。應以長者居士宰官婆羅門婦女身得度者。卽現婦女身而爲說法。應以童男童女身得度者。卽現童男童女身而爲說法。Paul, *Women in Buddhism*, pp. 259-260.

124) J. Leroy Davidson, *The Lotus Sutra in Chinese Art: A Study in Buddhist Art to the Year 1,000* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 71.

125) Barbara Reed, "The Gender Symbolism of Kuan-yin Bodhisattva," in *Buddhism, Sexuality and Gender*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 160-161.

Chinese texts began to apply a new makeover on the legend and aimed for the popularity of the cult of the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin.

The story of Princess Miao-shan was first claimed to be transmitted by an anonymous pilgrim who visited the Xiang-shan Temple (香山寺) and this pilgrim is known to have said the story came from the famous Chinese Vinaya master, Dao-xuan (道宣, 596-667 C.E).¹²⁶⁾ Princess Miao-shan was the woman who had a noble birth yet refused to accept the marriage suggested by her father. Just as Chūjō-hime had to go through the hardships of life before seeing the long awaited Amitabha Buddha, Princess Miao-shan had to suffer life-threatening crisis before her manifestation into the 1,000-eyed and 1,000-armed Kuan-yin (千手千眼觀音). In the story she even willingly offered her own eyes and hands to save her father who fell seriously ill.¹²⁷⁾ The chaste and filial daughter represented by Princess Miao-shan can also be traced in the stele inscription entitled, 'Da-bei Pu-sa Chuan (大悲菩薩傳)' dated in the 11th century. This specific term 'Da-bei' is in relation with Kuan-yin and the esoteric images of Da-bei Kuan-yin used to be represented by the Chinese artist in the

126) Yü Chün-fang, *Kuan-yin: the Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (New York: Columbia University press, 2001), p. 299.

127) Yü, *Kuan-yin*, pp. 293-294; John Blofeld, *Bodhisattva of Compassion: The Mystical Tradition of Kuan Yin* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, Inc., 1977), pp. 66-71. In John Blofeld's introduction on the Princess Miao-shan, there are several other versions which narrate slightly different story of this Buddhist heroine. The other legends of Princess Miao-shan includes more dramatic events such as bloody massacre and public execution that emphasize physical ordeals the Princess had to suffer.

form of the 1,000-eyed Kuan-yin. (Figure. 26) Such images of Kuan-yin also left numerous legends that are in relation to Buddhist nuns and female artists.¹²⁸⁾

Both Chūjō-hime and Princess Miao-shan chose to live pious religious lives, yet the latter's filial act of cutting her own flesh in order to save her father can be seen as that of one of religious extreme.¹²⁹⁾ Their choice to live in celibacy made them as 'folk heroines' rather than as saints which symbolize strong, independent women who once belonged to the secular world. Their denial of a noble life, resistance to marriage and choosing the life of a recluse could have given sentimental effects on the women residing in the inner chambers, helping hands in forming the 'Domestic Religion' as Dorothy Ko has put it.¹³⁰⁾ The legend of female Buddhists such as Chūjō-hime and Princess Miao-shan deliver detailed sources which have contributed to coherent secular reading and such texts could well be constructed as a result of 'popular hearsay evidence.'¹³¹⁾ Within such circumstances, especially the images of Kuan-yin managed to hold different identity followed by other numerous mythical folklores.

In Korea, the indigenous stories of female manifestation into

128) Yü, *Kuan-yin*, p. 296.

129) Such superior sacrifice by cutting their own body parts the Chinese call it 'Keku (割骨)' which is also described in *The Treatise on the Great perfection of Wisdom* (大智度論) and *Karunāpunarikasūtra* (悲華經).

130) Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), p. 198.

131) Glen Dudbridge, *Books, Tales, and Vernacular Culture: Selected Papers on China* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 107.

the Buddha or Bodhisattva Kuan-yin can also be found in the *Heritages of the Three States* (三國遺事, *Samguk yusa*). In this story there was once a servant named Uk-myeon (郁面) who willingly went to the temple to practice Buddhist chanting. However, her master soon found his servant's religious act as being against her duty, and subsequently overloaded her with house chores which needed to be finished within a day. Yet Uk-myeon managed to complete all the housework and did not stop going to the temple to practice chanting. In the end, she pierced both her hands, stringed and tied them together in the wooden poles so as to make the permanent prayer position. Soon there was the music of heaven coming from the western sky and Uk-myeon flew over to the temple and transformed into the body of the Buddha. Sitting on the lotus pedestal, the Buddha slowly departed with the music of heaven ringing in the air.¹³²⁾ Although this story propagates the salvation of a humble woman, it stresses the servant took off the feminine nature and became a Buddha. Some interpret this story as advocating the cult of the Pure Land as well as reflecting the religious statement which accept that women can indeed achieve salvation and become a Buddha.¹³³⁾

132) *Samguk yusa* (三國遺事, *The Heritages of the Three States*), 卷 第五, 感通第七, 郁面婢念佛西昇. 時有阿干 貴珠 家一婢名 郁面 隨其主歸寺立中庭隨僧念佛主憎其不職每給穀二碩一夕春之婢一更春畢歸寺念佛 日夕微怠庭之左右豎立長櫬以繩穿貫兩掌繫於櫬上合掌左右遊之激勵焉時有天唱於空 郁面娘 入堂念佛寺衆聞之勸婢入堂隨例精進未幾天樂從西來婢湧透屋樑而出西行至郊外捐骸變現真身坐蓮臺放大光明緩緩而逝樂聲不徹空中…。

133) Kim Youngmi, "Goryeo mal yōsinsōngpulronkwa kŭ yōngnyang (The Theory of Accomplishing Buddhahood as a Female Body and Its Repercussions

Another story in the *Heritages of the Three States* which narrates a female servant in Bun-huang Temple (芬皇寺) as the manifestation of Kuan-yin. In the story she appears to be the woman who keeps dutiful chastity to her late husband and admonished the monk to follow religious diligence when he tried to forcefully violate her.¹³⁴⁾ At the story's end the narrator reveals the woman's identity as the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin and introduces the Korean folk song (鄉歌) that reflects the devotee's wish to be reborn in Amitabha's Pure Land.¹³⁵⁾ This folk song also resembles the Buddhist verse sang by Lady Won-ang in *The Buddha's Genealogy*¹³⁶⁾, mentioning an important word 'Wonwangaeng (願往生)' which indicates 'devotee's wish to be reborn in Sukhāvati.' Because of this folk song's metaphoric message, the whole story itself was once known as the title called 'Wonwangaengga (願往

as Debated in the Late Goryeo Era)," *Hankug sasangsaeng* vol. 41 (2012), p. 192; Hyun song, *Hankug kotae chōngt'o-sinang yōnku: Samkugyusae nat'anan sinra chōngt'o-sinangül chungsimūro (The Study of Pure Land Beliefs in Ancient Korea: The Pure Land Beliefs of Silla reflected in the Heritages of the Three States)*, (Seoul: Unju Books, 2013), pp. 182-183.

134) *Sanguk yusa*, 卷 第五, 感通第七, 廣德嚴莊. 既事乃謂婦曰夫子逝矣偕處何如婦曰可遂留夜宿將欲通焉婦斬之曰 師 求淨玉可謂求魚緣木 莊 驚怪問曰 德 既乃爾予又何妨婦曰夫子與我同居十餘載未嘗一夕同床而枕况觸汚乎但每夜端身正坐一聲念阿彌陀佛号或作十六觀觀既熟明月入戶時昇其光加趺於上竭誠若此雖欲勿西奚往夫適千里者一步可規今師之觀可云東矣西則未可知也 莊 愧赧…中其婦乃芬皇寺之婢盖十九應身之一。

135) *Sanguk yusa*, 卷 第五, 感通第七, 廣德嚴莊. 月下伊底亦西方念丁去賜里遣無量壽佛前乃惱叱古音 鄉言云報言也 多可支白遣賜立誓音深史隱尊衣希仰支兩手集刀花乎白良願往生願往生慕人有如白遣賜立阿邪此身遣也置遣四十八願成遣賜去。

136) *Wōrin sōkpo*, 願往生, 願往生, 願在彌陀會中坐, 手執香火常供養, 願往生, 願往生, 願生極樂見彌陀, 獲夢摩頂授記, 願往生, 願往生, 往生極樂蓮花生, 自他一時成佛道。

生歌, The Song of the Rebirth in Sukhāvati).¹³⁷⁾ In the story of Prince Sukhāvati Lady Won-ang teaches King Sala the Song of Rebirth in Pure Land when the royal couple bid farewell in the wealthy man's house. Throughout the painting this verse also appears in the crucial scenes, highlighting the essence of the Pure Land cult. The verse sang by Lady Won-ang is still used in Korea's Buddhist consolation ceremony for the spirit of the dead (遷度齋).¹³⁸⁾

When discussing the origins of Lady Won-ang's name, it is often suggested the word could have derived from mandarin ducks which are pronounced 'won-ang' in Korean, and the birds are known to symbolize ideal conjugal harmony.¹³⁹⁾ However, to define Lady Won-ang's name on the basis of the bird's character leaves an unsatisfactory impression. In the Song of the Rebirth in Pure Land the repetition of a chorus-like word 'won-wang' can be seen and it might be preferable that Lady Won-ang's name could have been derived from this simple yet condensed word. All the textual resources that narrate the story of Prince Sukhāvati reveal Lady Won-ang as the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin, yet her secular name is varied according to the texts. It is still problematic to define where her name was originated but her Song of the Rebirth undoubtedly reflects the fervent aspiration to

137) Il yeon, *Samkugyusa* (三國遺事, *The Heritages of Three States*), translated by Kim Wonjung (Seoul: Minumsa, 2007), pp. 535-536.

138) Hyun song, 『Hankug kotae chōngt'o-sinang yōnku』, p. 196.

139) Gang Soyeon, *Ilhōpōrin munhwayusanūl ch'ajaso*, p. 41.

attain Buddhist enlightenment and deliverance of sentient beings.

In the precedence of the feminized Kuan-yin there was a case where a woman is revered as an independent Buddhist deity or folk heroine, leaving numerous versions of legends behind as evidence. Just as Princess Miao-shan and Chūjō-hime, Lady Won-ang's story went through a duplicating process which led to the same legend retold as a temple legend and folk literature. Lady Won-ang neither lived as a recluse like Chūjō-hime nor was involved in a terrible public execution or massacre like Princess Miao-shan had to go through. Unlike some Pure Land Buddhist nuns, she could not simply cut off her hair, don clerical robes, and withdraw into isolation.¹⁴⁰ Even so her ultimate sanctuary as the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin must have influenced the female Buddhists of the Chosŏn Dynasty. For example, there was a Korean Buddhist nun named Yesun (禮順, 1587-1657) whose testimony reveals how the story of Lady Won-ang was accepted by Buddhist women at the time. Her statement is recorded in the *Unofficial Histories of Mr. Eou* (於于野談, Kor. ō-u-ya-tam) written by Yu Mongyin (柳夢寅, 1559-1623) around 1622. Here, Yesun explained the discriminative view of Korean Confucius towards women becoming nuns and quoted the story of Lady Won-ang as one of the perspectives to compare to her determination to live as a nun.¹⁴¹

140) James C. Dobbins, "Women's birth in Pure Land as Women: Intimations from the Letters of Eshinni," *The Eastern Buddhist* vol. 28, no. 1 (1995), p. 116.

As the story of Prince Sukhāvati developed however, Lady Won-ang is pictured as a character whose sacred identity went through the transformation and its originality is completely changed to another matter. In the Prince Sukhāvati story, Lady Won-ang was depicted as a faithful matriarchal figure, yet after the appearance of other genres such as secular literature, novels and Shamanistic narratives (敍事巫歌), her images slowly transformed into a character which contrasts to the original image represented in the narrative painting.

2. A comparative analysis between Buddhist images and folklore

When we discussed the story of Prince Sukhāvati, the family members of King Sala were introduced as the Amitabha Triad. At the end of the story, Lady Won-ang was known as the manifestation of Bodhisattva Kuan-yin in *The Buddha's Genealogy*. Looking at the pictorial image of Lady Won-ang alone allows an iconographic comparison to be drawn with other female devotees

141) Yu Mongyin (柳夢寅), *Ŏuyatam* (於于野談, *The Unofficial Histories of Mr. Eo u)*, trans., Shin Ikcheol, et al., (Seoul: Dolbegae, 2006), Vol. 1, pp. 209-210 and Vol. 2, pp. 104-105; Choe, "Marginalized yet Devoted," pp. 209-211.

自念昔釋迦王之太子也，葉國踰城，苦行於雪山十年，爲住世之佛。文殊於曩劫女神也，亦忘體參道，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。其餘歷代之辛勤者，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？

The text introduces Lady Won-ang in the name of Lady Won-wang (願王夫人).

depicted in the Buddhist paintings patronized by the Royal Court. In the late 15th to early 17th century, Korean Buddhist paintings expressed various representations of female devotees. In *The Gathering of Five Buddhas* (五佛會圖, 1490 C.E), the painting's lower-right corner shows the patrons who are slowly moving upward in a zig-zag movement. (Figure. 27) Amongst the patrons, there is a woman who is heavily dressed in layers of rich garments with head accessories, revealing her status to that of a queen consort. (Figure. 27-1) The figure's face is partially shaded with gradations of white on the forehead, nose and chin. In Korean this method is named 'Sam-baek-bop(三白法),' which is known to have originated from the Buddhist arts of Central Asia.¹⁴²⁾ Looking back to the images of Lady Won-ang again, her facial expression also bears a similar whitening shade to the noble lady's in *The Gathering of the Five Buddhas*. Lady Won-ang's rounded face and her elaborative expression with cherry-like lips also resemble the woman from the *Painting of the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva*. (Figure. 6-1) Because this painting was produced around the same time span as *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*, it might be possible that the same painter participated on both pictures simultaneously. The representation of the female devotee however, reveals another iconographic character in later

142) Jessica Rawson, "Paintings and Prints from Dunhuang," in *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas: Chinese Art from the Silk Route*, ed. Anne Farrer (London: London British Museum Publications, 1990), p. 20.

examples. A large *Hanging Painting of Five Buddhas Assembly* in Chiljang Temple (七長寺 五佛會掛佛圖) was commissioned by the second queen consort of King Seonjo in 1628. (Figure. 28) The female devotees in this painting's lower-right corner evidently show an image which contrasts significantly with the previous examples. The gradations of white on the face is no longer used and the facial shape is more elongated in terms of its Sinicized taste. Yet her highly knotted hair style vaguely resembles to those of Lady Won-ang's. (Figure. 28-1).¹⁴³⁾

The story of Prince Sukhāvati was later retold in other Korean literature and as temple legend. Even though Lady Won-ang's hidden identity was kept as the merciful Bodhisattva, her image from the narrative painting and the later versions of the texts began to reveal a contrasting gap. To discuss about this comparison we must look back to the versions of the Prince Sukhāvati story once more. Lady Won-ang chose to follow her husband to be the pursuer of the Buddhist enlightenment, yet her destiny was changed by selling herself and the unborn child to the wealthy man's servant. She also had to pay for the consequence of her son's escape with her own death and her true manifestation as the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin is finally revealed in the end. *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* mostly

143) Lee Seunghee, "1628nyŏn ch'ilchangsa opulhoe kwaepulto yŏnku (A Study of Hanging Painting of Five Buddhas Assembly at Chiljang Temple painted in 1628)," *Misulsa nontan* vol. 23 (2006), pp. 178-179.

adapted this storyline from *The Buddha's Genealogy*, except Lady Won-ang's manifestation to Kuan-yin was not represented in the last scene. In *The Additional Print of the Kirim Temple's Historic Record* (別本祇林寺事蹟), a slight change in the story's development occurred. Even though the general outline of the story does not differ too much from *The Chronological Record*, the secular distress and physical suffering for mother and son to endure are added as one of the dramatic events in this temple record.¹⁴⁴⁾ *The Additional Print* also concludes by narrating miraculously revived mother and filial son arrive at Saint Gwang-yu's Yimjeong Temple instead of making final journey to Amitabha's Pure Land.

Other than these partial differences, *The Additional Print* marks another significant contrast. It is *The Additional Print* and later versions of the story that the appearance of a flower garden takes an important cue throughout the texts. This concept of flower does not appear in *The Buddha's Genealogy* and only starts from this temple legend. Its role as a wondrous subject began to have a direct influence on the characters, specially to Lady Won-ang when flowers collected from the garden are being used to revive her life. In the *Additional Print* and the *Story of Sukhāvati* (安樂國傳), Saint Gwang-yu asks for King Sala to give

144) Jo Heungyun, *Hankugŭi wŏnhyŏng-sinhwa wŏnang-puin ponp'uli* (*The Archetypal Myth of Korea: The Narrative Songs of Lady Won-ang*), (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2000), p. 97 and pp. 103-104.

him the task of repairing the sacred flower garden.¹⁴⁵⁾ In both these stories when the prince visits his father, the boy receives these miraculous flowers and being instructed to use these petals to revive the dead Lady Won-ang.¹⁴⁶⁾ When we look into the narrative painting on the other hand, the image of the flower garden is entirely omitted. The only botanical representation similar to sacred flowers or garden is the nine branched Bodhi tree (菩提樹) which stands at the scene of the King and Prince's reunion. (Figure. 29) Since *The Chronological Record* does not mention a word about the flower garden, it is unclear why the painting has taken the image of the Bodhi tree. However, *The Buddhist Painting of King Sala from Kirim Temple* (祈林寺紗羅樹王

145) *Hankug sach'al chŏnsŏ*, "Pyŏlpon kirimsa sachŏg" p. 201. 治中梵摩國林井寺光有聖人，領五百弟子，花田修理，以爲恒規。以錫穿地五處，各爲湧井，東曰清涼，南曰滿潔，西曰玉溪，北曰甘露，中曰遇童，汲此五種水，注於花業故，花亦一萼，有五種色也。光有聖上召大衆曰，吾聞娑羅樹大王，心本大慈，一切能捨，好普施云，誰能往西天，倩人來，同修花田耶。

Anragkugchŏn, pp. 11-13. 과거 적에 석가세존이 삼천 제자 거느리고 常主 說法 하시는 道場에 優曇鉢羅화와 蓮花를 색색이 심어두고 즐기시더니, 이때에 九年之水와 七年大旱을 만나, 아홉 해 비 오실 제는 우담바라화가 썩썩하여 나날이 花氣 있을 때 세존님 즐기시더니, 일곱 해 가뭄을 만나매 그 꽃이 점점 이울어 가니 세존이 스스로 슬픈지라...이에 삼천 제자들이 생각하고 모든 대중이 의논하되, “우리 삼천 대중에 어진 사람 가려내어 化主 내어 人乞粒하여 꽃밭 수레 하여 스승님 마음 安保하십시다” 하고... 세존님이 승여래바라문에게 이르시되, “대원국왕 娑羅樹大王님과 鴛鴦夫人님께 가서 내 말을 하면 시행할 것이니 그리 가라” 하신대, 승여래가 하느님께 遙拜하고 가니라.

146) *Hankug sach'al chŏnsŏ*, "Pyŏlpon kirimsa sachŏg" p. 203. 聖人曰，汝之來此，不如不來，難家未久，長者殺母必然，然事已至此，悲何有益.. 卽以五世應花，出而授之，教曰，一血氣，二骨節，三皮肉，四命全，五能言，此之五色，隨其次第，而置之于骨上，卽死人還生也... 安樂國無復得聞尋晉竹田，不知骨所，而探盡竹葉，終不見骨，大聲痛哭。其長者養狗，數至九十九矣。夫人當初竹田致死後，此等諸狗，淨骨喋囑，故其九十九狗，各持一骨，以給于安樂國。安樂國奉骨連續，置花其上，夫人再甦起坐...。

幀) represents the scenes that are in relation to this magical flower. Although the condition of the painting is not so much better than *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*, the picture's scenery description clearly reveals the existence of the flowers. For example, the picture's third scene shows the eight palace maidens drawing water from the well and taking care of the flower beds in Saint Gwang-yu's Yimjeong Temple.¹⁴⁷⁾ (Figure. 2-1) Next, the mention of the flower appears in the scene where the Prince finds the corpse of his mother and puts them onto the dead body to revive her back to life.¹⁴⁸⁾ (Figure. 2-2) In the story of Prince Sukhāvati from *The Buddha's Genealogy*, there are no metaphors or allusions to flowers. Except the story emphasizes Lady Won-ang's self-sacrifice, letting people realize how to follow the Buddhist truth and freeing oneself from samsara, thus gaining the ultimate goal in Amitabha's Pure Land. On the other hand, in *The Additional Print* and *The Painting of King Sala* the presence of flower surfaced as an important symbol. And as the story developed into oral literature, the flowers' magical blooming and withering would depend on the Buddhist communities' gracious devotion. Petals collected from this garden would eventually be used to revive the dead.

Finally, Prince Sukhāvati's story went through another major change in its content and characters which were related to

147) 祈林寺沙羅樹王幀 旁題 三. 八彩女給水花田修成聖道。

148) 祈林寺沙羅樹王幀 旁題 十. 安樂國痛哭母花。

Korea's Shamanist narratives (敍事巫歌). The Shamanist narrative entitled *I-gong Bon pu-ri* (이공본풀이) is one of the myths derived from Korea's Jeju Island. In this oral narration, the importance of religious compensation is replaced by personal agony and deep resentment. This folklore from Jeju Island is the fifth series out of 11 main Shamanist narratives which tell the story of Korean myths and popular beliefs. Interestingly, the tale's title 'I-gong' means 'flower root' in the dialect of Jeju Island, and 'Bon pu-ri' signifies the 'account of a deity's life,' or the 'narrative songs of Shamans.'¹⁴⁹ Thus, *I-gong Bon pu-ri* can be translated as 'The Narrative Songs of the Flower Shaman.' As one can clearly see from the title, throughout this Shamanistic story the flower itself becomes such a provocative symbol that almost exclude the other characters. Although *I-gong Bon pu-ri's* overall story development resembles the Prince Sukhāvati's, it does not include the Amitabha Buddha's Pure Land or sacrificing one's own life for gaining salvation is not evident. The family of King Sala is replaced with ordinary people, with the father who is called upon to work as the carer of the sacred flower garden and mother and son, who are left alone, are to be enslaved in the wealthy man's household. Because of her son's escape to see his father, the mother again meets her tragic death at the hands of

149) Jang Jugeun, *Jejuto musogkwa sōsamuka (The Narrative Songs and Shamanism of Jeju Island)*, (Seoul: Yeok rak Publishing, 2001), p. 43 and p. 64; Seo Daeseok, *Oral Literature of Korea* (Paju: Jimoondang, 2005), p. 37.

the master. This time, the returned son does not simply moan and revive his mother. The father foresees what might await for his son, and hands four different flowers which are 'The Flower of Ruinous Evil Mind (滅亡惡心花);' 'The Flower of Bursting Laughter,' 'The Flower of Causing Fight,' and 'The Flower of Reincarnation (生花).' Using the first three flowers one after another the boy destroys the whole household of the wealthy master and with the use of the fourth flower his mother is miraculously revived.¹⁵⁰⁾ Yet in this Shamanistic tale the revived mother's last trace remains in ambiguity whereas the father and son are destined to live as 'The King of the Flower Garden (西天花田大王)' and 'The Guardian Deity of Flowers (西天花監觀)' in the western heaven at the end of the story. Such uncertainty contrasts strongly to the preceding texts of Prince Sukhāvati where the revived Lady Won-ang gained the status of Bodhisattva Kuan-yin when she was brought to the Pure Land.

The scene where the son receives miraculous flowers and uses them to bring the parent back to life resembles another Shamanist narrative transmitted throughout Korea. *The Princess Ba-ri* is one of the well-known Shamanist tales which is also known as 'The Abandoned Princess' to Korean folklorists because she was thrown out shortly after birth by her own parents.¹⁵¹⁾

150) Jang Jugeun, *Jejuto musogkwa sōsamuka*, p. 124; Akamatsu Chijō and Akiba Takashi, *Chosŏn musogŭi yŏnku (The Studies of the Shamanism in Chosŏn)*, vol. 1 (Seoul: Dongmunsun, 1991), pp. 265-267.

151) Seo Daeseok, *Oral Literature of Korea*, pp. 38-39.

Princess Ba-ri also goes in search of miraculous flowers when her cold-hearted parents fell gravely ill and she uses the flowers to revive her parents back from the brink of death. Unlike *I-gong Bon pu-ri*, however, Princess Bari acquires the status of a goddess who takes charge of sending souls to the otherworld.¹⁵²⁾ Within the Korean Shamanistic tales there are numerous examples where flowers are taken as one of the important concepts. Especially 'The Flower of Illusion,' or 'The Flower that Gave Birth to the Buddha (生佛花)' is known as The Guardian (or Mountain) Spirit.¹⁵³⁾ In order to idolize this miraculous object, Korean Shamanistic narratives began to adapt several stories that involve either stealing, competing or receiving flowers which would eventually take the crucial role in deciding the characters' fate. As one of the results of Lady Won-ang from the Prince Sukhāvati story was applied to this Shamanistic concept, and instead of highlighting the Buddhist salvation in Pure Land, it uses the 'flower' as a specified talisman to dramatize the details of the story.

When the Korean folklorists discuss the story of *I-gong Bon pu-ri*, they suggest the possibility of this Shamanistic legend influenced The Prince Sukhāvati story in *The Buddha's Genealogy* and according to their analysis, the indigenous folk story is

152) Akamatsu Chijō and Akiba Takashi, *Chosŏn musogŭi yŏnku*, p. 44.

153) Pyeon Muyoung, *Hankug pulkyo minsogron (The Folk Theory of Korean Buddhism)*, (Seoul: Minsokwon, 1991), pp. 314-315.

superior to the Buddhist scriptures.¹⁵⁴⁾ Nevertheless, it is quite unlikely that *I-gong Bon pu-ri* was an original model to the Prince Sukhāvati story. Although the story's origin remains anonymous, it is difficult to accept that King Sejo was well-informed in the desolate island's vernacular tale when editing the story of Prince Sukhāvati in *The Buddha's Genealogy*. Undoubtedly, the original story went through the transformation and as a result the distinction between the visual evidence and transmitted texts have shown certain contrasts. It was either something to do with the characters' identity or an entirely new object appeared to dramatize the scenes which contributed to secularize the story. In this version the image of Lady Won-ang from the narrative painting was nowhere to be seen and the Buddhist belief to enter Amitabha's Pure Land became a revengeful drama where flowers are used to punish the wicked as well as revive the dead back to life.¹⁵⁵⁾

154) Hyun Yongjun, *Jejuto sinhwaŭi susukkekki* (*The Enigma of the Myths of Jeju Island*), (Paju: Jipmundang, 2005), p. 73.

155) Seo Youngdae, "Hankugŭi t'och'ag chongkyowa pulkyo (The Indigenous Religion and Buddhism in Korea)," in *Hankug pulkyosa yŏnku ibmun*, ed. Choe Byeongheon (Paju: Jisik Publisher, 2013), pp. 195-202.

Conclusion

The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati advocates Buddhist salvation in Amitabha's Pure Land. It shares similar pictorial narrative with *The Buddhist Painting of King Sala* in Kirim Temple. However, when *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* was based on *The Buddha's Genealogy*, the painting at Kirim Temple portrayed the story as one of indigenous Buddhist literatures with dramatized circumstances. *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati* and its story deliver didactic message to viewers, but the story's originative resource still remains unclear except its various adaptation transmitted throughout the period of Chosŏn Dynasty.

Of these, Lady Won-ang was a woman who had a sacred identity as a merciful bodhisattva Kuan-yin who eagerly practiced good deeds and her life was pictured as a Buddhist legend became enveloped in religious faith. The women's salvation represented in the cases of Chūjō-hime or Princess Miao-shan were all firmly rooted in following the Buddhist path whereas Lady Won-ang had a far more complex and contrasting result. Lady Won-ang's general image would have been an ideal character for the royal palace ladies and her surroundings evolved into other categories that showed the literary context and Shamanistic concepts. Although the narrative painting and its

original story were connected to Chosŏn Dynasty's royal devotion to Buddhism, its later development had much to do with popular literature which turned a specific character more into a folk heroine. There are still unsolved questions concerning this narrative painting such as its practical use or why the same story had been transformed from Buddhist literature to vernacular tales. In this thesis the person who played the major role is obviously addressed to Lady Won-ang. Through the propagation of the story for centuries she always came back as the sacred being, either as a celestial bodhisattva or as a Shamanistic goddess. Her story does not end as a mere piece of painting, but as a multidisciplinary subject which still offers legendary tradition and an ultimate path to salvation.

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Fig. 1-2) The detail of Fig. 1, the seventh sequence where the King Sala, Lady Won-ang, and the disciple monk go to attend Saint Gwang-yu's service.

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- Fig. 16) The Illustration of the Dragon Boat (龍船圖), 1577, wood Print, 30.5cm×19.4cm, Jabi-Temple(慈悲寺), Korea.
- Fig. 17) *Taima Mandala Engi Emaki* (當麻曼荼羅緣起繪卷), 1253, set of two handscrolls, ink on paper, Komyo-ji (光明寺), Japan.
- Fig. 18) *Taima Mandala* (當麻曼荼羅), ca. 1300-1325, hanging scroll, colours, gold and silver on silk, Cleveland Museum of Art.
- Fig. 19) The sculpture of Chūjō-hime (中將公主木像), wood, the hall of mandara in Taimadera (當麻寺曼荼羅堂).
- Fig. 20) *Visualization Mandala of the Heart and Ten Worlds of Kumano* (熊野感心十界曼荼羅), 18-19th Century, hanging scroll, ink on paper, Niigatakenritsu Sado Museum, Japan.
- Fig. 21) The detail of Fig. 20, The Jizo Bodhisattva saving the

female sinners in hell.

Fig. 22) The travelers to Kumano Mountain listens to the Kumano Ten Worlds Mandala's picture performing.

Fig. 23) The narrative order of Queen Vaidehi, detail from the Prefatory Court of the Taima Mandala, 1686, hanging scroll, colours on paper, Taimadera (當麻寺), Japan.

Fig. 24) *The Painting of Amitabha Buddha's Welcoming* (阿彌陀聖衆來迎圖), 14th Century, hanging scroll, colours on silk, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.

Fig. 25) *The Pictorial Biography of Prince Shōtoku* (綾本著色聖德太子繪伝), 1069, twofold screen panels, colours on silk, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.

Fig. 26) Attrib. to Fan qiong (范瓊), *Kuan-yin of Great Compassion* (大悲觀音像), Ming Dynasty, Taiwan National Palace Museum, Taiwan.

Fig. 27) *The Gathering of Five Buddhas* (五佛會圖), late 15th Century, colours on silk, 160.4cm×111.7cm, Zurinji (十輪寺), Japan.

Fig. 27-1) The detail of fig. 27.

Fig. 28) *The Hanging Painting of Five Buddhas' Assembly* (五佛會掛佛圖), 1628, colours on silk, 656cm×404cm, Chiljang Temple (七長寺), Anseong.

Fig. 28-1) The detail of fig. 28.

Fig. 29) The Nine Branched Bodhi Tree (菩提樹) from the Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhavati.

Illustrations



Fig. 1
The Narrative Painting of the Prince Sukhāvati (安樂國太子傳變相圖), 1576, hanging scroll, colours on silk, 105.8cm×56.8cm, Seizan Bunko (青山文庫), Japan.



Fig. 1-1
The detail of Fig. 1, the second sequence where the Eight palace maidens go with the disciple monk to attend Saint Gwang-yu's service.



Fig. 1-2
The detail of Fig. 1, the 7th sequence where the King Sala, Lady Won-ang, and the disciple monk go to attend Saint Gwang-yu's service.



Fig. 1-3
The detail of Fig. 1, the 9th sequence where the Lady gets travel sickness and decides to sell herself for a servant.



Fig. 1-4
The detail of fig. 1, the 12th and 13th sequence where the Lady Won-ang is sold in the house of the rich man.



Fig. 1-5
The detail of fig. 1, the 14th sequence where the King Sala and Lady Won-ang part from one another.



Fig. 1-6
The detail of Fig. 1, the 19th sequence where the escaped Prince Sukhāvati meets the Eight palace maidens.



Fig. 1-7
The detail of Fig. 1, the 20th and 21st sequence where the Prince Sukhāvati and King Sala recognize each other.



Fig. 1-8
The detail of Fig. 1, the 24th sequence where the returning Prince hears shepherd boy's song that reveals the death of Lady Won-ang.



Fig. 1-9
The detail of fig. 1, the 25th sequence where the Prince Sukhāvati discovers the corpse of Lady Won-ang and prays towards the Western Paradise.



Fig. 1-10
The detail of fig. 1, the 25th sequence where the revived Lady Won-ang and the Prince board on the Dragon Boat of Wisdom, heading to the Western Paradise.



Fig. 2

The Painting of the Three Buddhas (三世佛畫) on the upper part, *The Painting of King Sala* (祈林寺沙羅樹王幀) on the lower part, 18th Century, hanging scroll, colours on silk, 225.5cm×335.5cm, Museum of Dongguk University, Gyeongju.



Fig. 2-1

The detail of Fig. 2, the 3rd sequence where the Eight palace maidens taking care of the flower beds.



Fig. 2-2

The detail of Fig. 2, the 10th sequence where the Prince Sukhāvati places the flower on the corpse of Lady Won-ang.



Fig. 3
*The Painting of the Prefatory Part of
 Amitayur-dhyana-sutra* (觀經序分變相圖),
 Goryeo, hanging scroll, colours on silk,
 150.5cm×113.2cm, Saifukuji (西福寺),
 Japan.



Fig. 4
The Seated Amitabha Sculpture,
 (木造阿彌陀佛坐像),
 1586, gilded wood,
 51.5cm×36cm,
 Bong-am Temple (鳳巖寺),
 Mungyeong.

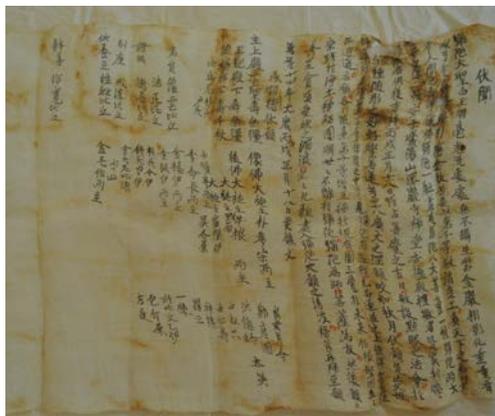


Fig. 5 The invocation from Fig. 4 which states the Royal family members' titles.



Fig. 6
The painting of the Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva,
 (慈宮淨社地藏菩薩圖), 1575-77,
 hanging scroll, colours on silk,
 Chionin (知恩院), Kyoto.

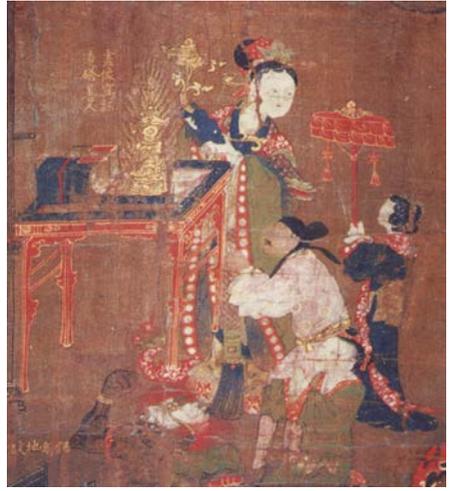


Fig. 6-1
 The detail of fig. 6.



Fig. 7
 The invocation written
 on the Fig. 6.



Fig. 8
The Narrative Painting's
analysis by Hong Yunpyo (2011).



Fig. 9
The Narrative Painting's analysis
by Gumagai Nobuo (1969).

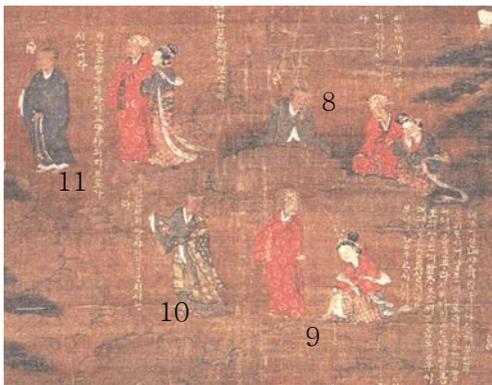


Fig. 10
The detail of Fig. 8.



Fig. 11
The detail of Fig. 9.



Fig. 12
The detail of Fig. 8.



Fig. 13
The detail of Fig. 9.



The Palace of King Sala (西天國)

The Yimjeong Temple (林井寺)

Fig. 14 The detail of Fig. 2

The Buddhist Painting of King Sala in Kirim Temple (祈林寺紗羅樹王幀).



Fig. 15 The detail of *The Western Paradise of Amitabha* (西方九品龍船接引繪圖), 1582, golden drawing on vermilion silk, 115.1cm×87.8cm, Raigoji (來迎寺), Japan.



Fig. 16 *The Illustration of the Dragon Boat* (龍船圖), 1577, wooden print, 30.5cm×19.4cm, Yongcheon Temple (龍泉寺), Korea.

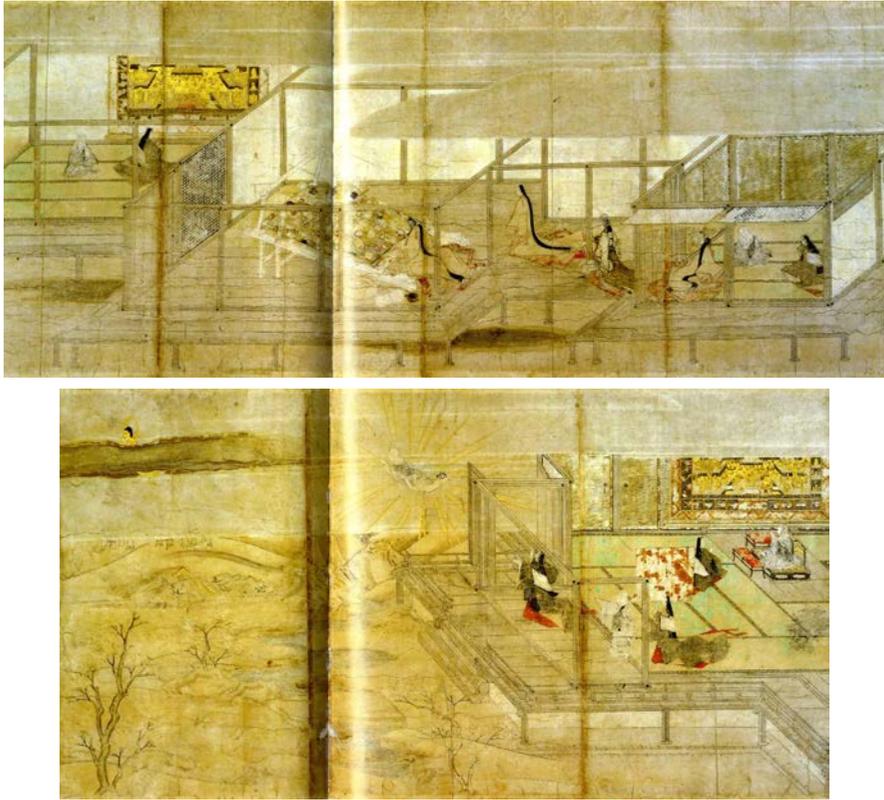


Fig. 17 *Taima Mandala Engi Emaki* (當麻曼荼羅緣起繪卷),
1253, set of two handscrolls, ink on paper, Komyoji(光明寺), Japan.



Fig. 18 *Taima Mandala* (當麻曼荼羅), ca. 1300-1325, hanging scroll,
colours, gold and silver on silk, Cleveland Museum of Art.



Fig. 19
*The sculpture of Chūjō-hime (中將
 公主木像), wood, the hall of
 mandara in Taimadera (當麻寺曼
 荼羅堂).*



Fig. 20
*Visualization Mandala of the Heart
 and Ten Worlds of Kumano (熊野感
 心十界曼荼羅), 18-19th Century,
 hanging scroll, ink on paper,
 Niigatakenritsu Sado Museum,
 Japan.*



Fig. 21 The detail of Fig. 20,
 The Jizo Bodhisattva saving the
 female sinners in hell.



Fig. 22
 The travelers to Kumano
 mountain listen to the *Kumano
 Ten Worlds Mandala's* picture
 performing.

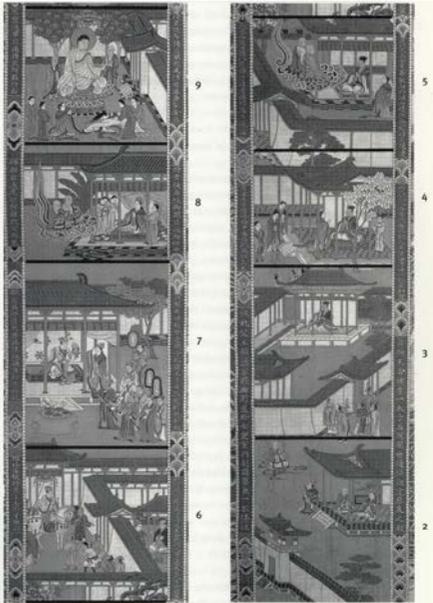


Fig. 23
The narrative order of Queen Vaidehi, detail from the Prefatory Court of the Taima Mandala, 1686.

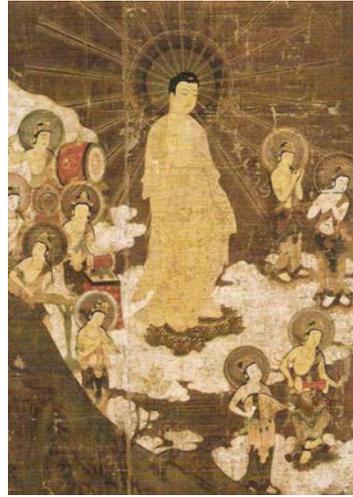


Fig. 24
The Painting of Amitabha Buddha's Welcoming (阿彌陀聖衆來迎圖), 14th Century, hanging scroll, colours on silk, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.



Fig. 25 *The Pictorial Biography of Prince Shōtoku* (綾本著色聖德太子繪伝), 1069, twofold screen panels, colours on silk, Tokyo National Museum, Japan.



Fig. 26
 Attrib. to Fan-qiong (范瓊),
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 Taiwan National Palace
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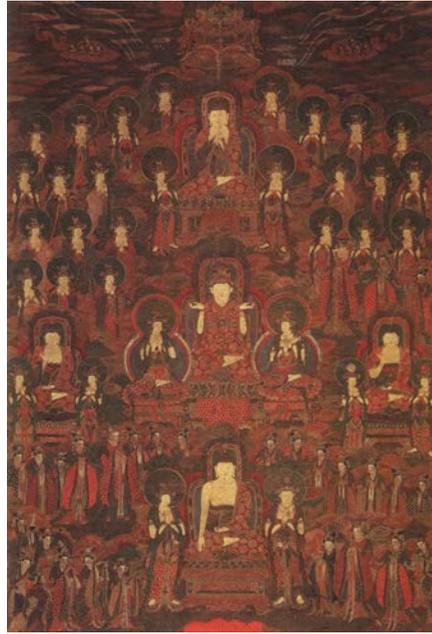


Fig. 27
The Gathering of Five Buddhas,
 (五佛會圖), late 15th Century,
 colours on silk,
 160.4cm×111.7cm,
 Zurinji (十輪寺), Japan.



Fig. 27-1, The detail of fig. 27.



Fig. 28

The Hanging Painting of Five Buddhas' Assembly (五佛會掛佛圖), 1628, colours on silk, 656cm×404cm, Chiljang Temple (七長寺), Anseong.



Fig. 28-1

The detail of fig. 28.

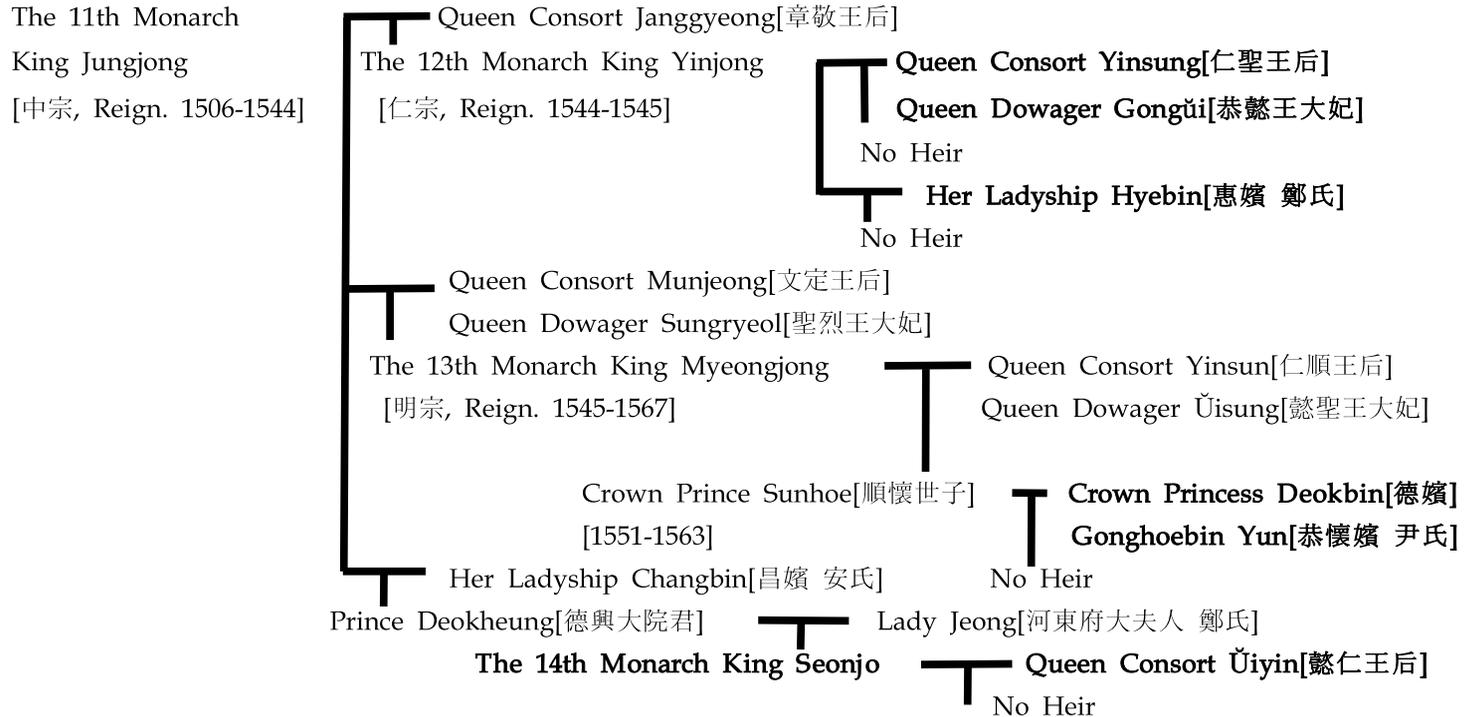


Fig. 29

The Nine Branched Bodhi Tree (菩提樹) from *The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhāvati*.

Appendix 1 - The Geneology of Chosŏn dynasty's

11th-14th Monarchs and Queen Consorts



**Appendix 2 - *The Moon's Imprint on the Buddha's
Genealogy* (月印釋譜)'s Original Text, Korean and
English Translations**

原文 - 其220
梵摩羅國에 光有聖人이 林淨寺에 教化터시니 西天國에 沙羅樹王이 四百國을 거느렛터시니
한글해석
범마라국에 광유성인이 임정사에서 교화하시더니. 서천국에 사라수왕이 4백국을 거느리시더니.
영문해석
In the Kingdom of Brahman, Saint Gwang-yu (光有聖人) preached (the masses) at the Yimjeong Temple (林淨寺). In the Western India, King Sala (沙羅樹王) reigned over 400 kingdoms.

原文 - 其221
勝熱 婆羅門을 王宮에 브리샤 錫杖을 후느시더니 鴛鴦夫人이 王 말로 나샤 齋米를 받줍터시니
한글해석
승열 바라문을 왕궁에 부리시어 석장을 흔드시더니. 원앙부인이 왕의 말씀으로 나시어 재미를 바치시더니.
영문해석
(Saint Gwang-yu ordered his disciple) Monk Seung-yeol (勝熱) to visit the (King Sala's) palace, (when he arrived) the monk shook his staff. (Hearing the sound of the shaken staff) The King let the Lady Won-ang (鴛鴦夫人) to go before the monk, offering rice for the Buddhist alms.

原文 - 其222
齋米를 마다커시닐 王이 親히 나샤 婆羅門을 마자 드르시니 媵女를 請커시닐 王이 갓그샤 八媵女를 보내스브시니
한글해석

재미를 마다고 하시거늘 왕이 몸소 나가시어 바라문을 맞아들이시니.

채녀를 청하시거늘 왕이 기뻐하시어 8 채녀를 보내시니.

영문해석

(The monk) Refused her offering, thus the King himself went to greet the monk.

(The monk instead) Asked for the maidens, the King got overjoyed and sent the Eight palace maidens (for the monk's request).

原文 - 其223

媵女 | 金鑊子 메샤 하루 五百 디위를 梅檀井에 물 길더시니

媵女 | 功德 닷ᄃ샤 三年을 치오시니 無上道에 갓잡더시니

한글해석

채녀가 금관자를 메시고 하루 5백 번을 전단정에 물을 길으시더니.

채녀가 공덕을 닦아 3년을 채우시니 무상도에 가까우시더니.

영문해석

The Eight maidens (八媵女) held the golden bucket, each day drew water 500 times from the well.

The Eight maidens practiced their virtuous deeds for 3 years, almost achieved the unsurpassed enlightenment of the Buddha.

原文 - 其224

勝熱 婆羅門이 王宮에 또 오샤 錫杖을 후느시더니

鴛鴦夫人이 王 말로 또 나샤 齋米를 받줍더시니

한글해석

승열 바라문이 왕궁에 또 오셔서 석장을 흔드시더니.

원앙부인이 왕의 말씀으로 또 나가셔서 재미를 바치시더니.

영문해석

The monk Seung-yeol again visited the Royal Palace, shook his staff.

Lady Won-ang again went to the monk, offered the rice for

the Buddhist alms.

原文 - 其225
齋米를 마다커시늘 王이 親히 나샤 婆羅門을 마자 드리시니 維那를 삼스브리라 王을 請호습노이다 님금이 ㄹ장 깃그시니
한글해석
재미를 마다고 하시거늘 왕이 몸소 나가 바라문을 맞아 들이시니. 유나를 삼으려고 왕을 청합니다 (하니) 임금이 매우 기뻐하시니.
영문해석
(The monk) Refused the alms, the King himself went to greet the monk. (The monk delivers the message saying, Saint Gwangyu wishes to) Make you as his rector, hearing this message the King was overjoyed.

原文 - 其226
四百 夫人을 여희오 가노라호샤 눈물을 흘리시니 鴛鴦夫人이 여희스롬 슬호샤 피스보물 請호시니
한글해석
4백 부인을 여의고 가느라 하시어 눈물을 흘리시니. 원앙부인이 이별함을 슬퍼하시어 (계속) 모실 것을 청하시니.
영문해석
(Because of the thought of) Leaving behind the 400 ladies behind, (the King's heart is broken) he sheds tears. Lady Won-ang also grieves over their sudden parting, (also) entreated she wishes to carry on serving her husband.

原文 - 其227
세 분이 길 녀샤 竹林國 지나실제 夫人이 몸(몸) 뛰더시니 兩分스리 슬벗샤디 사름의 지블 어다 내 몸을 프라지어다
한글해석
세 분이 길을 (떠)나시어 죽림국을 지나실 제 부인이 (노독으로) 움직이지 못하시더니. 두 분께 여쭙시되 사람의 집을 찾아 내 몸을 팔게 해 주십시오.

영문해석
When the three people (Monk Seung-yeol, King Sala and Lady Won-ang) began their journey, passing through Jukrim Guk (竹林國, Kingdom of Bamboo Grove) the Lady staggered because of the fatigue. The Lady asked to the monk and the king to find a house and sell her off (so that she cannot become a burden on their path).

原文 - 其228
비(버)들 바드샤 내 일흠 조쳐 성인스기 받즈불쇼셔 프롬도 설브시며 더 말도 슬프실씩 양분이 그장 우르시니
한글해석
값을 받으시어 내 이름도 함께 성인께 바치소서. 파는 것도 괴로우시며 저 말도 슬프시므로 두 분이 매우 우시니.
영문해석
(The Lady carried on saying,) When you receive a good sum of money, dedicate my name to the saint as well. The thought of selling (his wife) and hearing such words were so saddening, (shaken with utmost grief) the royal pair cried their heart out.

原文 - 其229
子賢長者 지비 세 분이 나사가샤 겨집종을 프라지이다 子賢長者 듣고 세 분을 띄셔 드라 겨집종이 비디 언메잇가
한글해석
자현장자의 집에 세 분이 나아가시어 계집종을 팔게 해(사) 주십시오. 자현장자 듣고 세 분을 모시고 들어가 계집종 값이 얼마입니까?
영문해석
The three people went to the house of the wealthy man (子賢長者), asking to sell the Lady for his servant. Hearing their request, the wealthy man let them enter his house asking, 'How much is the price for this woman?'

原文 - 其230
夫人이 니르샤되 내 몸엿 비디 二千斤스 金이니이다 夫人이 쯔 니르샤되 비운 아기 비디 쯔 二千斤스 金이니이다
한글해석
부인이 이르시되, 내 몸의 값이 (순)금 2천 근입니다. 부인이 또 이르시되, 잉태한 아기의 값이 또 (순)금 2천 근입니다.
영문해석
The Lady requested, the price of my body costs 2,000 gold. The Lady requested again, the price of the baby in my womb costs another 2,000 gold.

原文 - 其231
四千斤스 金을 비드로 내야 兩分스기 받즈븨니 흐룻밤 자시고 門 밖기 나샤 三分이 슬터시니
한글해석
사천근의 (순)금을 값으로 내어 두 분께 바치시니. 하룻밤을 주무시고 문 밖에 나오셔서 세 분이 슬퍼하시더니.
영문해석
The Buddhist elder paid 4,000 gold pieces to the king and the monk. After staying for a night at the wealthy man's house, (next day) in front of the house gate (the royal pair) shared their last grievous moment.

原文 - 其232
夫人이 슬브샤되 꿈붓아니면 어느 길헤 다시 보스븨리 사람이 善을 닷면 利益을 受흐느니 往生偈를 ㄹ르치습노니
한글해석
부인이 여쭙시되, 꿈이 아니면 어느 길에서 다시 (만나)보리? 사람이 선을 닦으면 이익을 받으(리)니 왕생계를 가르치니.
영문해석
The Lady asked, if not in a dream where shall I be able to meet you again? If a man practices virtue he shall receive profit, thus the Lady taught the King the Verse of Rebirth in Pure Land.

原文 - 其233
宮中에 겨심 제 옷 허름 모르시며 비 골품도 업더시니이다 往生偈르 외오시면 헌 오시암글며 골픈비도 브르리이다
한글해석
궁중에 계실 제 옷이 떨어지는 것도 모르시고 배고픔도 없었습니다. 왕생계를 외우시면 헌 옷이 아물며(새 옷이 되며) 고픈 배도 부를 것입니다.
영문해석
When I stayed in the palace, I did not realize my clothes have worn out and did not feel any sense of hunger. If you memorize the Verse of Rebirth in Pure Land your worn out clothes will be replaced with the new and sense of hunger will also be ceased.

原文 - 其234
아기 일흠을 아들이 나거나 딸이 나거나 엇데하리잇가 子息의 일흠을 아비 이시며 어미 이샤 일정흐사이다
한글해석
아기의 이름을 아들이 나거나 딸이 나거나 어떻게 하리이까? 자식의 이름을 아비가 있고 어미 있으셔서 정하여 주시기 바랍니다.
영문해석
(If the child is born) Whether it is boy or girl how should I name the baby? Please select the child's name when both parents are still at present.

原文 - 其235
王이 드르샤 눈물을 흘리시고 夫人스 프들 어엿비 너기샤 아들웃 나거든 安樂國이라 흐고 딸이어든 孝養이라 흐라
한글해석
왕이 들으시고 눈물을 흘리시고 부인의 뜻을 가엾게 여기시어, 아들을 낳거든 안락국이라 하고 딸이거든 효양이라 하라.

영문해석
Hearing the words the king shed tears, sympathized over the Lady's thoughtful mind, (The king remarked) If you give birth to a boy name him Sukhāvati (安樂國), if give birth to a girl name her Hyo-yang (孝養, Filial Devotion).

原文 - 其236
門 밖기 서어 겨샤 兩分이 여희삶 제 슬하디여 우리녀시니 林淨寺애 가샤 聖人 뵈스박시늘 그장 깃거 물을 길이시니
한글해석
문 밖에 서 계시어 두 분이 이별하실 제 쓰러져 울며 가시니. 임정사에 가시어 성인을 뵈시니 매우 기뻐하시어 물 길게 하시니.
영문해석
The royal couple stood outside the door of the wealthy man's house, cried their heart out at the moment of separation. (The King finally arrived) At the Yimjeong Temple, the saint overjoyed at meeting the king and asked him to draw water.

原文 - 其237
엇게 우희 金罐子 메샤 우물에 물 길더시니 왼편 손으로 往生偈 자박샤 길 우희 외오더시니
한글해석
어깨 위에 금관자를 메시고 우물에서 물을 길으시더니. 왼 편 손으로 왕생게 잡으시고 길 위에 (가면)서도 외우시더니.
영문해석
(The king) Took over the golden bucket over his shoulder, began drawing water from the well. On his left hand took the Verse of the Rebirth in Pure Land ¹⁵⁶), recited the song even on the road.

156) This sentence could possibly mean that the king took the written verses of the Rebirth in Pure Land(往生偈).

原文 - 其238
아들님이 나샤 나히 닐구비어늘 아바님을 무르시니 어마님이 드르샤 목 메여 우르샤 아바님을 이르시니
한글해석
아드님이 나시어서 나이가 일곱이거늘 아버님 (일)을 물으시더니. 어머님이 들으시고 목메어 우시고 아버님 (일)을 이르시니.
영문해석
The Prince Sukhavati became 7 years old, then asked the whereabouts of his father (to his mother Lady Won-ang). Hearing this, the mother wept and told the prince of what his father was doing.

原文 - 其239
아기 逃亡하샤 아바님 보스보리라 林淨寺를 向하시더니 큰 물에 다드라 뉘동을 타샤 梵摩羅國에 이르르시니
한글해석
아기가 도망하셔 아버님을 뵈려고 임정사를 향하시더니. 큰 물에 다다라 짚단을 타시고 범마라국에 이르시더니.
영문해석
The Prince Sukhavati escaped the wealthy man's house to meet his father, headed towards Yim-jeong Temple. When he arrived at the wide river side he rode on a straw boat and reached the Kingdom of Brahman.

原文 - 其240
나아가시다가 八姝女 보시니 沙羅樹王이 오시느다 하시니 또 나아가시다가 아바님 만나시니 두 허퇴를 안아 우르시니
한글해석
(걸어)나아가시다가 8채녀를 보시니 사라수왕이 오신다 하시니. 또 나아가시다가 아버님을 만나시니, 두 다리를 안고 우시니.
영문해석
The prince on his way met the Eight maidens, who told him the king is coming near at any moment. Then the prince finally met the king himself, hugged the king's two legs and wept bitterly.

原文 - 其241
왕이 무르샤되 네 엇던 아희완(원)되 허퇴를 안아 우는다 아기 말 읊고 往生偈를 외오(으)신대 아버님이 안으시니이다
한글해석
왕이 물으시되, 너는 어떤 아이이기에 (내) 다리를 안고 우느냐? 아기가 말씀 여쭙고 왕생계를 외우니 아버님이 안으셨습니다.
영문해석
The king asked, "Why are you holding my legs and crying so?" The prince informed the king who he was and recited the Verse of Rebirth in Pure Land, the king then held the prince in his arms.

原文 - 其242
아래 네 어미 나를 여희여 시름으로 사니거늘사 오늘 네 어미 너를 여희여 눈물로 사니느니라
한글해석
지난날에 네 어미가 나를 이별하고 시름으로 살고 지내거늘, 오늘날 네 어미가 너를 이별하고 눈물로 살고 지내니라.
영문해석
In the past your mother was separated from me, lived through anxiety. Today your mother even had to be separated from you, living in tears.

原文 - 其243
아기 하딕흐샤 아버님 여희심 제 눈물을 흘리시니 아바님 슬흐샤 아기 보내심 제 놀애를 부르시니
한글해석
아기가 하직하시어 아버님(과) 헤어지실 제 눈물을 흘리시니. 아버님이 슬퍼하시어 아기 보내실 제 노래를 부르시니.
영문해석
When the prince bid farewell to his father, the boy shed tears again. The father grieved and on their separating moment sang a farewell song.

原文 - 其244
아라 녀리 그흔 이런 이븐 길헤 놀 보리라 우러곰 온다 大慈悲 鴛鴦鳥와 功德 닳는 내 몸이 正覺 날애 마조 보리어다
한글해석
알고 가는 이도 끊어진 이런 혼미한 길에 누구를 보려고 울면서 왔느냐? 대자비 원앙새와 공덕 닳는 내 몸이 정각하는 날에 (서로) 만나보 리라.
영문해석
On such deserted road, to meet whom have you come all this way crying? The day when the Great Compassionate Won-ang and my mortal body who practice Buddhist merit achieve enlightenment, we shall then be able to meet once again.

原文 - 其245
도라웁 길헤 쇼칠 아힐 보시니 놀애를 부르더니 安樂國이논 아비를 보라 가니 어미 못 보아 시름 깊거다
한글해석
돌아오는 길에 소 먹이는 아이를 만나시니 노래를 부르더니. 안락국이는 아버님 뵈려 가니, (이번에는) 어머님 못 보아 시름 깊 었습니다.
영문해석
On his way back to wealthy man's house the prince met a herdboy singing. (The herdboy sang) Sukhāvati went away to see his father, yet his time he is unable to see his mother and laden with anxiety.

原文 - 其246
長者 怒ᄃ야 夫人을 주기습더니 놀애를 부르시니이다 고ᄃᆞᆫ 님 못 보스ᄃᆞᆫ 슬ᄃᆞᆫ 우니다니 오ᄃᆞᆫ날애 녀시라 마로ᄃᆞᆫ다
한글해석
장자가 노해서 부인을 죽이니, (부인이) 노래를 부르시었습니다.

고운 님 보지 못하여 사르고 끊듯이 울며 지내더니, 오늘날에 녀
이라고 하지 말 것이었다.

영문해석

The wealthy man got furious (over the prince's escape) thereby
murdered Lady Won-ang, and at the moment of death she
sang a song.

Not being able to see my beloved, I spent my days crying like
one's in flames and broken to pieces, and (no one) would
not dare say it was a mere tale of woe.

原文 - 其247

夫人이 업스샤 三동이 ㄷ외샤 ㄷ게 아래 더땃더시니
아기 우르샤 三동을 되호시고 西方애 合掌하시니

한글해석

부인이 없으시어 (죽어서) 세 동강이 되시어 큰 나무 아래에 던지시더니.
아기가 우시어 세 동강을 (한데) 모으시고 서방에 합장하시니.

영문해석

Lady Won-ang's body was cut into three pieces, trashed under
the large tree.

The prince cried bitterly and collected each body piece, made
the sign of reverence towards the Western Paradise.

原文 - 其248

極樂世界엿 四十八 龍船이 空中에 ㄴ라오시니
接引 衆生 하시느 諸大菩薩들히 獅子座로 마자 가시니

한글해석

극락세계의 48 용선이 공중에서 날아오시니.
중생을 잡아끄시는 여러 큰 보살들이 사자좌로 맞아 가시니.

영문해석

The Forty-eight Dragon Boat from the Western Paradise then
flew in the air.

The Bodhisattvas also came along who greeted (the lady and
the prince) with the seat of lion-throne.

原文 - 其249
光有聖人은 釋迦牟尼시고 婆羅門은 文殊師利시니 沙羅樹王은 阿彌陀佛如來시고 夫人은 觀世音이시니
한글해석
광유성인은 석가모니이시고, 바라문은 문수사리이시니. 사라수왕은 아미타여래이시고 부인은 관세음보살이시니.
영문해석
Saint Gwang-yu is the Śākyamuni, his disciple Monk Seung-yeol is Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. King Sala is the Amitabha Buddha, his consort Lady Won-ang is Bodhisattva Kuan-yin.

原文 - 其250
여덟 婬女는 八大菩薩이시고 安樂國은 大勢至시니 五百 弟子는 五百 羅漢이시고 子賢長者는 無間地獄에 드니
한글해석
여덟 채녀는 팔대 보살이시고, 안락국은 대세지보살이시니. 오백 제자는 오백 나한이시고, 자현장자는 무간지옥에 드니.
영문해석
The Eight palace maidens are the Eight Maha-bodhisatvas, Prince Sukhāvātī is Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta. The Five Hundred disciples (of the Śākyamuni) are the Five Hundred Arhats, the evil wealthy man fell into the eternal hell of ceaseless suffering.

Appendix 3 - The Korean Chrysograph written in

*The Narrative Painting of Prince Sukhavati*¹⁵⁷⁾

Sequence No.	The Narration
1	<p>이날 승열바라무니 처엄 팔 처녀 비스오라 하시니라 This is the scene where the disciple monk goes to request the Eight palace maidens for the first time.</p>
2	<p>이날 원앙부인이 처엄 즈미 받즈오라 나와 겨시니라 This is the scene where Lady Won-ang goes to offer her Buddhist alms for the first time.</p>
3	<p>이날 처엄 팔 처녀 비스와 가시느니라 This is the scene where the Eight palace maidens are led away for the first time.</p>
4	<p>이날 비귀 팔 처녀 드리습고 와 뵈습느니라 This is the scene where the disciple monk led the Eight palace maidens (to Saint Gwang-yu).</p>
5	<p>이날 승열 바라문이 두 번째 셔턴구귀 가시느니라 This is the scene where the disciple monk goes to the Western Kingdom for the second time.</p>
6	<p>이날 승열바라무니 두 번째 와 겨시거늘 원앙부인이 즈미 받즈오라 나와 겨시니라 This is the scene where the disciple monk stay for the second time and Lady Won-ang offers the Buddhist alms.</p>
7	<p>이날 대왕과 부인과 승열바라문 세 부니 가시느니라 This is the scene where the King Sala, Lady Won-ang and the disciple monk head to Saint Gwang-yu's place.</p>
8	<p>이날 세 부니 초망가니셔 자시느니라 This is the scene where the three people spend the night at the remote field.</p>

9	<p>세 부니 길 네샤 독립국 지나실 제 부인니 못 뒤드시 니 낭분의 슬오샤디 사르미 지블 어더 내 몸블 프라 지이다 빈 바드샤 내 일흠 조쳐 성인의 받즈오쇼셔 프름도 설우시며 더 말도 슬프실시 낭부니 ㄹ장 우르 시니라</p> <p>When the three people were passing the Kingdom of Bamboo Forest the lady took the sickness, asked to sell herself and offer the sum of money to the saint. Those sorrowful wish and heartaching words made her husband to cry bitterly.</p>
10	<p>이논 비귀 당자 집 ㄹ르치시느니라</p> <p>This is the scene where the disciple monk points to the house of the rich man.</p>
11	<p>이논 초망가늌 자시고 당자의 지브로 가시느니라</p> <p>This is the scene where the three people slept in the remote field then heading toward the house of the rich.</p>
12	<p>이논 ㄹ현당자 지브 세 부니 나아가샤 겨집 종을 프 라지이다 흐시느니라</p> <p>This is the scene where the three people go to the wealthy man's house, asking to sell the lady as a house servant.</p>
13	<p>이논 자현당재 들고 세 부닐 뵈셔 드려 겨집 종의 비 디 언메잇싸 부인이 니르샤디 내 모매 비디 일천 근 금이니이다 쯔 니르샤디 비온 아귀 비디 쯔 일천 근 금이니이다 이천 근 금을 비드로 내야 낭분의 받줍느 니라</p> <p>The wealthy man heard their arrival and asked the price for the house servant. The lady answered her ownself should be priced a thousand gold and the baby in her womb should be priced another</p>

	<p>thousand gold. When the two thousand gold pieces were paid the lady gave them to the king and the monk.</p>
14	<p>흐룻 밤 자시고 문 밖의 나샤 세 부니 슬허시니 부인이 슬오샤디 꿈곧 아니면 어느 길헤 다시 보스오리 사르미 션을 닷스면 리익을 슈흐느니 왕싱게를 그르치습시고 아귀 일호물 엇찌 흐리잇싸 아비 어미 이셔 일덩흐사이다 왕이 눈물 흘리시고 부인 프들 어엿세 너기샤 아들옷 나거든 안락쑥기라 흐고 썬 나거든 효향이라 흐라 문 밖의 셔 겨샤 낭부니 여희실제 슬하디여 우르시느니라</p> <p>After spending the night, the three people bid their fairwell. The lady asked, 'From where shall I be able to see you again except in sweet dreams? When someone practice good deeds he shall receive benefit,' and she taught the king the verse of rebirth in Pure Land. She further asked the name of the unborn child and hearing those words the king wept, saying if it is a boy he should be named Sukhāvati, if a girl she should be named Hyo-hyang. At the wealthy man's house entrance the couple finally parted, wept in sadness.</p>
15	<p>이른 비귀 금 바다 지고 가시느니라</p> <p>This is the scene where the disciple monk goes with the gold.</p>
16	<p>이른 부인난 판 프르시고 대왕이 비구와 둘히 가시느니라</p> <p>This is the scene where the king parted from the lady and goes with the disciple monk.</p>
17	<p>이른 아기 도망흐샤 가시거늘 당자 집 종이 보고 자바 가습느니라</p>

	This is the scene where the prince escapes and the servant from the wealthy man's house takes the boy in pursuits.
18	이눈 아기 도망흐샤 아바님 보스오라 딥동 타고 가시 느니라 This is the scene where the prince escapes to see his father, riding on the straw boat.
19	이눈 아기 나아가시다가 처녀 보시니 대왕이 오시 다 흐시느니라 This is the scene where the prince meets the Eight maidens who tell him King Sala is on his way.
20	이눈 아기 아바님 만나시니 두 허튀를 안아 우르시 니 왕이 무르샤디 네 엇던 아히완디 허튀를 아나 우 는다 아기 딸 아니흐고 왕싱게를 외오신대 아바 니미 안으시니라 This is the scene where the prince meets his father and hugs him. The king asks "Who is this child to come this way crying and hugging me?" The prince does not speak a word, instead sings the verse of rebirth in Pure Land. The king then takes the prince in both his arms.
21	이눈 아기 아나 우르시느니라 This is the scene where the king holds the prince and cry in their reunion.
22	대왕이 아기드려 니르샤디 아래예 어미 나를 여 희여 시름으로 사니거늘 오늘 네 어미 너를 여 희여 눈물로 사느니라 아기 하딕흐야 여희 실 제 눈므을 흘리시니 아바니미 슬흐샤 아기 보내실 제 놀애를 부르시니 아래 너리 그춘 이런 이븐 길혜 누를 보리라 우러곰 온다 대즈비 원앙도와 공덕 단 는 내 몸이 경각 길혜 마조 보리어다

	<p>The king tells to the prince, "In the past your mother was separated from me and lived through anxiety, and today your mother even had to be separated from you, living in tears" When the prince bid farewell to his father, the king shed tears and on their separating moment sang a verse, "On such deserted road, to meet whom have you come all this way crying? The day when the Great Compassionate Won-ang and my mortal body who practice Buddhist merit achieve enlightenment, we shall then be able to meet once again."</p>
23	<p>이능 아기 도라오시느니라 This is the scene where the prince is returning.</p>
24	<p>아기 도라올 제 길헤 쇼 칠 아히를 보시니 놀애를 브르드니 안락국기는 아비는 보와니와 어미 몸 보와 시르미 깃거다 당재 노흐야 부인늘 주기습드니 놀애를 브르시니이다 고븐 님 몸 보스와 슬하우니다니 오늘 탈애 녀시라 마로렛자 햏야 니르느니라 On his way back to the wealthy man's house the prince met a herdboy who sang, "Sukhāvātī went away to see his father, yet this time he is unable to see his mother thus laden with anxiety. The wealthy man got furious (over the prince's escape) thereby murdered the lady, and at the moment of death she sang a song, "Not being able to see my beloved, I spent my days crying like one's in flames and (no one) would not dare say it was a mere tale of woe."</p>
25	<p>부인니 업스샤 삼동이 도의샤 즈게 아래 더덧시니 아기 우르샤 삼동을 뵈호시고 셔방애 합장햏시니 극락 세계엿 스십팔료셔니 공둥에 느라 오시니 접인중싱햏</p>

	<p>시는 제 대보살들히 스즈좌로 마자 가시느니라</p> <p>The lady's body was cut into three pieces, trashed under the large tree. The Prince cried and collected each body piece, then made the sign of reverence towards the Western Paradise. The Dragon Boat of Wisdom from the Western Paradise then flew in the air and the Bodhisattvas came along who greeted [the lady and the prince] with the seat of lion-throne.</p>
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157) I have followed the sequence analysed by Hong yun-pyo and Jeong Jae-young.

국문초록

본 논문에서는 조선시대인 1576년 제작된 《安樂國太子傳變相圖》에 나타난 여성 성불의 이미지를 주제로 삼았다. 그림에 도해진 내용의 원문과 화기(畵記), 시각적 구성 등을 통해 아미타 부처의 정토신앙과 그 안에서 성불을 이루고 구원받는 여인이 논의의 중점이며, 정토를 그린 설화와 불교미술 내에서 여성의 성불이 어떤 시각으로 도해되었는지 알아보려고 한다.

조선시대를 이끈 맹목적인 유교지상주의와 남성우월주의 사상을 고려해 볼 때 '여성 성불을 다룬 불화'라는 대상은 생소함을 불러일으킬 수 있다. 더구나 조선이라는 국가 자체가 불교를 배척했고, 특히 여성의 생활 반경이 제한되었던 상황도 고려해 본다면 '불교-여성'이라는 두 가지 주제를 함께 다루는 《안락국태자전변상도》의 내용은 예상 밖의 결과물로 보일 수 있다. 더 나아가 《안락국태자전변상도》는 한문이 아닌 훈민정음이 그림의 주요 서술 화법으로 사용되었으며, 변상도의 고정된 도해 형식을 따르기보다 매우 복잡한 구성과 배치를 지니고 있다. 그림의 내용이 전개되는 동안 정토로 우리를 이끌어야 할 아미타삼세불의 존재는 왕과 왕비 그리고 태자라는 가족으로 서술되고 있는데 여기서 왕비로 나오는 원앙부인(鴛鴦夫人)은 그림 속의 실질적인 주인공이자 중요한 구심점의 역할을 맡은 등장인물이다.

만력(萬曆) 4년(宣祖 6년, 1576), 두 명의 비구니들이 당시 조선 왕실의 대비와 중전 그리고 내궁(內宮) 비빈들의 허락을 얻어 한 장의 불화를 복원하기 위한 불사(佛事)를 일으킨다. 무수한 시간이

지나면서 색이 바라고 금빛이 퇴색된 이 그림은 형체마저 제대로 알아볼 수 없을 만큼 헐어버린 상태였다고 화기에 기록되어있다. 불사를 일으켜 재물을 모아 다시 복원된 《안락국태자전변상도》는 예전의 화려함을 되찾아 내궁의 벽에 걸려 보는 이들의 불심을 일으키는 그림으로 자리 잡는다.

《안락국태자전변상도》의 이야기는 1459년 세조가 편찬한 불교 대장경인 『月印釋譜』 제 8 권에 수록된 안락국태자전의 내용을 도해하고 있다. 불도(佛道)를 닦기 위해 부와 명예를 버리고 궁궐의 안락함을 떠나 수행의 길을 떠난 사라수왕(紗羅樹王)을 시작으로 이야기는 막이 오른다. 그러나 왕과 함께 길을 나선 왕비 원앙부인은 임신한 몸으로 병까지 얻게 되자 결국 남편의 짐을 덜기 위해 자신을 한 장자(長者)의 집에 노비로 팔도록 권유한다. 생이별을 치른 왕과 왕비는 각기 불가에 입문하고 장자의 노비로 살게 되며, 원앙부인은 서방정토를 의미하는 '안락국(安樂國)'이라는 이름의 아들을 낳는다. 얼굴도 모르는 부왕의 이야기를 어머니에게서 듣고 자란 소년은 아버지를 만나 뵙고 싶은 간절함에 몰래 장자의 집을 도망쳐 나와 범마라국(梵摩羅國)에서 수행 중인 사라수왕과 재회한다. 그러나 안락국의 도망을 알아챈 장자는 노여움 끝에 어미인 원앙부인을 토막 내어 죽이고, 집으로 돌아온 안락국은 어미의 시신이 대나무 숲에 널브러진 것을 발견하고는 구슬피 울면서 아미타 부처께 기도를 드린다. 이 때 공중에서 용선(龍船)이 내려와서는 죽음에서 기적적으로 되살아난 원앙부인과 안락국을 데리고 서방정토로 향하는 것이 이야기의 결말이다.

안락국태자전의 전반적인 내용을 읽어보면 아미타 부처의 정토에서 전하는 성불과 보살행을 통한 구원이 표면 위로 떠오름을 알

수 있다. 그러나 여주인공인 원앙부인의 존재는 이야기를 극적으로 끌고 가는 보살의 상징에서 한 발 더 나아가 희생의 본질을 강조하는 부인과 어머니의 역할을 도맡아 조선시대에서 요구하던 이상적인 불교-유교적 대상으로도 해석될 수 있다. 두 번째 장은 서술적인 측면에서 안락국태자의 이야기가 묘사된 문헌과 그림의 내용을 비교하면서 그 사이에서 드러나는 차이점에 대해 설명한다. 안락국태자전은 비단 『월인석보』뿐만이 아니라 기림사사적기(祈林寺事蹟記)와 연기설화도(緣起說畫圖), 그리고 18-19세기의 국문소설에서도 그 내용이 차용되어 각각의 문헌이 다루는 원앙부인의 이미지와 그녀를 둘러싼 환경은 점차 차이를 보이게 된다. 또한 그림의 화기에서 이름이 밝혀진 조선 왕실 비빈들은 16세기 말엽까지 적지 않은 불교미술품과 연관된 후원 그룹(Royal Patrons)을 형성하고 있다.

《안락국태자전변상도》의 원앙부인과 유사한 여성 성불의 이미지는 일본과 중국에서도 그 예를 찾아볼 수 있다. 특히 일본의 《當麻曼茶羅》에는 아미타 정토 신앙 하에서 자주 등장하는 마가다국 위제희(韋提希) 왕후와 그녀를 둘러싼 비극이 도해된 예가 여러 점 남아있다. 그리고 일본의 가마쿠라와 무로마치 시대의 대표적 이야기인 중장공주(中將姬, ちゅうじょうひめ)의 성불은 《當麻曼茶羅緣起繪卷》에 변상도의 형식으로 묘사되었다. 위의 불화 중 일부는 구전되어온 불교 설화를 시각적으로 알리는 용도 이외에도 대중들을 불교도로 이끄는(proselytize) 목적도 수반했다. 그러나 안락국태자전변상도의 실질적인 용도가 일본의 경우처럼 신도들을 위해 강창(講唱) 되었을 지에 대해서는 불분명하다.

『월인석보』의 안락국태자전에서 원앙부인은 헌신적이고 자애로운 부인과 어머니의 초상 이외에도 관음보살(觀音菩薩)의 화신으

로도 해석되고 있다. 특히 중국에서 묘선공주 (妙善公主)의 천수관음화 (千手觀音化) 전설은 송대 (宋代) 이후부터 다종다양한 불경에 그 내용이 서술되었고 그림으로도 남아있는 예가 전해진다. 이렇듯 일부 보살이 여성화되어 신도들에 의해 경배된 예는 있지만, 원앙부인은 조선 불교 미술 내에서 익숙하게 알려진 인물은 아니었다. 그럼에도 불구하고 『월인석보』를 비롯한 대부분의 문헌들은 안락국의 이야기 말미에 원앙부인이 관음보살의 화신이었다고 밝히면서 이 자비로운 보살을 어머니의 상 (像)과 연관 짓고 있다. 한국의 무불습합 내에서 원앙부인은 무속인의 이미지와 결부되어 성스러운 존재가 세속적 이미지로 가려진 여신으로 해석하기도 한다.

궁궐에 발을 디딘 순간부터 희생을 각오해야 했던 조선 왕실 여인들에게 《안락국태자전변상도》는 새로운 불교 도상을 알리고 시대가 요구하던 이상적인 여성상을 소개한 매개체의 역할을 맡았을 것이다. 아미타 부처의 정토 신앙과 정토계로 가는 길을 열어준 원앙부인의 존재는 왕실 깊숙한 곳에서 평생을 보내야 했던 고귀한 여인들에게 계도 (啓導)를 마련해 주었을 수 있다. 그림을 보는 동시에 궁정의 여인들은 정토로 들어가 구원받으리라는 숨겨진 소망과 조용한 위로를 그들의 가슴 속에 묻어두었을 것이다.

주요어 : 안락국태자전변상도 (安樂國太子傳變相圖),
여성성불 (女性成佛), 불교설화 (佛敎說話),
아미타정토 (阿彌陀淨土).

학 번 : 2011-20076