Transferring the Dharma Message of the Master
– Inscriptions on Korean Monk Portraits from the Chosŏn Period*

Maya Stiller

This article aims to give an overview of the inscriptions written on Korean Buddhist monk portraits, which serve as important means to understand the motivation of the donors who financed their production, and to explore the main functions of the portraits to the dharma descendants of the depicted. As will be seen in the examples of the sixteen portraits of the State Preceptors from Songgwangsa, lay persons as well as Buddhist monks donated money for the making of monk portraits in order to accumulate merit. It is in the painting inscriptions that these motivations are revealed. The eulogies provide information about the personal relations between the depicted and his scholar-friends and disciples, information that offers a significant contribution to the understanding of Chosŏn dynasty Buddhism. Eulogies written by famous scholars, and lengthy portrait titles, enhance the representative function of the portraits to serve as authorizing devices for the dharma lineage of the designated temple. In other words, by writing a eulogy, the scholars served as multiplicators of their friend’s fame and reputation. However, the portraits were commissioned by the disciples, and had never been authorized by the depicted masters themselves. The making of the portraits could thereby assist the disciples in constructing a designated temple’s dharma lineage. The eulogies written by the disciples enhance this notion, as they show the wish for the spread of the prestige and fame of the master. For the disciples, a portrait of their master symbolized the continuity of their lineage. At the same time, their eulogies also make one point very clear: a portrait is nothing but an expedient to comprehend the awakened mind of an eminent deceased master.

Keywords: Buddhism, Chosŏn dynasty, monks, portraits, eulogies

* The field research that was necessary to finalize the results presented in this article was supported by a Ph.D. travel grant of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) and a travel grant of the Kyujanggak Institute at Seoul National University, in spring/summer 2008.

Maya Stiller (herbstimond@ucla.edu) is a Ph.D. candidate at the Center for Buddhist Studies, Department of Asian Languages and Cultures, University of California, Los Angeles

© 2008 Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
Current State of Research on Korean Monk Portraits

In the West as well as in Korea, the study of Korean Buddhist art has constantly grown over the past twenty years. However, research on Korean monk portraits, *chinyŏng* (True Image), remains sorely lacking. Korean specialists in Buddhist art history traditionally did not study Buddhist monk portraits because they hold them in low esteem; in the canon of Buddhist paintings in general, paintings of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are more highly prized. Two further reasons why the study of Korean monk portraits has been hitherto neglected is that their variety and the number of portraits that are datable have been underestimated.

In order to systematically collect data on the portraits, I conducted research in Korea during several research trips to the peninsula between 2003 and 2008. I visited over forty temples and examined the pictures in their collections, took photographs of them and participated in commemoration rituals. Upon my return, I constructed a database containing 446 monk portraits, which provided the basis of my research. While doing research in Korea, I was often

---

1. In Korean, a monk’s portrait is referred to as *chinyŏng*, which can be translated into English by the term “portrait” or, in a more general sense, “image”. The modern Korean term for a secular portrait is the “painting of a likeness” (*ch’osanghwa* 肖像畫). However, from the Three Kingdoms period until the Chosŏn period, secular portraits were also referred to as *chin* or *yŏng*, as well as *chinyŏng*, furthermore “form, statue” (*sang* 像), “picture (scroll) of a portrait” (*yŏngjŏng* 影幀) and “small portrait” (*yŏngja* 影子). The first character, *chin* (truth), refers to the innermost nature of the sitter (see also T. Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf, “Chan Portraiture in Medieval China,” in Chan Buddhism in Ritual Context, ed. Bernard Faure (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 79). When talking about *chin* in terms of an image, it means that the portrait should express the immutable truth inherent in a person. The second character of the Korean word for “photograph”, *sajin* (寫真), “painting the truth (the truth inherent in what is depicted)” can be interpreted in a similar way. The second character of *chinyŏng* is *yŏng* 影 (“form”, “shadow”, “image”) which refers to the outer appearance of the sitter. Accordingly, a *chinyŏng* is the “image of the (sitter’s) true (nature)”. The first time in the East Asian cultural sphere that the term *sinyŏng* was employed as equivalent to portrait or likeness can be seen in the Chinese “History of the South” (*南史* C. Nánsī) compiled by Li Yánshou 李延壽 in 659. The term appears in the chapter on the “Biographies of the Liaáng imperial house” (梁宗室傳, C. Liángzōngshìzhuàn), quote: “每醜陋 較於禮儀 神影亦有酒色 所禱必從.” See Nánsī 51[=Nánsī, Bèishi (History of the South, History of the North), vol. 8 of Ėrshíshíshì (The Twenty-four histories), comp. Zhònghuàshūjū (Beijing, 1997), 1270]. In the Buddhist context, another common term for “portrait” during the Chosŏn period appears to have been *yŏngja* 影子. According to the *T’ongdosaji*, the portrait hall at T’ongdosa used to be called *yŏngjajo˘n* 影幢, so this term was applied to the building in which the pictures were housed, but interestingly, it was not employed in the title cartouches of the portraits [= *T’ongdosaji* (Temple records of T’ongdosa temple), comp. Han’gukhak munhŏn yŏn’guso (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1978), 63].

2. See the appendix of my Dr. phil. thesis: Maya Stiller, “On the Traces of Awakened Masters:
dissuaded because the extant Korean monk portraits were considered to be of poor quality and it would hardly be worth the effort to analyze them, a *fortiori* because very few portraits are dated. Although I agree that only dated paintings can be regarded as reliable sources, nearly 19 percent of the portraits that I examined are dated (84 out of 460 pictures). These dated portraits proved to be helpful in trying to date undated works. So, in contrast to what some scholars might have expected, I found a sufficient number of dated portraits that enabled me to pursue a comparative analysis of the stylistic development of all extant works.

In a recent publication, the renowned Buddhist Art historian Ch’ong Ut’aek draws on both an extensive knowledge of written sources related to Korean monk portraits, as well as to his enormous experience in the examination of monk portraits. He focuses his research on the historical development of the portraits from a stylistic perspective. A similar approach concentrating on the stylistic analysis of the portraits is conducted by Yi Unhŭi in the same recent publication. However, I chose to analyze the portraits in a broader cultural framework.

As Gregory Levine has stated, many art-historical studies dealing with East Asian monk portraiture analyze them in a vacuum, isolating them from the social and ritual environment. Rather than solely relying on the visual approach, I therefore found it crucial to also analyze their cultural framework with reference to the methodology of Dietrich Seckel. In one of his last

---

Portraits of Eminent Buddhist Monks in Korea” (Dr.phil. thesis, Freie Universitaet Berlin, 2008). According to a study of the Cultural Heritage Administration, which was conducted in 1990, about 350 portraits of eminent monks are stored in South Korean temples. See Kungnip Munhwajae Yŏn’guso, ed., *Tasi ponun uri ch’osang-ŭi segye: Chosŏn sidae ch’osanghwu haksul nonmunnip* (Re-examining Korean portraiture: Studies of Portrait Paintings in the Chosŏn Dynasty) (Taejŏn, 2007), 168. This number may have to be revised. I even surmise that there are many more monk portraits stored in the temples than I was allowed to see.


publications, Seckel analyzed the functions of East Asian portraiture. He considered the authorizing, commemorating and exhortating functions of East Asian portraiture. When applying his research method to my study, this meant not only examining the portraits directly, but to consider indirect sources as well, such as the epitaph inscriptions and monks’ writings. The most important primary source materials that I dealt with are the portrait inscriptions, which are the main topic of this article. In this sense, I will take a similar approach towards the study of monk portraits as Wendi Adamek, namely via an analysis of the portrait eulogies. However, while she analyzed the portrait-eulogies on Tang and Song Chinese portraits and focused on their ritual and doctrinal context, I will focus on what the inscriptions tell us about the relationship between the portrayed monk and his friends and disciples, and in how far we can learn about the function of the portraits by reading these writings.

The inscriptions written on the portraits are first-hand sources that allow us to learn more about the commissioners, donors and friends of the deceased, and the circumstances under which the portraits were made. While nearly all of the portraits analyzed carried the title (pangje 榜題) of the person portrayed, only around half (ca. 230) have a eulogy (ch’anmun 讚文), and only around eighty portraits bear a dating inscription (hwagi 書記). It is the painting records that I will first treat in this article, for they reveal the motivations for portrait making by the donors in the first place. Painting inscriptions and title cartouches were written onto the painting upon completion of the painting, while eulogies are more likely to have been added at a later date. It is in the latter where we will find hints leading to one of the main arguments of this article: that the portrait paintings served to legitimize the temple’s lineage, but that this practice had not necessarily been authorized by the monk depicted.

Inscriptions that Reveal the Motivations for Portrait Making/Donating

A portrait was commissioned for a monastery\textsuperscript{10} by the dharma disciples of the deceased, while the funding came from both monks and laymen. Dating inscriptions generally inform us about the date of production as well as the names and motivations of these people. There are three conclusions that I reached through an analysis of these inscriptions: First, they reveal the inner hierarchical structure of the temple residents by showing a detailed list of names and rank titles. Second, a great percentage of the donors were monks of the designated temple, who regarded donating as a device to accumulate merit. Third, even Confucian scholars, who are assumed to have been estranged from Buddhists during the Chosön period (1392-1910), donated to the making of monk portraits.

The extant dating inscriptions I was able to trace date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{11} Some of them are elaborately executed writings that comprise every single donor and resident of the temple that commissioned the portrait. This kind of painting record is comparable with the effort made for the painting records of the Buddhist paintings that in some cases list over a hundred names of donors.\textsuperscript{12} Other records are considerably shorter. However, the number of donors mentioned does not necessarily relate to the size or quality of the painting itself.

One of the earliest extant dating inscriptions on a monk portrait contains an extensive list of donors and contributors. It dates from 1782 and can be found at the lower bottom of the trio portrait depicting the Indian Buddhist monk Dhyānabhadra (?-1363), known in Korea as Chigong 指公, along with his two disciples Hyegeun 惠勤 (Naong 懷翁, 1320-1376) and Chach’o 自超 (Muhak 無學, 1327-1405) from Taegokssa. The inscription meticulously lists the time and place of portrait making, and names lay donors and monks from the...

\textsuperscript{10} To my knowledge, Korean Buddhist monk portraits were not given to a single disciple or lay believer. This stands in contrast to China, where, according to T. Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf, “dozens and even hundreds of portraits were produced by and for a variety of persons.” See T. Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf, “Chan Portraiture in Medieval China,” 117.

\textsuperscript{11} Many more portraits bear a painting record on the back, but due to conservation reasons and the fact that some portraits hanging in the temple halls cannot be taken down for examination, I had to confine myself to analyze a limited number of painting records that were reachable.

\textsuperscript{12} For example, the large Buddhist painting of Tabosa, made in 1745, includes over a hundred donor names.
hermitage and the main temple who contributed to the making of the portrait:13

Made in the fourth month of the InProgressYear 14 year, in the 47th year of the [Chinese] Qiánlóng era [1782]

List of leading persons
Painters: Suin, Pohak, Chisun, Sino; Cook: Pu’gwan;
Cellarer: Yo˘nha; Chief Seat of the So˘n order: Ch’aemin; Fundraiser: Great Master Poundang Tōkching.

List of this hermitage
The most generous monks named Chihwan, Wŏlgye, Sinyŏl, P’ungch’aek, Hojŏng, Chŏnhwal, Chŏng hun, Homin, Puhong, Tohwı, Tohwan, young Pokch’un; Praying dharma descendants named Ch’ŏlmuk, Sŏngbaek, Kyemun, Ilhyŏn, Ŝung’ok, Hye ch’ong; Donor of the painting material and mounting: couple named Paek from Yangsan; Donor of the colours: couple from the descendants of Yangdal; Further donors: couple Ch’oe Sŏngjae, couple Kwo˘n Pong-chae, couple Kim Kabi, couple Cho T’a e jŏm, couple Yang U˘ nsam, toch’ongsŏp of Yŏngnam named T’aeyŏn, monk Wimyo˘ng, couple Kim Sech’u

List of the main temple
Abbot Koebong and head monk P’ungnaeng; Attendant: Puryŏng; Great virtuous [master] of this temple: Chŏngdamdang Kong’in17;

13. Publ. in Sŏngbo Munhwajae Yŏngguwŏn, ed., Han’guk-ǔi Pulhwa 24: Kounsa ponmalsa p’yŏn (Buddhist paintings of Korea, vol. 24: Kousa main temple and subtemples) (Han’guk-ǔi Pulhwa P’yo˘nch’ansil, Seoul 2001), 206. For a better understanding of the text, additional information as to the translation as well as to additional titles and names are provided in brackets.

14. The term pyŏlchwa defines a monk who assists the cook in preparing food; originally a monk artisan who makes benches or tools. In a non-Buddhist context, it refers to a government post of the fifth rank.

15. The term poch’e 保體 literally means “protecting the body.” In Buddhist texts such as painting records or written prayers, it is usually put after the name of a living person.

16. Also written sambo 三補; a monk who welcomes and takes care of the guests visiting the temple.

17. When translating the names directly from an inscription, the Korean convention of using the
Old virtuous [master] of this temple: Kukch’al Hakbongdang; Chief seat of the Sôn order Sinyôn; previous abbots: Ch’aeyon, Haesam, Ch’omyōng, Chonik.

Another inscription, which also dates from the second half of the eighteenth century, is comparatively short. Placed at the right-hand edge of the portrait of Hongje 弘濟 (Nakpindang 落賢堂, 1656-1730), this record shortly states the date the portrait was made, traditionally citing the year of reign of the Chinese emperor. Interestingly, and this is rarely the case in a painting record, it also mentions the birth and death date of the portrayed:

[He was] born on the 29th day in the tenth month of the Pyōngsin year during the [Chinese] Shùnzhì era, extinguished on the 29th day in the ninth month of the Kyōngsu year during the [Chinese] Yōngzhèng era. The portrait was completed when the moon began to wane in the tenth month of the Pyōngsin year during the [Chinese] Qiánlóng era [1776].

Apart from listing the date of making the portrait, donors and high-ranking priests, the dating inscriptions are sometimes mixed with an implicit personal message by the donors, i.e. monks and lay believers. The sixteen portraits of the State Preceptors of Songgwang temple, which were copied in 1780 from previously existing originals, provide us with excellent examples of this. In addition to the lengthy painting record on the back of the centrally positioned portrait depicting Chinul 知訥 (Pojo Kuksa 普照 國師, 1158-1210), each of the single portraits bears a note by the individual donor. The inscriptions show that funerary name first will be applied.

18. This is the first day after full moon when the moon starts turning dark.
19. According to the solar calendar, he was born on December 14, 1656 and passed away on November 9, 1730.
20. Not all of the sixteen monks had actually been State Preceptors. Their pictures represent a constructed lineage intended to further heighten the status of the Chinul lineage. The fifth and seventh patriarch whose portraits are enshrined in the hall, Ch’ónyōng 天英 (State Preceptor Chajin 慈真 國師, 1215-1283) and Ch’ungji 沖止 (State Preceptor Wŏngam 圓鑑 國師, 1226-1292), have not been abbots of Songgwangsa, but had been posthumously bestowed the title of State Preceptor. On the other hand, the ninth patriarch, the Chinese monk Sŏngjing 聖澄 (Tamdang 問堂) was abbot of Songgwangsa around 1308-1312, but he was never appointed as a State Preceptor. In addition, the State Preceptor’s Hall originally housed a set of fifteen paintings. In the early 15th century, the building was enlarged to house the portrait of the sixteenth patriarch Kobong Pŏpchang 高峰 法藏 (1351-1428), who was the 21st abbot and patriarch of Songgwangsa from 1395 to 1420.
the donors, the public, and monks alike were motivated by the wish to accumulate or transfer merit (S. *parināmanā*) for themselves or for their deceased parents. On the back of the last one of the sixteen portraits, which depicts Kobong 高峯 (1350-1428), we find the following text, which refers to two monks praying for the soul of their father. Filial piety, already observable in ancient Indian Buddhist customs, remained important even to these sons who had received the tonsure:

Donors are the neophytes from the Western hermitage, Sŏnggam . . . and Hyŏnnam, who prostrate for the departed spirit of [their] deceased father Yi Sŏnch’i.

Sŏngjing 聖澄 (Tamdang 深堂, 13th/14th century) was a Chinese monk who became the ninth patriarch in Chinul’s lineage. The donor of his portrait is a certain monk named Yŏnsik, whose motive for donating lay in the praying for the soul of his deceased master Chiin:

Donor: highest ranking disciple Yŏnsik [who] prostrates for the soul of [his] deceased master Chiin

---

21. The wish to transfer merit as the reason why a Buddhist (art)work was made can also be found in the commissioning of sūtras. For example, as Stephen Teiser shows in his work, the copying of “The Scripture on the Ten Kings” was meant for the benefit of the deceased, but “many people dedicated the merit to themselves or to other living beings.” See Stephen Teiser, *The Scripture on the Ten Kings and the Making of Purgatory in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawai’i Press, 1994), 121.


23. Gregory Schopen, in his article “Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism” clearly shows that the concern for the well-being of both deceased and living parents was a major preoccupation of Buddhist donors in India. The earliest inscriptions can be found in very early Buddhist Ceylon and at Bha–rhat from ca. 200 BCE, which state “the gift of . . . for the benefit of his father and mother.” See Gregory Schopen, “Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of ‘Sincization’ Viewed from the Other Side,” *T’oung Pao* 70 (1984): 119.

24. 瀨駕 = 靈魂．


Personal messages by the disciples also occur in dating inscriptions of nineteenth-century paintings. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, a group of monks from Sŏrim temple collected money. According to the record, they had been so impressed by the master Sinmin (Sŏnggoktang 聖谷堂, fl. ca. nineteenth century) that they ordered a portrait of him to be made. For reasons that I have not been able to trace, they did not hang the portrait in one of the halls of their own temple, but gave it to T’ongdosa, where it was hung along with others at the Amitābha hermitage:

咸豐九年 己未 六月日
金海 西林寺 深寺諸僧 慕其道 涵其化 瞻感不已 出財造像 移掛于通度寺極樂庵 先師影像
幑下 畫師意雲堂惠友

On a day in the sixth month of the Kimi year, the ninth year of the [Chinese] Xiànfēng era [1859]. All the monks from the whole Sŏrim temple in Kimhae honored his way and received his teaching; looking up [towards him], [their] feelings did not finish. [That is why] they brought forth money in order to complete [a portrait of their master]. [Then] it was handed over to be hung at T’ongdosa’s Amitābha hermitage below the portraits of previous masters. Painter: Úiundang Chau.

In order to provide an example for my third conclusion given above, I shall now turn to the inscription on the portrait of the eleventh State Preceptor Chawŏn (fl. ca. 14th century). The inscription signifies that Neo-Confucian scholars had basically no objections against the veneration of Buddhist priests. The scholar Kim Huṅg’t’ae 金興兌 (d.u.) who donated the money for this painting presumably hoped that the donation for the making of Chawŏn’s portrait would please the latter’s spirit, while bestowing a successful career as a scholar-official:

施主 幼學 金興兌

28. Sinmin probably originally came from T’ongdosa, this may explain why they moved the portrait there.
29. Kūngnak (極樂, “ultimate bliss,” S. sukbhavati) circumscribes the so-called Pure Land in which Buddha Amitābha resides.
30. A painter who was active during the middle of the nineteenth century.
31. Publ. in Sŏngbo Munhwajae Yŏn’guwŏn, ed., Han’guk-ŭi pulhwa 7: Songgwangsa ponmalsap’yŏn, 236.
In conclusion, the dating inscription mainly served as a means of recording the place and date of portrait making as well as the names of the donors, painters and monks who were involved in the portrait making. Some of them inform us about the donors’ intentions and thereby show that laypeople and monks donated to benefit from the transfer of merit. The inscriptions also show that even Confucian scholars contributed to the making of Buddhist monks’ portraits. As will be seen further below, Confucian scholars befriended Buddhist scholar-monks during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which seems to weaken the argument still prevalent in scholarship on Korean Buddhism that the Chosŏn period was a hostile environment for Buddhism.32 In the contrary, as many eulogies from the late Chosŏn show, the hostility of Confucian scholars towards Buddhism, which may have existed during the early Chosŏn, had weakened in favor of a scholarly interest in the study of Buddhism.

Inscriptions Enhancing Legitimacy

To the abbot of a temple, the portraits mainly had a legitimizing and authorizing function, as they served as important means to prove that the temple acted in accordance with the teachings of the dharma masters of the temple lineage. In this regard, Korean temples were similar to those in Sung China, where the identities of the patriarchs and the former abbots whose images were enshrined in a temple’s portrait hall were a sure sign of that institution’s association with a particular lineage of dharma transmission.33 As will be shown, the representative aspect of the portraits is underlined by the lengthy portrait titles and the eulogies that praise the uncountable merits of the subject. Moreover, those pictures that were decorated with a eulogy written by

a famous literatus were certainly held in higher esteem by the descendants than those without such a eulogy.

In the following, I will explore the means by which the portrait titles as well as the eulogies written by Confucian scholars further enhanced the prestige of the depicted.

1. Title tags

In general, a title tag (pangje 榜題) provides us with the dharma name, also called the ordinary name, as well as cognomens, funerary names and official titles of the portrayed.\textsuperscript{34} The dharma name (pŏmyŏng 法名) was the name which the monk received upon ordination. Cognomens are further names that the monk either received from someone else or gave to himself. The funerary names, lit. “hall names” (tangho 堂號), are names bestowed by the dharma master to outstanding priests some twenty to thirty years after ordination. It is a practice not known prior to the late Koryŏ period. Apart from the dharma name, cognomens and funerary names, outstanding monks additionally received posthumous titles from the state (siho 諡號). Examinations in meditational and doctrinal studies did not officially take place during the late Chosŏn period; however, many portraits are inscribed with titles such as “Great Sŏn Master” (taesoŏnsa 大禪師), which was the highest of six ranks of the Sŏn schools.\textsuperscript{35} It can be assumed that these titles were just honorific titles with no links to a ranking system.\textsuperscript{36}

Furthermore, title tags inform the reader about the doctrinal and social

\textsuperscript{34} The names of the monks are handled as follows: ordinary name (cognomen, funerary name, life dates). In some cases, only the dharma name or the funerary name is mentioned, because the full range of the names was not written on the painting, and could not be reconstructed by the author.

\textsuperscript{35} The monastic examinations were officially abolished in the early Chosŏn period, but as different kinds of titles appear on portraits of Chosŏn period monks, the examination system seems to have been unofficially continued to a minor extent. The lowest rank for a monk who had taken the examinations was taedŏk 大德, followed by the taesa 大師, chungdaesa 重大師 and samjungdaesa 三重大師 ranks. The two most elevated ranks were distinguished by different terms for the Sŏn (sŏnsa 大禪師, taesŏnsa 大禪師) and Kyo (sujwa 首座, singt’ong 僧統) schools. For details on the ranking system during Koryŏ period, see Sem Vermeersch, “The Power of Buddha: The Ideological and Institutional Role of Buddhism in the Koryŏ Dynasty” (Ph.D. thesis, London: University of London, 2001), 213ff., and Hŏ Hŭngsik, Koryŏ pulgyosa yŏn’gu (Research on the history of Buddhism during Koryŏ dynasty) (Ilchogak, Seoul 1986), 365ff.

\textsuperscript{36} I would like to thank Cho Eun-su for reading the manuscript of this article and for noting in this regard that even nowadays, the title “Sŏn master” can be used for monks who don’t practice meditation.
background of the deceased and whether he was an administrative monk or a monk engaged in doctrinal studies and meditation. Title and eulogy often occur in pairs, being placed either in the same edge or opposite each other. Among the earliest extant images is the portrait of Chinul, which is held in the collection of the Tonghwa temple near the city of Taegu, and dated to the early seventeenth century. It bears a title cartouche on the upper left of the portrait that reads as follows:

願力受生 海東 佛日 显照 國師

[Portrait of the] State Preceptor Puril Pojo who received life through the power of his vow [in the country] East of the Sea.

This title may serve as an example for the common practice during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, when the dharma name of the priest was written along with his honorary titles. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century portraits, however, slightly differ from this practice. Aside from listing the priest’s titles, for the first time a hint is given as to his doctrinal training. The title written on the portrait of Sŏlsongdang 雪松堂 (1676-1750) may serve here as an example:

禪教兩宗 國一都 大禪師 雪松堂真影

Portrait of the nationwide highest Great Sŏn Master Sŏlsongdang, [who was well versed in] both the meditational [sŏnjong] and doctrinal schools [kojong].

37. Kamata Shigeo categorizes the monks who resided in the monasteries in two groups: the ip’ansing 理判僧, i.e. learned monks who engaged in meditation, sûtra studies and chanting, and sap’ansing 事判僧, i.e. monks who were responsible for the administrational and financial matters of the temple. The first group enjoyed a higher standing than the latter, and among the first group, monks engaging in meditation were regarded more spiritually advanced than those studying doctrinal texts or conducting chanting. It should be noted, however, that among the Buddhist priest portraits from the Chosŏn period, we find both groups represented. For more information on the categorization of Chosŏn period monks according to their duties, see Kamata Shigeo, Chosŏn bukkyōshi (History of Korean Buddhism), tr. Sin Hyōnsuk (Seoul: Minjoksas, 1987), 219ff.


39. During the early Chosŏn period, anti-Buddhist measures by the government grew severely. In 1423, all Buddhist denominations were finally forced to consolidate into two, the meditational school (禪宗, Sŏnjong), combining the Chogye, Ch’ŏnt’aie, and Ch’ŏngnam schools, and the doctrinal school (敎宗, Kyojong), amalgating Hwaŏm, Sŏn, Chungsin and Sihung schools. This was the first time in East Asia that sŏn and kyo were used as names of specific Buddhist denominations (Robert Buswell, “Buddhism under Confucian Domination: The Synthetic Vision
Another feature of the title tags becomes apparent when we compare the monk’s title mentioned in the title cartouche with his biography, if the latter is extant. The Yongnam University museum’s collection houses the nineteenth-century copy of a portrait of K’oesŏn 快善 (Kisŏngdang 笠城堂, ?-1764), who was a disciple of the Sŏn master Chŏngwŏn 淨源 (Sangbongdang 霜峰堂, 1627-1709). Being part of the lineage of his Sŏn master, the portrait title calls K’oesŏn a Sŏn master:

Portrait of the Great Sŏn Master Kisŏngdang.

However, K’oesŏn did not necessarily engage in meditation, for he was famous for his writings, particularly the Yŏmbul Hwanbyanggok 念佛還鄉曲 (“Invoking the name of the Buddha and returning to one’s homeland”). However, the title inscription names him a “Sŏn master” (sŏnsa 禪師). A similar feature was discovered in the portrait title tag of Chian 志安 (Hwansŏngdang 喚惺堂, 1664-1729), who was a famous sūtra teacher but is referred to as a “Great Sŏn Master” (taesŏnsa 大禪師) in the title tag on his portrait from Pŏmsa. In very rare cases, the titles do not mention meditational titles but refer to the Hwaŏm (華嚴, J. Kegon, S. Avatamsaka) school. For example, Sangŏn 尚彥 (Sŏl’p’adang 雪坡堂, 1707-1791) from Sŏnunsa is called a “Flower garland ancestor” (Hwaŏm chongju 華嚴 宗主).

Apart from sectarian titles such as “Sŏn Master” or “Master of Hwaŏm teaching”, honorific titles (chonch’ing 尊稱) of priests such as “eminence” (chonja 尊者), as well as functional titles (chikho 職號) such as “State Preceptor” (kuksa 王師). 40 “Royal Preceptor” (wangsa 王師) and “army leader/abbot” (ch’ŏngsoŏp 營領) 41 are mentioned in the title tags. 42 The title tag


40. The title of “State Preceptor” can be regarded as both an honorific and a functional title. It could be given to a high-ranking monk posthumously as an honorific title. Sem Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhah: The Politics of Buddhism during the Koryŏ Dynasty* (918-1392) (Cambridge, Ma: Harvard Univ. Press, 2008), 239ff. During the Koryŏ period, the title of State Preceptor was the highest functional title within the hierarchy of the sangha and bestowed upon the monk during his lifetime. For further details, see Hŏ Hŭngsik, *Koryŏ pulgyosa yŏn’gu* (Study of the history of Korean Buddhism) (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1997), 428-434.

41. The term ch’ŏngsoŏp 掖僕 originally defined a military title, and was also called toch’ŏngsoŏp 都 掖僕 or singdaejang 招大將. Eminent monks such as Ch’ŏnghŏ Hyujeong 清虛 休靜 (1520-1604), Samyŏng Yujojong 四溟 惟政 (1544-1610) and Pyo’gam Kaksŏng 碧巖 覚性 (1575-1660) held this
of Manu’s 萬羽 (Tongmyŏngdang 東溟堂, dates unknown) portrait from T’ongdosa for example reveals the employment of the title ch’ongsŏp:

 Portrait of Tongmyŏngdang Manu, [who was well versed in] both meditational and doctrinal schools, the greatly awakened [one], [holder of the office of] chief ch’ongsŏp of the eight provinces.

Hyujo˘ng 休靜 (Sŏsan Ch’ŏnhŏdong 西山 清虛堂, 1520-1604) occupies a special position among the ip’ansing priests.43 He is well known for his meritorious deeds during the Imjin Wars,44 when he successfully led a monk army together post. The meaning of the word changed in the course of time. During the Hideyoshi invasions (1592-1598), there were two ch’ongsŏp advisors for each of the eight provinces (each of them with their own troop units). After the end of the war, the ch’ongsŏp system was continued in a different way. Temples such as Wŏlchŏnsa 月根寺, Chŏksangsansŏng 赤裳山城, Kakhwasa 覺策寺 and Chŏndŭngsa 倖虛寺 became the protecting temples (subosa 守護寺) of the “Royal Annals of the Chosŏn period” (Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄). The abbots of these temples came to be called ch’ongsŏp, serving the court as the “ch’ongsŏp protecting the Annals” (Sillok suho ch’ongsŏp 實錄守護總轄). The abbots of the so-called four “great temples” (taesa 大寺), namely Sŏgwangsa 釋王寺, Poŏchusa 首極寺, Yujo˘msa 極鉾寺 and Haeinsa 海印寺 also came to be called ch’ongsŏp. Later the title was changed to toch’ongsŏp 都總轄. During the late Chosŏn period, the abbots of even smaller temples came to be called ch’ongsŏp. A ch’ongsŏp by then acted as a treasurer, temple administrator and manager of the “printing and collecting of the Buddhist teachings” (pŏbyojiphaeng 法要集行).

42. The original Sanskrit word for the Chinese term guoshì is purohita, lit. “one who is placed in front,” which describes a Brahmin chaplain; thus this term antedated Buddhism. On Chinese territory, the title was first bestowed onto the famous Central Asian monk Kumārajīva (d. 344-413) by the King Yáoxīng 稽興 of later Qin (384-417) in 402. The title became employed in Korea as early as the seventh century, when King Sinmun 信任 (r. 681-692) appointed Kyo˘nghu˘ng 邑翁 (lived during late seventh century) as State Preceptor by bestowing the title of “state elder” (kungno 國老) on him. From the mid-ninth century onwards, all the appointments of State Preceptors went to Sŏn monks, but this changed in the eleventh century, when Yuga and Hwaŏm dominated, and in the twelfth century, which saw the rise of the Ch’ŏnt’ae school. For the rest of the Koryŏ period, the balance was kept by appointing State and Royal Preceptors each from different schools. The title of Royal Preceptor was created at the Koryŏ court. The first Royal Preceptor, the monk Kyŏngch’ŏng 慶綽 (871-921), was appointed by King T’aeso 大祖 (r. 918-943). Of the two preceptors, the State Preceptor was considered superior. Initially regarded as thaumaturges, the role of the preceptors was not restricted to the performing of rites and the instructing the ruler in Buddhism, they were to symbolically strengthen and legitimize the king's moral authority (see chapter on the role of State and Royal Preceptors in Korea in Sem Vermeersch, “The Power of Buddha,” 246 ff.).

43 Sŏsan 西山: title referring to the mountain where he lived, Ch’ŏnhŏdong 清虛堂: hall name; Hyujo˘ng 休靜: dharma name received upon tonsure.

44. In reference to the year the wars broke out (1592), the wars are called Imjin waeran 壬辰倭亂 in South Korea. In general scholarship in the West, the term “Hideyoshi invasions” is commonly used. However, as Hideyoshi himself never stepped onto Korean soil during these wars, I prefer
with his disciples, first and foremost among whom was Yujo˘ng 惟政 (Samyŏng 四溟, 1544-1610).45 Most Chosŏn period monks regarded themselves as part of Sŏsan’s dharma lineage. He remains one of the most venerated priests in Korea even today.46 A distinctive feature of his portrait’s inscriptions is the extremely long title. The nineteenth-century portrait of Hyujo˘ng from the Sut’a temple in Kangwŏn province mentions the achievements and merits of this eminent priest:

補國 功臣 義兵 上將軍 兼賜紫判 褡敎兩宗 一國都 大禪師 諡 清虛 大和尚 嘉影 本號 西山

Portrait of the great monk Ch’ŏngho˘, meritorious vassal [who] supported the country, general of the reservist army, [who was] granted the purple [office of a national] judge [of both the meditational and doctrinal schools],47 [well-versed in] both meditational and doctrinal schools, the nationwide highest Great Sŏn Master, original title Sŏsan.48

This title also exemplifies a trend that arose at the end of the Chosŏn period, when titles generally become lengthier and more elaborate, thereby underlining the prestige of the subject. One of the longest titles is found on the portrait of Kyŏnhwa 敬和 (Hwadamdang 華澤堂, 1786-1848) from Taesŭngsa, which refers to the accomplishments and moral conduct of the monk:

扶宗樹敎 傳佛心燈 悲智普照 解行雙運 禪敎兩宗 嚴淨毗尼 東國律師 華澤堂 大禪師 敬和 之真

naming it according to South Korean custom.


46. For more information on Hyujo˘ng’s doctrinal approach, see Robert Buswell, “Buddhism under Confucian Domination,” 134-159.

47. The term yangjong p’ansa 陽鍾判 has been shortened to one character, p’an 副. Hyujo˘ng was granted this title in 1593; see Yi Hangbok and Ki Chahn, eds., Sŏnjo taewang s’illok, 26th year (= 1593), 36: 50a [= Yi Hangbok (1556-1618) and Ki Chahn (1567-1624), eds., Sŏnjo taewang s’illok (Royal Annals of Sŏnjo) in Chosŏn wangjo s’illok, vol. 21, comp. by Kuksa P’yŏnch’ an Wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe, 1957), 675].

48. Hyujo˘ng is usually referred to as Sŏsan (“Western Mountain”) because for a long time, he lived in the Myohyang Mountains in the North-West of the Korean peninsula. The picture on which this title is written is published in Munhwa Yusan Pal’gul chosadan, ed., Han’guk-’u sach’al munhwaje, Chŏn’guk sach’al munhwaje ilchejosa: Kangwŏndo (Cultural treasures in Koreantemples. Complete examination of cultural treasures in temples of the whole country: Kangwondo) (Seoul 2002), 415.
Portrait of the venerated monk and Great Sŏn Master Hwadamdang Kyŏnghwa, who supported the school, established the [Buddhist] teaching, transmitted the lamp of the Buddha, in whom compassion and wisdom are both illuminate, the double blessing/luck of understanding and practice; [well versed in] both meditational and doctrinal schools, stern and pure *vinaya,* *vinaya* master in the land of the East.

Apart from the above mentioned examples of priests who were engaged in meditational and doctrinal studies, we also find portraits of administrational monks who were in charge of financial matters: they were the temple’s “fundraisers”. The portrait of Kyŏnghyo˘n 景賢 (Chŏngbongdang 靜峯堂, dates unknown) for example reveals his successful fundraising talents for the renovation of a hermitage where his portrait came to be stored:

Portrait of the Great Sŏn Master Chŏngbongdang Kyŏnghyo˘n, restorer of this hermitage.

In conclusion, even a short title explains to us the hierarchical standing of the subject within the social order of the saṅgha by either referring to his erudition in different strands of Buddhist thought or his achievements as a fundraiser in terms of the restoration of temple buildings. In portraits from the nineteenth century, these explanations are further enhanced: The titles become extremely lengthy and elaborate in order to further praise the meritorious deeds of the person depicted. Long sequences of honorary titles and praising words add to the representative function of the portrait. The legitimizing and authorizing function becomes even more articulate when reading the eulogies written by the Confucian scholars, which will be carried out in the following section after a short introduction to the general characteristics of eulogies on monk portraits.

2. Eulogies

While the title cartouche already supplies the name of the monk and his rank, and the painting record gives us information as to the date and location of the portrait production, as well as the motives of the donors, it is only in the eulogies that we learn about the personal relationships of the subject with his disciples and friends. The eulogy served as a medium supposed to help the

49. The writer shortened the term *hwasang* 韓 to *hwa* 和.
viewer to learn about the subject’s character and thoughts, and his relationship with famous scholars.\textsuperscript{50}

A eulogy can be very rich in terms of content. In some cases, it reveals details of the monk’s biography, while in other cases, it only consists of a short poem. It was usually written on an extra paper that was pasted onto the portrait on the upper right or left-hand corner of the picture sometime after the portrait had been finished.\textsuperscript{51} However, not all the portraits examined bear a eulogy. Especially in nineteenth-century paintings, the eulogy cartouche is often left blank.\textsuperscript{52}

Throughout the Chosŏn period, the finished portrait was sent to a monk or scholar, connected with the request to write a eulogy on it. On the portrait of the painter Ch’ŏnyŏ 天如 (Kūmamdang 錦庵堂, 1794-1878) from Sŏn’amsa, the eulogy was written by the renowned monk and poet Ûisun 意恂 (Ch’ou˘i 媛, 1786-1866) in 1864.\textsuperscript{53} In the first part, Ûisun praises the virtuous behavior and teaching quality of his friend, while in the second part, he recounts the story of how a disciple of Ch’ŏnyŏ asked him to write a eulogy, only agreeing to do so at the second request. It became a trope for Buddhist priests and Confucian scholars alike to initially decline the writing of a eulogy. The following excerpt exemplifies this:

...
...In the late spring of the Kapcha year [1864], mud soiled the golden stūpa, and it was regilded.\(^{54}\) [Ch’önyo˘]'s disciple Tōg’on asked me for a eulogy. Because of my clumsy hand [writing] and confused heart, I firmly declined and did not accept. When [I] returned, [he] again demanded it and went away. After making an effort in [writing] a eulogy, [I] mounted and returned [it].

Three days before the beginning of summer, in the third year of the [Chinese) Tōngzhi era [1864], eulogy written by Ch’ōûû Ùisun at the Poryŏn pavillion.

3. Eulogies written by renowned literati

I wonder whether the Confucian scholars who wrote lengthy pieces about the personal encounter between themselves and high-ranking priests were aware of the fact that they helped their friend’s dharma descendants to enhance their fame. Often, sincere feelings of friendship shine through their words. Getting an eulogy written by famous scholar-officials such as Ijae Kwoo˘n Tonin 鄭裔權敦仁 (1783-1859) or Ch’usa Kim Chǒnhŭi 秋史 金正喜 (1786-1857) was a great honor, for it added prestige to the portrayed and his temple’s lineage. These eulogies also show that towards the end of the Chosŏn period, some Confucian officials obviously acknowledged Buddhism, as is illustrated by the fact that they were willing to write a eulogy on a monk portrait, studied Buddhist scriptures, and cited from them in their eulogies (see below), while pursuing intellectual exchange with the Buddhist élite.

While the disciples praise their teacher’s spiritual power and thereby basically try to legitimize the making of the portrait and its placement in the temple’s portrait hall, the scholars primarily praise the priest’s erudition. On a portrait of the so-called “war hero” Hyujo˘ng, Cho M’yongggŏm 趙明謙 (fl. 1731)\(^{55}\) praises Hyujo˘ng’s wisdom and compares him and his disciple Song’un with a legendary Chinese figure and his friend.\(^{56}\) Cho’s inscription on the one

---

54. Probably there is a link between the stūpa mentioned here in this text and the seven-story stūpa at Ssanggyesa, which according to the Ssanggyesa yaksa was (re-)constructed in the fourth month of 1864. See John Jorgensen, “Ssanggye-sa and local Buddhist history: Propaganda and relics in a struggle for survival, 1850s-1930s,” Seoul Journal of Korean Studies 21, no. 1 (2008): 106.

55. In the Chosŏn wangjo sillok, the name Cho M’yongggŏm is mentioned in 1731 when he was granted the title of chŏngŏn 正言 (“Exhorter”): Yongjong taewang sillok, 7th year (= 1731), 30.27b [= Kim Sango˘ch’ŏl (1712-1791) et al., Yongjong taewang sillok (Royal Annals of Yongjong), in Chosŏn wango sillok, vol. 42, comp. Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏn-hoe (Seoul: Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏn-hoe, 1957), 279].

56. Cho obviously wrote the eulogy for the Hyujŏng portrait during his lifetime, i.e. during the
hand reveals his own erudition of the Chinese classics, which had been an essential part of Confucian teaching since ancient times, and on the other puts a Korean Buddhist priest on a par with a Chinese legendary figure, emphasizing the righteous relationship between master and subject in both cases (which again is a hint to Confucian thinking):

松雲於師留侯黃石顯績陰教
一體千億想像一燈長明之下
講授徒弟無乃是君臣大義
不然宗圍危亂之秋解紛釋難
何能使成就如彼趙明謙贊

Song’un was to the master [i.e. Hyujo˘ng] like Liú Hòu was to Huáng Shígong. He displayed the accomplishment of the teachings of military tactics, Uniformly, billions of their thoughts were alike below the long spreading brightness of a lamp.

What he taught his students is the great righteousness of kunsin [relationship between master and subject]. Otherwise, when the country was in great danger, [he] overcame the danger. How could he cause an accomplishment like this? Praised by Cho Myönggyûm.

The majority of scholar-eulogists also wrote about their personal encounter with the monk, thereby praising his outstanding intellectual abilities as well as his Buddha-like nature. The portrait of Ŭijôn 倚頤 (Sŏngdamdang 聖潭堂, fl. nineteenth century) has a eulogy written by the famous scholar, amateur painter, chief state counsellor and first minister-without-portfolio Ijae Kwo˘n Tonin. This eulogy clearly shows us that during the nineteenth century, even high-ranked politicians had an interest in Buddhist thought and were well-acquainted with Buddhist monks. The monk Ŭijôn is regarded, together with the so-called Imjae Sôn revivor Kŏngsŏn 韓麟 (Paekp’ae 白坡, 1767-1852) and

84. In Korea, the earliest adoption of Confucian learning and the Confucian system of education took place in the kingdoms of Koguryô (37 BCE-668 CE) and Paekche (18 BCE-660 CE), see James Huntley Grayson, Korea – A Religious History (London: Routledge Curzon, 2002 (rev. edition)), 49.

85. Huáng Shígong 黃石公, who lived approximately during the 3rd century B.C.E., wrote the “Three Strategies” (三略, C. sanlüe) which deals with military tactics.

86. Literally “secret teachings”, but it can also mean “teachings in military tactics”. See Luo Zhufeng, Hanyu dacidian (Encyclopedic dictionary of the Chinese language) (Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe 1993), 1027, 1024.

87. Ku˘ngsŏn belongs to the dharma lineage of Sang’on 韓麟 (Sŏlp’adang 雪坡堂, 1710-1791) and
the so-called tea ceremony revivor Ŭisun61 as one of the most famous monks of
eighteenth and nineteenth century Korea. He was the head lecturer at
T’ongdosa in the nineteenth century and, as is mentioned in the title cartouche,
a master in Hwaöm teaching.62

Ŭijŏn’s erudition becomes apparent in the eulogy as well as in the portrait.
In the picture, one of the scriptures lying on his desk is the Yumagyŏng 齒摩經
(S. Vimalakīrti nirdeśa sûtra). The Yumagyŏng is not only a representative
Mahāyāna Buddhist text and therefore presented here in this picture, it also
serves as an allusion to the intellectual exchange between laymen and Buddhist
monks.63 From the eulogy we learn that the scholar-official was well
acquainted with Ŭijŏn and travelled together with him. Kwŏn refers to the
awakened mind of the monk that obviously deeply impressed him. He refers to
magical things happening after the monk’s demise, which he mentions in order
to express the outstanding spiritual capabilities of his friend.64

In the eulogy, Kwŏn mentions Buddhist terms such as “complete universal
awakening” (S. anuttarasamyaksam.bodhi), which shows that a well-versed
knowledge of Buddhist thought among the highest members of the Chosŏn
society was not uncommon:


61. For further information on Ŭisun, see Lee Young Ho, Ch’o’ŏi Ŭisun. A Liberal Sŏn Master
and an Engaged Artist in Late Chosŏn Korea (Fremont, Ca: Asian Humanities Press, 2002).
62. The title is as follows: 禪敎兩宗裁厳宗主聖詳堂倚璃大禪師之篇 (Portrait of the great Sŏn master
Sŏngdamdang Ŭijŏn, well versed in both schools, the meditational and doctrinal, and master of
the Hwaŏm (S. Avatāṃsaka) teaching).
63. In the Vimalakīrti nīrdeśa sûtra, the layman Vimalakīrti teaches high-ranking Buddhist
disciples about the doctrine of emptiness (S. śūnyatā).
64. Similar miracles that occurred after the demise of a renowned priest are also mentioned by
Kakhun 喺訓 in the Haedong kosŏng chŏn 海東高僧傳 (“Lives of Eminent Korean Monks”) which
was compiled by royal command in 1215. In the biography of Wŏn’gwang, Kakhun writes: “…
he died, sitting upright, in his residence, after giving his last commandments in a lucid,
compassionate voice. In the sky northeast of the Hwangnyong temple music filled the air, and an
unusual fragrance pervaded the hall ….” This is an excerpt of the translated version by Peter Lee,
trsl., Lives of Eminent Korean Monks. The Haedong Kosŏng Chŏn (Harvard University Press:
Master Sŏngdam followed me in [the places] between Tanŭl and Kwangnŭng. The master was frozenly calm and deeply tacit. [We had] a close bond. Buddhist purports he brightly studied in the inner canon [i.e. the Buddhist texts]. He went in and out with poets. I boasted with [my] Buddhist friend.

Oh, last year [I] really visited [him] at [a place] such as this room and stayed for a few days. [We] agreed to meet each other again in the spring of this year. Now the letter of his master Ch’ŏnghŏ came. Oh, last year on the third day of the twelfth month, Sŏngdam passed away [lit.: showed quiescence]. From a few days beforehand, the temple’s vulture mountain range cried with trembling sound for three days. In addition, the ordination platform released light for five days. Several learned men right away had his portrait painted in order to transmit his teaching, and asked me to write some words [lit. connected with me for a word]. I am just old, speaking to myself about death and life. This old man has had all agonies of life and death. Deep sadness is particularly left. So [finally] I succeed in the verse.

If saying that the master is the portrait, this is not real.
The thirty-two marks are all empty appearance.
Moreover if saying, that [the portrait] is not empty but real
Why can’t the master practice the scriptures and explain the canon
Like at the entrance of the hills to Tanŭl and Kwangnŭng, he raises his eyebrows, spits out his tongue and shows both his elbows.
Immeasurable and countless ways [of] skillful teaching?
He showed [to me] complete universal awakening
This appearance is not the appearance, [this] portrait is not the portrait.
This is the master’s imprint of equal true appearance.
The ordination platform radiates light, the vulture mountain range cries.
This is the master at the time of complete extinction without remainder
The deep is empty, the water is calm, finally constantly still.
Like this, the master left from samādhi.
In the first quarter of the second month of the Ŭlmyo year [1855]
Written at Yŏja sŏksil by chief state counsellor and first minister-without-portfolio Ilmi Toin Kwŏn Tonin [seal: Soa Ijae].

The famous scholar, poet and painter Ch’usa Kim Chŏnghŭi was well versed in

65. The writer talks about T’ongdosa’s platform in which the alleged Buddha relics are enshrined.
Buddhist philosophy. His eulogy written on the portrait Haebungdang 海鵬堂 (?-1826) from Sŏn’amsa reveals Kim’s knowledge of the Buddhist sutras as he cites the core idea of the Heart Sutra (般若波羅蜜多心経, Panyap’aramita simgyŏng), “emptiness” (空, kong, S. śūnyata). The encounter of Kim and the portrayed becomes alive to the reader when Kim finally recalls the profound wisdom of his friend and his piercing jade-green eyes, which should not be taken literally – in the painting the monk’s eyes are brown:

海鵬之空兮 非五蘊皆空之空 即空即色之空 人或謂之空宗 非也 不在於空 又或謂之真空 似然矣
吾又恐鵬之累 空與非鵬之空也 鵬之即鵬之空 空生空見是鵬之錯解 鵬之鵬造錯透 又在錯解中
當時一廔榮峰華ضغط諸名宿 各有見識 各皆無下其於透空 似皆後於鵬之空 昔有人云 聲是大鵬大鵬見三子 聲是大唐天子之聲也 即見鵬眼細而黠 瞳碧射人 雖火滅灰寒瞳碧尚存 見此三十年後落筆 呵呵大笑 歷歷如三角道峰之間
七十一果寄題
海鵬大師影

Haebung’s emptiness! It is not the emptiness of “the emptiness of the five aggregates.” It is the emptiness of “the emptiness of form.” Some people say that [Haebung’s emptiness] is the emptiness school, but it isn’t. It does not exist in a school. In addition, [there are people who think that Haebung’s emptiness] is true emptiness, and it seems right indeed.

But I [think] that the truth is an obstacle to the [understanding of Haebung’s] emptiness. In this case, this emptiness also is not the emptiness of [Hae]bung. The emptiness of [Hae]bung is directly the emptiness of [Hae]bung. [Thinking that] emptiness rises from great awakening is a wrong understanding of [Hae]bung. But the unique condition of [Hae]bung furthermore exists inside [this] wrong understanding.

In the old days, [there were] eminent aged scholars like Iram, Yulbong, Hwaak and Kiam. Each of them had [great] knowledge. They were mutually more or less [on the same level] with Haebung. But in terms of penetrating emptiness, all lag behind the emptiness of [Hae]bung.

In the old days, the people said: “Meditation is great falsehood.

---


67. Again a reference to the Heart Sūtra: “… Emptiness is not other than form, form is not other than emptiness” (色即是空 空即是色), English translation from Donald S. Lopez 1996, VII.

68. It may sound paradoxical, but it seems that for Kim Chŏnhŭi, the right understanding of Haebung’s emptiness lies within a wrong understanding which eventually is not wrong.
Poetry is frugal, and as to the heavenly sons [i.e. emperors] of the great Táng Empire, there were only three.” [Hae]bung simply is the meditation of a heavenly son of the great Táng.

And besides, I remember the eyes of [Hae]bung. They were delicate and [looked] smart. The pupils of his eyes were jade green and piercing others.

The fire extinguished and the ashes are cold. Because the blue [of his pupils] is still there, after 30 years, [he] can look at [my, lit. this] writing and the haha of great laughing [of Haebung] seems like passing through between the Tobong and Samgak mountain range. Written by the 71-year old man from Kwach’ŏn for the portrait of the great master Haebung [i.e. written in 1856].

The portrait of the famous tea master, monk and scholar Ŭisun was enriched by the inscription of a certain Yuyŏng Toin⁶⁹ 留耕 道人 (d.u.), which is the penname (bo 號) of an unknown Confucian scholar named Hun 薰. Ŭisun’s disciples, among them Sŏn’gi 善機 (d.u.), brought the portrait to Yuyŏng and kindly asked for a piece of writing, upon which the former agreed. He recounts several meetings and his friend’s erudition in the Buddhist doctrines as well as in poetry and prose. Similar to Kim Chŏnghŭi, he writes on the term “emptiness,” and he compares the spiritual power of Ŭisun with a straight growing bamboo plant, which generally refers to the Neo-Confucian ideal of an upright and loyal scholar:

草衣大禪師鬱
余曾出涅槃將與師遊
後諸居鹿苑師跋涉而從
焉亦兩遭既歸京師之 İstanbul
年訪 余於滄海亭其厚於余
而終 不遠可惑也 師深於禪理
與我論禪教無二致 師甚是之
示以禪門辨異之說 余亦即答
師長於詩文文章於茶山公又
喜與士大夫遊 紫霞秋史諸公
亦善焉近世之惠遠貫休流也
齊居頭輪之光明精藍顏八
十四其高足善機等以師之
影求余言師之遼學清範
不可得以形 似亦不可得以
復起於今之世 深遂為之

⁶⁹. Toin hereby refers to someone who follows “the learning of the way” (tohak 道學), which is concurrent with the terms “Cheng Zhu Learning” (Chŏngjuhak 程朱學) and “Learning of nature and principle” (Sŏngnihak 修身學), which all appear in late Chosŏn writings by Neo-Confucian scholars.
The echo70 of the Great Sŏn Master Ch’ou˘i
I once packed and left [for] the province [to take up office as a] naval official71 [in Chŏlla Province] and had fun with the master.
Later [during] exile, [I] resided at the gazelle grove.72 The master crossed the water and joined [me].
[So twice [we] met. After returning to the capital, the next year he visited me at Ch’angnang pavilion and was cordial to me.
And in the end, nothing is left behind but feelings. The master had a profound [knowledge] in the meditational principles.
And I discussed [with him] [whether or not] the causes of meditational [school] and doctrinal [school] are two. The master was extremely correct.
And instructed [me in] the doctrine of differentiation in the meditational school, and I also replied right away.
The master acquired [profound knowledge] in poetry and prose because [he] received [training] from Tasan’gong73 and
Also [he] was pleased to [be] together with the literati and travelled [together with] Chaha74 and Ch’usa.75
And, how good! [He is] a kind of Huìyｕán76 and Guànxiú–77 of modern times.
[He] once lived at the pure temple of Kwangmyŏng in the Turyun Mountain range and [became] 84 years old. His brilliant disciple Sŏn’gi and others [came with] a portrait of the master and asked me [to write a few] words. The master’s clear example and profound teaching
Cannot be achieved according to the form, and cannot be achieved according to a duplicated rising in today’s world. Alas, [I] succeeded doing [it]. Followed by the preface [come] the praising words:

70. One of the rare cases in which hyang 響, lit. “echo,” was employed. Eulogists more often employed the term yŏng 影, lit. “shadow,” in the title. Similar to a shadow, which reflects a subject, an echo reflects a sound.
71. In this context, yŏng 影 is the abbreviation for “Naval Officer of the Right-hand Side of Chŏlla Province” (Chŏlla usuyŏng 全羅右水營). The naval main military post was based in Haenam, South Chŏlla Province.
72. Probably Cheju Island (because the monk crossed the water to meet him).
73. Tasan Chŏng Yagyong 茶山 丁若庸 (1762-1836).
74. Chaha Sin Wi 紫霞 韓緯 (1769-1847).
75. Ch’usa Kim Chŏnghŭi (1786-1857).
76. Huìy’un 惠遠 (334-416), Eastern Jin 晉 period monk, known as the first patriarch of the Pure Land School of Buddhism.
77. Guànxiú 賢休 (832-912), Táng period Chán painter-monk.
When the master comes – emptiness, when he leaves – also emptiness
Coming [is] emptiness, leaving [is] emptiness. Nothing is the same. In one piece of painting [lit. red-blue] remains great personality.
Clearly, in India there is no such trace.
If you want to catch it, it is like the moon in the water and the wind between the pine trees.
About the existence and non-existence of the master, who can tell the beginning and end?
Praise [written with] the scent of fragrance by the scholar Hun Yuyong Toin\(^78\) on the 25th day of the seventh month in the year Ülch’uk [1865].

Besides praising the monk’s erudition, one also finds examples in which the scholars praise the monk’s spiritual power by referring to their physical presence. For example, the chief state councilor Cho Hyŏnmyŏng 趙顯命 (1690-1752) praises the famous lecturer Chŏnghye 定慧 (Hoemadang 昏庵堂, 1685-1741) from Chŏng’amsa for his spiritual power comparable to that of a Tathāgata, despite the fact that this monk got entertained at kisaeng 妓生 establishments. The portrait was originally made in the eighteenth century. When a copy of the picture was made in the nineteenth century, the title and the eulogy of the portrait were copied along with it.\(^79\) The eulogy is as follows:

可見者耳目之形 不可見者耆好之情
吾曾見君於澄清閣聲妓場中
亦如斯而已 此其所以為如來席大心生者耶
領議政 趙顯命讚

What we can see is the appearance of ears and eyes. What we cannot see is the feeling of fondness.
I previously saw the noble man at Chingch’ŏng pavilion playing with kisaeng. But this is just like this [mentioned above], and that’s all. Is this the method to raise a great mind in the seat of a Tathāgata?\(^80\)
Written by chief state councilor Cho Hyŏnmyŏng [1690-1752].

---

\(^78\) No further dates are known of this eulogist. He might have been a military official who served in South Cholla Province, and because the monk crossed the sea in order to meet with him, and Cheju Island lies close to the Cholla Province, he presumably was exiled to Cheju Island. Again, the term toin refers to a Neo-Confucian scholar, presumably to someone without a regular post.

\(^79\) The fact that this portrait was copied can further be verified by the very stiff and inflexible brush technique. As to the same writing style of title and eulogy, the writer of the title was usually a different person than the writer of the eulogy.

\(^80\) The meaning of this passage could also be read as “in the place of a Tathāgata, (Hoe’amdang) gives birth to the great mind,” but from my viewpoint, the grammatically correct way of writing this would have been as follows: 如來之席生大心.
Another eulogy with a Buddhist connotation can be found on the portrait of Sinmin. It was written by the scholar-official Kyulsan Yi Yuwŏn 李裕元 (1814-1888). Yi Yuwŏn held one of the highest posts in the Chosŏn period administrative system. He co-directed the state council (Uijongbu 議政府), the highest governmental organ in the early 1860s under the reign of Kojong, but was downgraded in 1865. Because of his signature as chief state councilor, it may be assumed that he wrote the eulogy shortly after the production of the portrait that bears an inscription with the date of 1859.

Yi symbolically recounts the long ears (i.e. earlobes) of Sinmin, and thereby indirectly refers to the thirty-two physical features of a great man (S. maha–purusā), i.e. the iconographical features of depictions of the Buddha. Although we have seen several examples in which the inscriptions correspond with the portrait itself, the realistic depiction of the ears in this portrait does not refer to the long ears mentioned in the eulogy:

A tiger sleeps on a rock. A cloud exists in the sky. His nature is holy. Lucky are those who met this man. When I saw him, his ears hung down onto his shoulders.

Written by the scholar-official Kyulsan Yi Yuwŏn (1814-1888), who holds the chief rank of vice-chancellor, senior state councilor and supervisor.

The very rare case of the depiction of animals in a priest portrait is found in the portrait of Sikhwal 譜活 (Nuramdang 許庵堂, 1725-1830), who was based at Sŏn’amsa. The visualization of apocryphal accounts of his life can be seen in the pictorial and written parts which both recount scenes from the life of the subject. The eulogy written by the Town Magistrate of Sunch’ŏn, Cho Chinhwa 趙晉和 (1762-?),81 refers to the ascetic life of Sikhwal in the remote mountains:

81. The Sunjo Taewang sillok mentions a certain Cho Chinhwa as subeditor (kyori, 校理) in 1806. See Sunjo Taewang sillok, 6th year (= 1806), 8.34a [= Yi Pyŏngmo (1742-1806) et al., Chŏngjong taewang sillok (Royal Annals of Chŏngjong) in Chosŏn wango sillok, vol. 47, comp. Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe, 1958), 537]. It has to be further examined whether the author of this eulogy actually is congruent with the above mentioned one. However, if both persons are actually the same, it may be inferred that Cho’s writing was pasted onto the portrait at a later date, probably post-1830 which is the death year of Sikhwal.
The eulogy says:
In the mountains and swamps, [he endured] with a worn-out appearance. He could train birds and domesticate wild animals. [When] seeing him face to face, his energy of the way delighted me. Thirty years finally were like one day.

Written by the magistrate of Sŏngp’yon’g82 Cho Chinhwa [1762-?] in peaceful late spring of the Sinmi year (probably 1811).

The explanatory text refers to Sikhwal who eagerly practiced Sŏn meditation. Two tigers, depicted on the lower part of the picture, refer to two events in his life. While he was studying in a cave for three years, two tigers protected him. A tiger is said to be depicted here on the lower left of the picture, but actually it is a leopard, as can be seen from the round patterns on its fur. When Sikhwal practised meditation for six weeks beneath a rock in the Myohyang Mountains, again a tiger protected him from danger. The bird depicted on the wooden table reminds the viewer of the dove that bent its head and listened to Sikhwal’s lectures at the Sŏn’amsa temple. The text is as follows:

仙巖本寺 大會說法時 飛鳩俯首聽法
義相窘工夫時 兩虎三年外護
杏山法王峰下 一虎一月有半外護

[When] lecturing to a large crowd at Sŏn’amsa, a dove flew in, bent its head and listened to the dharma.
[When] studying at the Ûisang cave two tigers came and protected him from outside [the cave] for three years.
Beneath Pŏpwang rock in the Myohyang mountains, one tiger protected him for one and a half months from outside [the cave].

In conclusion, Confucian scholars who wrote eulogies on monk portraits most often had a personal relationship with the deceased. In the eulogies, they recount conversations with him and highlight the erudition of their friend. By discussing Buddhist philosophy, scholars such as Kim Chŏnghŭi show us that

---

82. Sŏngp’yon’g is the former name of today’s Sunch’ŏn city, which lies close to Sŏn’amsa. Cho had been appointed Town Magistrate of Sunch’ŏn (Sunch’ŏn pusa 順天府使) in 1809.
some Confucian scholars were well acquainted with Buddhist scriptures. The outward appearance of the monks reminds the scholars of iconographical features of Buddha depictions, a direct comparison which is interestingly also undertaken by the disciples in their eulogies, who also compare their master with the life of the historical Buddha. By comparing their friends with persons from Chinese myths and ascribing virtuous character traits appraised by the Neo-Confucian scholars, they elevate their Buddhist friends to eminent and equal counterparts of themselves.

Inscriptions with a Legitimizing and an Exhortative Function

According to Griffith Foulk, monk portraits in the Sòng Chinese context were enlivened by the inscription in much the same way that other icons are brought to life in a formal rite of opening the eyes. Eulogies are conducive to the use of a portrait as an icon because they generally praise the subject and indirectly recommend him to viewers as worthy of worship. In his view, the presence of an eulogy above the portrait of a monk calls to mind the mortuary origins of the art form, for the eulogy genre is closely related to the writing of epitaphs on memorial steles. As to Korean monk portraits, I would refrain from saying that the eulogies served as “iconizers” of the portraits. The majority of portraits bear no eulogy, yet they acted as icons during the annual commemoration rituals. I therefore see no evidence to view the inscriptions as agents that iconize the picture.

Temporarily, all the portraits acted as icons during the ritual act. Simple rites, consisting of burning some incense on the altar, were conducted every morning and evening, while large annual memorial ceremonies on the anniversary of the monk’s death (kiil) closely resemble the course of Confucian ancestral rites. The necessity of having the master’s portrait for the act of veneration (i.e. for the commemoration rituals) becomes evident in almost every eulogy written by the disciples.

84. For a comparative analysis of commemoration rituals for eminent monks and Confucian ancestral rites, see Stiller, “On the traces of awakened masters,” 145ff.
85. Buddhist ritual manual records such as the “Ritual writings for the Buddhist priesthood” (Sŏngga yejumun), whose author is unknown and which was written during the late Chosŏn period, mention that a portrait was hung above the altar during the funeral rites (Pulchŏn Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe and Han’guk Pulgyo Chŏnsŏ Wiwŏnhoe, comp., Han’guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ (Complete works of Korean Buddhism), vol. 8 (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo, 1987), 398-
1. Thoughts and Hopes of the Dharma Descendants

For the disciples, the portrait of their master symbolised the continuity of their lineage. In other words, the disciples, who wrote eulogies for the portraits of the deceased master, regarded him as an outstanding spiritual master and/or fundraiser in the temple’s lineage. The importance of a portrait to commemorate the master becomes visible in the following eulogy for the portrait of Kyŏnghyo˘n 景賢 (Chŏngbongdang 靜峯堂, nineteenth century) from Kimnyongsa:

```ko
贊曰
慈仁積累 賴彼後昆
追慕德義 敢忘其恩
靈珠出髓 窮劫永存
模寫七分86 師承有源
華嶽門人 政燦 謹賛
```

The eulogy says:

In terms of the accumulation of compassion and benevolence, they were relied upon and received by the descendants.

[We, the descendants] followed and longed for [his] merit and righteousness. We dare [not] forget his mercy.

The pearls of his soul came out of his marrow. Even through all [existing] aeons [S. *kalpa*] the pearls will be eternally preserved.

We copied the portrait, [so that] the continuation of the master has an origin.

Respectfully written by Hwaak’s disciple Chŏngch’an.

According to the eulogist, the advanced spiritual state of a teacher becomes evident in the amount of relics (S. *śarīra*) that are found in his ashes after cremation. According to the text, “pearls out of his marrow” evolved. The disciples thereby refers to the relics, which shall serve as a proof for the

---

399]. However, according to the analyzed inscriptions, most of the portraits were made dozens of years after the priest had passed away, so the portraits seemingly did not primarily serve as funerary portraits. However, in the first volume of the “Transcriptions of funeral rites of the Buddhist school” (釋門家禮抄, *Sŏngmun karyech’o*), which was compiled by Na’am Chin’il 懷庵□— (d.u.) and printed in 1639, it is stated that when there was no portrait for the funeral rites available, a tablet (*wip’ae* 位牌) had to be made instead [=Na’am Chin’il, comp., *Sŏngmun karyech’o* (Transcriptions of funeral rites of the Buddhist school) in *Han’guk pulgyo chŏnsŏ*, vol. 8, 280]. The study of the employment of monk portraits in funeral rites still awaits further investigation.

86. *Ch’ilbun* 七分: portrait in three-quarter pose.
teacher’s awakening and further justify the importance of the deceased as well as the making of his portrait. Lastly, the writer states that the portrait was copied so that the descendants may have a materialized object of veneration. Portraits of Kyônhyo˘n had existed elsewhere, but now his descendants residing at Kimnyongsa wanted to have a portrait made which proved that they were the descendants of his lineage.

The strong Neo-Confucian influence onto the mindset of Buddhist monks becomes evident when one looks at the terms the eulogist employed. For example, he mentions terms such as loving kindness (cha 慈) and benevolence (in 仁), as well as merit (tôk 德) and righteousness (i˘i 義). The descendants remember these characteristics of their teacher that emphasize the erudition of the teacher and accentuate the need to make a portrait, so he may serve as a visible model to his descendants.

The eulogy written on the portrait of the painter Chau (Yiiundang 意雲堂, active middle of the 19th century) from Taesûngsa is exceptional in so far as it recounts a conversation between two dharma brothers, one of them informing the other about the necessity of a eulogy on the portrait of their master for the continuing dharma lineage. Sangsun (尚順 d.u.), who calls himself a descendant of the side lineage, wrote the eulogy. One should take into account that while not all the disciples signed their writing, Sangsun did, probably in order to make himself part of the teacher’s lineage despite not being from the main lineage. The eulogy is as follows:

宗門弟石雲 憶其法祖意雲和尚之無影讚也 來言於余曰 吾法祖 生平事業 圖盡佛像 作衆 生之福田 在在無量 又於大乘寺 一時鬱欒 以意雲能瀟清涼 慈雨 中興伽藍 使三寶永豊無

87. In an unpublished paper presented at the 2001 AAS meeting, Sem Vermeersch writes that during the Koryô period, even the ritualized event of cremation aimed to display the spiritual power of the deceased priest, and create relics to serve as a focus of veneration: Sem Vermeersch, “Funerary Practices in the Koryô period: The Buddhist Legacy,” 6. During the Chosôn period, the cremation of a Buddhist master probably had a similar connotation.

88. Further details on the life of Kyônhyo˘n are not known, but records from Kimnyongsa temple mention him as the renovator of a hermitage named Yangjin’am in 1840. See Ven. Hûngsôn (et al.). Khaedarsı˘ı˘ı kirı˘l kan ölguldı˘l, 34.

89. While cha is also employed in Buddhist-related texts and refers for example to the kindness of a Bodhisattva, the term tôk is usually not separately employed, but is mentioned in reference to merit (功德, kongdôk) in Buddhist texts. For more information on the Neo-Confucian influence onto the Buddhist elite, see John Jorgensen. “Conflicts between Buddhism and Confucianism in the Chosôn period: a preliminary survey.” Pulgyo yôn’gu 15 (1998): 189-242. For more information on the Neo-Confucian transformation of the traditional Korean society, see Martina Deuchler. The Confucian Transformation of Korea (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992).
A younger dharma brother named Sŏngmun from my school felt pity for there was no eulogy [on the portrait of the master]. He came to me and said: "In his life, the daily duties of my dharma master were to paint Buddhist paintings and make Buddhist sculptures. Through his work he created immeasurable fields of merit [S. punyākṣetra] for all sentient beings. At a time when Taesŏngsa suffered from being badly off, Ùin90 restored the temple [S. saṅgha–ra–ma] by the sprinkling of refreshing compassionate rain and made the three jewels receive offerings forever. But still there was no praise of even one word about his deeds. It is actually regrettable for us, the descendants." I replied: "Great deeds are nameless, great achievements are without merit. In the old days, the term “no deed, no virtue” was praised. How come you don’t know the meaning of “no deed, no virtue” from ancient times? Thus, living in this world, the most difficult [thing] is obtaining reputation. Therefore, the most extreme hardship is necessary in order to obtain a reputation. Without hardship, how can one establish reputation for one thousand autumns so that everyone respects the man? In the following, [I] praise:

"Twinkling,91 the merit of my ancestor!
The peak of the merit will be everlasting.
Taesŏngsa will eternally be peaceful.
At the place where the double lotus blossoms [= Taesŏngsa],
There are four Buddhas, who released [light] from their jade[-like] ārāma."

Written by Sangsun, descendant from the ancillary lineage.

In other eulogies, the writers emphasize the achievement of their master in terms of reviving a teaching tradition, and serve an exhortative function to the disciples to look up to their master as a role model. The monk Sang’ŏn is praised as the revivor of Flower Garland (Hwaŏm 華嚴) teaching in the eulogy written on his portrait from Sŏn’uns’a. The visual depiction of the subject corresponds with the content of the eulogy, as it shows the portrayed with the

90. This is a play on words, for the characters of the name Ùin could also mean “clouds with thoughts”.
91. Ùi 萌, lit. “ripples”: The merit of the ancestor is twinkling like the ripples on the water.
Avatāṃsaka sūtra (Hwaŏm kyŏng 華嚴經) on a table behind him. Title and eulogy correspond to each other as well, as he is referred to as a Hwaŏm master in the title (mentioned above in the section on the titles), while his position within this teaching tradition is further explained in the eulogy:

Praising the portrait
The Hwaŏm of the Land of the East, seems like preserved or destroyed [however] my master lived in between and rectified [Hwaŏm’s] declining principle
The ten mysterious dharma gates [towards awakening] were again obtained and widely spread
Who will not agree in saying that he is the reappearance of Chéngguān 澄觀 [Qīngliáng 清凉, 738-839]?

2. Praising the Master’s Insight

The portraits exemplify the strong bonds of one dharma lineage to one specific temple, a process that can be seen in temples focusing on meditational as well as on doctrinal training. An example for the latter is the portrait of Ch’ejŏng 體淨 (Hoamdang 虎巖堂, 1687-1748) from Sŏn’amsa. On a small silk strip next to the painting, an anonymous disciple wrote a eulogy. In order to visually explain Ch’ejŏng’s spiritual power and personality, he refers to capturing the imagery of “one million elephants and dragons” and that his “true body” resembles the peaks of the Diamond Mountains:

282 Maya Stiller

92. Fourth Chinese patriarch of the Huáyán school.

93. Ch’ejŏng was a disciple of the renowned teacher on Hwaŏm thought and Sŏn, Chi’an 志安 (Hwansŏngdang 喚醒堂, 1664-1729). All thirteen lecturers (taegangsa 大講師) from Taehŭngsa temple belong to Hoamdang’s dharma lineage, a fact that underlines the importance of his portrait for the teaching tradition of Taehŭngsa.

The praise says
This picture scroll is said to be the priest Hoam. When I go forward and look at it closely, [I figure that] that originally this is not the appearance of the master. Would you like to know the former master? His body is like a shining banner. His mind is a storage place of supernatural ability. [He] spread the net which covers the sky out widely. One million elephants and dragons [i.e. eminent practitioners] he caught and locked up. The whole morning he laughed and left for the Diamond Mountains. The 12,000 peaks are the form of his true body.
Sincerely inscribed by an unworthy disciple who humbly bows.

As mentioned above, the dharma lineage of Hyujo ˘ng became the most dominant lineage during the Choso˘n period. The following eulogy refers to his lineage and one of his dharma descendants, Chian, who presumably was the teacher (or dharma brother?) of Yakhyu  若休 (Hoamdang 護巖堂, 1664-1738).95 The latter is the one portrayed in this picture. The eulogist regarded the mind of Yakhyu to be so elevated that he calls him a Bodhisattva at the end of this eulogy:

95. From 1698, Yakhyu raised help to reconstruct Sŏn’amsa, which took eight years.
96. The author hereby refers to the compiling of sūtras based on a Sŏng Chinese version.
Hyegu˘n 惠勤 (Ch’ŏndang 錦塘, dates unknown) is the eulogist of the portrait of the State Preceptor of royal descent Ùich’ŏn 義天 (Taegak 大覺, 1055-1101). He recounts the life of this Koryŏ period (918-1392) prince who renounced the world and became a monk. According to Hyegu˘n, Ùich’ŏn absconded from his royal home, wandered around and meditated in a cave for six years. The fact that the eulogist recounts Ùich’ŏn’s life by leaning on the historical Buddha’s hagiography, echoes the composition and painting style of the portrait itself, which shows the overall tendency of Korean monk portraits, namely the depiction of the monk with some of the thirty-two iconographical features (S. lakṣaṇa) of a great man (S. maha–purus·a), i.e. a Buddha: long earlobes, equally formed, elongated fingers, etc. As this portrait and its eulogy are a copy of a Koryŏ period original, it is highly likely that the Koryŏ original looked similar to the one at which we are looking now.

The eulogy recounts the monk’s travel to China and his recognized position in Korea after his return. By the production of such a portrait and its visual presentation to the public in the portrait hall, Sŏn’amsa fortified its position within the samgha by accentuating the eminence of Ùich’ŏn, thereby distancing itself from the nearby Songgwangsa with its strong meditative tradition. The eulogy appears on the left-hand side of the portrait and goes as follows:

97. Ùich’ŏn 義天 (Taegak 大覺, 1055-1101), the fourth son of King Munjong 文宗 (r. 1046-1083), is regarded as the founder of Ch’ŏnt’ae 天台 Buddhism in Korea. He supposedly resided at Sŏn’amsa upon his return from China in 1086.

98. A major school of Mahāyāna Buddhism, named after Mount Tiantai in South-eastern China, which focuses on the teachings of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra ("The Lotus Sutra of the Wonderful Law").
In former times in a wonderful country, there were auspicious clouds in a haze, purple walls, a moon of wisdom and shadows falling on a small sea. Into this world he was eminently born; an unadulterated and extraordinary chief. He rejected the power of a prince and left the city. He tattooed himself and cut off his hair-knot. In the clouds and waters of the Sōlsan mountains, he was cold and hungry for six years. The insubstantial cup travelled West [i.e. China], [where he was a] famous aid and [his] splendour spread.

Heaven’s son welcomed [him] and expressed his appreciation [towards him]. The golden gate was greatly opened [for him] [i.e. he stayed at the emperor’s palace]. [He] looked for [and found] masters and let [their] erudition grow. [He] admonished the monastic rules and was without idleness. The documents of the Flower Garland sūtra and the treatises [he] chewed and swallowed; [becoming] an expert in raising and withdrawing energy [like a] flower bud from the Bodhi tree. From a bottle drained one thousand answers. The milk of the dharma spread in the four directions. The sword danced, [then] a jewel came back. [His] teaching [was] praised and the value doubled. Solemnly and respectfully [he was] greeted in the rural area [i.e. in Korea]. He assisted the officials in lofty dodder [= silk], like resting in a light carriage. At a precious temple’s hermitage: a painting. Heavenly support [was portended] by the wooden bell.

The ignorant and deaf [people understood] universal awakening.

The earth shook and was alert. The rhythm of the tide rolled around. Foreigners from the islands [i.e. the Japanese] offered a treasure: a golden box with strings of jade pearls.

Ten thousand confusions, profound silence. Sun, moon and stars were covered with dust.

Officials and general citizens wore white mourning clothes, Clinging to crying and collapsing, grasping; the golden body was cremated. Jade grains which were brilliant and glittering [remained]. The king bestowed him a civil office title [posthumously]. His merits are engraved in the tripod. The portrait [in three-quarter profile] has a pure fragrance. The banner of the dharma has the appearance of a high mountain.

The eulogy was written by the imperial brush. Extraordinary sentences brightly shine.

Written in the late spring of the year Imjin by Chŏndang Hyeġún [a disciple of Úich’ŏn in the third generation] who bent his head, bowed and respectfully wrote

99. He received a brand on one arm, a ceremony which is undergone upon taking the vows of the Buddhist priesthood and which in some cases is repeated every year.

100. In the Buddhist context, Sōlsan, “snow mountains,” may refer to the name for the Himalaya mountains which derives from the Sanskrit compound himālaya, “the abode of snow.” In the context of this eulogy, however, it is more likely that the eulogist refers to the Sōlsan mountain in Cholla province. It may be inferred that Úich’ŏn practised meditation before he went on a journey to China.
[the eulogy]. [Üich’ón] is the third son of King Munjong [this is not correct, he was the fourth son]. The Sòng emperor Zhézhōng [reigned 1076-1100] granted him the title of royal preceptor. He inherited the dharma from the dharma teacher Jinshuí Jìngyuán [1011-1088].

4. The Paradox of Depicting the Formless

Although the majority of eulogies written by disciples are meant to elevate the position of their master and express the hope of eternal continuity of his lineage, some eulogists deal with a very different topic. They negotiate the paradox of the depiction of the formless spirit in a portrait. The following examples show eulogists who imply in their writing that the spiritual power of their portrayed master can hardly be transmitted in the portrait. The first one captivates by its vivid description. It contains the message that it is impossible to display the teacher’s spiritual power in a portrait. It was written by an anonymous disciple on the portrait of Kap’yŏng 佳坪 (Hansongdang 漢松堂, d.u.) of Pongjŏngsa:

Praise.

[When] painting a phoenix, can one reach its purity? [No,] only the feathers, and that’s all. [When] painting a person, can one reach his mind? [No,] only his [outer] appearance, and that’s all. This portrait of the priest Hansong, can it reach his reputation and virtue? [No,] just his robe’s Colors, and that’s all. A fool’s praising words, again how [can they be] finished? The master produced his good fortune to spread it everywhere The dharma of sweet dew, does it rain for the transformation of endless men and gods? Displaying difficulties, [I] accomplished this clumsy unintelligible [writing].

However, people were sometimes impressed by the quality of the portrait. In the case of Muktamdang’s 默湛堂 (d.u.) portrait from Sŏn’unsa, the eulogist

---

writes about the “pure appearance” and the life-like impression of the portrayed, “frowning and groaning”:

Then and now, one hill, two turnings of earth and water. Through dharma rain and the cloud of compassion one returns to truthfulness like this. This Haeno rested in full spirituality, on the way to awakening by the six practices.

In his mind, even one piece of dirt did not exist. He clearly knew the limitless nature and appropriately saw the endless. Looking up to the Pure Land, one looks at the universe anew. Thanks to whose power did this happen? It is due to a person like him. Painted on one piece of painting.

A portrait that knits his brows and groans. His appearance is pure but worn out. His heart has kindness and benevolence. The purple is like a lotus. The white down is like a unicorn. If the sea dries out, the dragon falls into pieces. This portrait left behind will not be lost.

The monk who wrote the eulogy on the portrait of Chŏnhaeng 定行 (Yŏnp’adang 蓮坡堂, d.u.) from Unmunsa offers a slightly different argumentative thread. It does not refer to the physical appearance or the mightiness of the spirit, but rather says that the illusionary character of a portrait determines the uselessness of trying to grasp the mind of the portrayed. According to his opinion, one should be aware of the illusionary character of a portrait. In the following eulogy, this anonymous disciple recalls a dharma talk with his teacher in order to explain the duality of illusion and non-illusion of the body and its appearance in the form of a portrait:

Somebody once asked the old man Yŏnp’a to discuss illusion and non-illusion.

---

102. Depending on the width of the painting, one to three pieces of cloth were employed.
Illusion is one painting. Why is it between the walls? Non-illusion is the body that is formed by the four elements? Why is it in the fire? In the fire, isn’t it illusion? Between the walls, isn’t it the truth? No illusion is not non-illusion. The old man [i.e. the master] must certainly have known this himself.

In conclusion, for the disciples, the portrait symbolically represented their master, whose position in the dharma lineage got authorized and legitimized by the portrait. As the examples have shown us, the teacher is cited as being the direct heir of a dharma lineage (e.g. Hyujöng), or the importance of the teacher within his school is emphasized, for example within the Flower Garland school. The eulogies also clarify the exhortative function of the portrait for the descendants. Likewise, as mentioned in the eulogy for Kyŏnghyŏn 景賢 (Chŏngbongdang 靜峯堂, d.u.), virtuous character traits and the evolvement of sarīra served as important means to justify the making of a portrait. In some eulogies, the disciples also question whether portraits can actually transmit the spiritual power of a master, usually concluding that the true form of their master lies outside the form manifest in a portrait.

Conclusion

An examination of the inscriptions on Korean Buddhist monk portraits allows us to take a look behind the scenes of portrait making during the late Chosŏn period. While the painting records serve as important means to understand the motivation of the donors who financed these portraits, the eulogies indirectly explain the two main purposes why the dharma descendants strived for a portrait of their master. Moreover, by looking at the eulogies, we learn about the friendship between Confucian scholars and the monks portrayed, as well as the longing of the disciples and scholars for their spiritual master and friend.

In this article, I first dealt with the painting records. Apart from listing the date and location of the portrait making, as well as the names and numbers of donors and high-ranking priests, the painting records are sometimes mixed with an implicit personal message by the donor. As could be seen in the examples of the sixteen portraits of the State Preceptors from Songgwangsa, Buddhist monks and even a Confucian scholar donated in order to receive merit for themselves and/or their deceased family members.

Subsequently, I dealt with the legitimizing and authorizing function of the portraits that appear in the portrait titles and the eulogies written by eminent
literati. The portrait titles inform us about the name and honorary titles as well as the doctrinal background of the monks portrayed. The more honorary titles that are mentioned, the more prestigious the portrait became. The titles thereby underline the representative function of the portraits, which served as a device to enhance the prestige of the designated temple. Eulogies written by prominent Confucian scholars like Kwŏn Tonin or Kim Chŏnghŭi also added to the portrait’s prestige, for they recount personal encounters and highly praise their friend’s erudition and insight. This signifies that towards the end of the Chosŏn period, not all the Confucian officials looked down on the sangha, but studied Buddhist thought and pursued intellectual exchanges with the Buddhist élite. By writing a eulogy then, the scholars served as multipliers of their friend’s fame and reputation.

As Jiang Boqin has stated, the development of portrait arts was closely tied to commemorative practices in Buddhist monasteries. In the eulogies written by the disciples we find signs of the legitimizing and exhortative function of the portraits, which were directly linked to the commemorative practices. For the disciples, emphasizing the importance of the teacher for the dharma lineage was the most important task of a eulogy. However, the disciples and not the master himself initiated the portrait making. No official permission from a master was needed. Since the master never authorized the making of his portrait, the portraits served to legitimate a lineage that, as could be seen in the case of the Songgwangsa portraits of the sixteen State Preceptors, was fabricated by the descendants themselves. Hanging a portrait together with the other portraits of the temple’s masters meant that this priest was recognized as part of the dharma lineage of the temple, thereby exhibiting a visible sign of his merits and teaching authority. A disciple therefore praised the spiritual power of the master and also substantiated his outstanding achievements in order to underline the exhortative role of the master for his descendants.

A common problem that emerges in some eulogies written by the disciples is the paradox to express the priest’s spiritual power in a portrait. It shows the


105. Portraits were made despite the master’s disapproval. For an example, see the eulogy for Hwaak Chit’ak 華嶽 知澈 (1750-1839) from Taesŏng hermitage at Kimnyongsa written by Kim Chŏnghŭi, which was applied onto a wooden plate in the late nineteenth century and stored in the temple’s portrait hall. Kim writes: 華嶽不欲留影 余為作華嶽二大字以代影 华嶽笑而許之 今此華嶽之影 非華嶽本意 其門徒之欲留影 …… “Hwaak did not wish (that) a portrait (of him be) kept. I (asked) for making the two great characters of hwa and ak instead of a portrait. Hwaak smiled and allowed this. Now this portrait of Hwaak is not Hwaak’s own wish. It is a necessity and wish of his disciples to keep a portrait ……”
ambivalence that the disciples experienced: on the one hand, portraits were made to certify the lineage of the master; on the other hand, the making of a picture enhanced the Sōn Buddhist approach, which focused on the spiritual transmission between master and disciple rather than on pictorial or written material.

Once the eulogies became attached to the portraits, they enhanced the prestige and authority (legitimizing and authorizing function), as well as the outstanding spiritual capabilities (exhortative function) of the portrait. The disciples’ main concern was to aggrandize the fame of the master through their own writings or by those of his scholar-friends, in order to legitimize the inclusion of his portrait in the portrait hall of the designated temple, which subsequently lead to his acceptance in the temple’s lineage. But we have to keep in mind that relatively few of the extant portraits acquired this kind of accolade. In almost half of the examined portraits, the authorizing, legitimizing and exhortative character of the portraits only appears in the title tags via the listing of honorary titles.

This study has enhanced previous scholarship on East Asian monk portraits. It goes beyond a stylistic analysis of the portraits, which has hitherto been the main research focus of Korean scholars. As Wendi Adamek as well as T. Griffith Foulk and Robert Sharf have discussed, from the earliest beginnings of Buddhist monk portraiture, not only portraits of Chan masters were made. The earliest extant Chinese monk portrait paintings are those of the so-called Five Patriarchs of the Zhenyan school. As the title inscriptions have shown, this argument can also be applied to Korea, where portraits of monks from all denominations were painted.

Chinese monk portraits have to be viewed in the ritual context. The same can be said about the Korean portraits, which served as icons in the commemoration rituals. Furthermore, the argument of Helmut Brinker, that a portrait served as an authorization (ingga, J. inka 印可) to the disciple, has


already been refuted by T. Griffith Foulk and Robert H. Sharf. In agreement with the latter, I would like to note that as in Táng and Sòng China, the Korean master had not necessarily authorized his portrait to serve as a medium of transmission. Moreover, not a single example of a portrait is extant in Korea that bears an inscription dedicated by a master to his disciple. The portraits were made posthumously without the consent of the depicted teacher, because the dharma descendants of the designated temple desired to legitimize and authorize their temple lineage through the portraits.

### Table 1. List of monks’ names appearing in this article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dharma name</th>
<th>Funerary name</th>
<th>Further name</th>
<th>Name in Chinese</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Úich’ŏn</td>
<td>Taegak</td>
<td></td>
<td>義天 大覺</td>
<td>1055-1101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinul</td>
<td>Pojo Kuksa</td>
<td></td>
<td>知訥 普照 國師</td>
<td>1158-1210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhyānabhadra</td>
<td>Chigong</td>
<td></td>
<td>指公</td>
<td>?-1363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyegŏn</td>
<td>Naong</td>
<td></td>
<td>惠勤 懶翁</td>
<td>1320-1376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chach’o</td>
<td>Muhak</td>
<td></td>
<td>自超 無學</td>
<td>1327-1405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sŏngjŏng</td>
<td>Tamŏng</td>
<td></td>
<td>聖澄 湧堂</td>
<td>13th/14th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chawŏn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>賜恩</td>
<td>14th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>高峯</td>
<td>1350-1428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyujŏng</td>
<td>Ch’ŏnghŏndang</td>
<td>Sŏsan</td>
<td>西山 休靜 清虛堂</td>
<td>1520-1604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’ŏn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>西山</td>
<td>1664-1729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakhyu</td>
<td>Hoamŏng</td>
<td></td>
<td>若休 護巖堂</td>
<td>1664-1738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chŏnghye</td>
<td>Hoe’ Amanda</td>
<td></td>
<td>定慈 帶慶堂</td>
<td>1685-1741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’ejŏng</td>
<td>Hoamŏng</td>
<td></td>
<td>體淨 虎巖堂</td>
<td>1687-1748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’oesŏn</td>
<td>Kisŏngdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>快善 篤城堂</td>
<td>?-1764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sang’ŏn</td>
<td>Sŏlp’adang</td>
<td></td>
<td>善彥 雪坡堂</td>
<td>1707-1791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chisun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>智淳</td>
<td>late 18th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K’oeuyun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>快曉</td>
<td>late 18th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pohak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>普學</td>
<td>late 18th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokch’an</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>福聚</td>
<td>late 18th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>新唔</td>
<td>late 18th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>守印</td>
<td>late 18th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhwal</td>
<td>Nuramdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>識活 訥庵堂</td>
<td>1725-1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kŭngsŏn</td>
<td>Paekp’a</td>
<td></td>
<td>吳絨 白坡</td>
<td>1767-1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyŏngghwa</td>
<td>Hwadamdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>敬和 華禪堂</td>
<td>1786-1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ùsun</td>
<td>Ch’ou’i</td>
<td></td>
<td>意恂 神衣</td>
<td>1786-1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’ŏnyŏ</td>
<td>Kŏmamdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>天如 錦庵堂</td>
<td>1794-1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haebungdang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>海鵬堂</td>
<td>?-1826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinmin</td>
<td>Sŏnggokdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>懷旻 聖谷堂</td>
<td>?-1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>道日</td>
<td>early 19th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chau</td>
<td>Ùiundang</td>
<td></td>
<td>蔡雨 意雲堂</td>
<td>middle 19th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyŏngghyŏn</td>
<td>Chŏngbongdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>景賢 靜峯堂</td>
<td>19th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ŭjŏn</td>
<td>Sŏngdamdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>倚毋 聖禪堂</td>
<td>19th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chŏnaeng</td>
<td>Yŏnp’adang</td>
<td></td>
<td>定行 蓮坡堂</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kap’yŏng</td>
<td>Hansŏngdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>佳坪 漢松堂</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyŏngghyŏn</td>
<td>Chŏngbongdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>景賢 靜峯堂</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manu</td>
<td>Tongmyŏngdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>萬羽 東溟堂</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muktamdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>默湛堂</td>
<td>unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. List of portraits discussed in this article

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of portrayed</th>
<th>Name of artist</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Picture size in cm</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Current location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinul</td>
<td>K'oeun/Pokch'an</td>
<td>17th</td>
<td>78,3x146,5</td>
<td>s (silk)</td>
<td>Tonghwasa, Taegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K'obong</td>
<td>K'oeun/Pokch'an</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>77,5x135,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Stolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamdang</td>
<td>K'oeun/Pokch'an</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>77,5x135,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Stolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chawôn</td>
<td>K'oeun/Pokch'an</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>77,5x135,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Stolen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trio portrait</td>
<td>Suin, Pohak,</td>
<td>1782</td>
<td>115,0x235,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Taegoksa, North Kyöngsang Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Chigong,</td>
<td>Chisun, Sino</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhak</td>
<td>Chach'o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K'oesön</td>
<td></td>
<td>late 18th</td>
<td>70,0x112,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Yöngnam University museum, Kyöngsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ejong</td>
<td></td>
<td>18th</td>
<td>95,0x130,5</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Son'amsa, South Cholla Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Üch'on</td>
<td>Toil</td>
<td>1805</td>
<td>104,4x128,8</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Son'amsa, South Cholla Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sang'on</td>
<td></td>
<td>early 19th</td>
<td>66,0x116,3</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Son'unsa, South Cholla Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Üijön</td>
<td></td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>76,0x111,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>T'ongdosa monastery, South Kyöngsang province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinmin</td>
<td>Chau</td>
<td>1859</td>
<td>77,0x119,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>T'ongdosa, South Kyöngsang province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Üisun</td>
<td></td>
<td>1863</td>
<td>54,0x87,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>T'aepp'yöngyang Museum, Kyönggi Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'önyö</td>
<td></td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>75,5x109,5</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Son'amsa, South Cholla Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kap'yöng</td>
<td>Han'kyu</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>68,5x98,5</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>Pongjöngsa, North Kyöngsang Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chau</td>
<td></td>
<td>late 19th</td>
<td>81,9x111,3</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Taesungsan, North Kyöngsang Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yakhyu</td>
<td></td>
<td>late 19th</td>
<td>85,2 cm</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Son'amsa monastery, South Cholla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x122,5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhwal</td>
<td></td>
<td>late 19th</td>
<td>100,8x128,9</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Son'amsa, South Cholla Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chönghye</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>72,7x110,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Chöll'ansa, North Kyöngsang province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chönhæng</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>78,5x110,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Unmunsan, North Kyöngsang Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chian</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>88,5x126,5</td>
<td>C (cot-ton)</td>
<td>Pömösa, South Kyöngsang Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of portrayed</td>
<td>Name of artist</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Picture size in cm</td>
<td>Material</td>
<td>Current location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haebungdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>77,0x116,2</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Sŏn'ansa, South Chŏlla Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyujoŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>80,1x113,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Sut'asa, Kangwŏn Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyŏnghwa</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>77,2x109,8</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Chikchisa (formerly Taesūngsa), North Kyŏngsang province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kyŏnghyŏn</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>75,1 cm x111,8</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Kimnyongsa, North Kyŏngsang province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manu</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>80,5x123,5</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>T'ongdosa, South Kyŏngsang Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muktamdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>67,3x107,0</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Sŏn'unsa, North Chŏlla Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sŏlsongdang</td>
<td></td>
<td>19th</td>
<td>85,9x116,3</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>P'yoch'ungsa, South Kyŏngsang Province</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>