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Newly Discovered Literary Evidence for the Dating and Provenance of a Twelfth Century Buddhist Painting

*Moritaka Matsumoto**

In the collection of the National Palace Museum, Taipei is a superbly executed painting of Buddhist images, rich and colourful in its pictorial rendition and potent in its boundless iconological content.¹ The painting is entitled *Sung-shih Ta Li kuo miao-kung Chang Sheng-wen hua fan-hsiang*² (宋時大理國描工張勝溫畫梵像) and is, at present, mounted as a long scroll which measures 30.4 cm. in height and close to 19 m. in length, including the opening title and inscription and six colophons that follow the painted section. The original fine mulberry paper of slightly less than 17 m. is punctuated by 136 frames with each frame measuring approximately 12 cm., defined by decorative motifs of four different vajra and bell for the upper margin and decorative motifs of cloud and flowery designs for the bottom margin. Of the colophons, only the two by priest Miao-kung (釋妙光) and Sung Lien (宋濂) are written on this original paper within this design format. The rest of the inscription and colophons are on different pieces of paper. Although there are altogether 29 seals of 28 different kinds imprinted throughout the scroll, the majority of them are of Ch'ing emperors and none is from the time of execution of the original painting.³

The date proposed for this painting is between 1172 and 1180, during the reign of the 4th emperor of the Hou Li (後理) Kingdom, Tuan Chih-hsing (段智興) who was on the throne from 1172 until he died in 1200. The Emperor Tuan Chih-hsing adopted five reign

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names,⁴ namely, Li-chen (利貞), Sheng-te (盛德), Chia-hui (嘉會), Yüan-hsiang (元亨), and An-ting (安定). The exact duration of each reign however, is not certain, owing to conflicting information contained in the historical writings on the country. The upper terminus date of 1172⁵ has been proposed on the basis of the cartouche that identifies his first reign name, Li-chen, (fig. 7) while 1180⁶ has been assigned to the terminus date for the actual execution of the painting based on the date inscribed on the first colophon (fig. 1) by the priest Miao-kuang. The 5th year of Sheng-te (盛德) is indicated together with its cyclical date of keng-tzu (庚子). The Sheng-te refers to the second reign name that Tuan Chih-hsing adopted, though the historical records are not in complete agreement as to in what year it was adopted and how long it was before it was replaced by the third reign name, Chia-hui. Therefore, the cyclical date keng-tzu becomes the determining factor for the exact date. This keng-tzu corresponds to the year 1180, thus the 5th year of Sheng-te was the final year before it was changed to Chia-hui in 1181⁷. Therefore, unless the cartouche with the name of Li-chen (利貞) and the colophon of the priest Miao-kuang with its specific date have been proven to be authentic, the date proposed above offers little validity.

The second colophon (fig. 2) by Sung Lien, on the other hand, identifies, for the first time, that (the 5th year of Sheng-te) the year of keng-tzu corresponds to the 4th year of Chia-hsi (嘉熙), during the reign of the Emperor Li-tsung (理宗), which is datable as 1240⁸. This is one full 60 year cycle later than what has been derived from the historical records. His view that its date was 1240 was blindly adopted in the Ch'ienlung Emperor's inscription.

In view of the fact that Sung Lien was a reputable scholar, and was a friend of both Tsung-lo⁹ (宗泐) and Lai-fu¹⁰ (來復) who had been to Yünnan, he must have been well versed in Yünnan affairs. This point is attested by his display of knowledge concerning the dynastic history of Ta Li in his colophon, yet it is intriguing to find

that he made such a simple and careless mistake. Perhaps, this was prompted by biased information he received about the end of the Kingdom when the Mongols gradually suppressed and finally sacked the country. This mistake might have resulted from the fact that his primary concern was with the history of the Yüan dynasty for which he was compiling the *Yüan-shih*¹¹ (元史). At this juncture, one cannot overlook another important factor that might have induced him to make such a mistake. There was a well known Hou Li (後理) Emperor who is referred to as Tuan Hsing-chih (段興智) in most of the historical writings on the Kingdom. He was the last emperor whom Kublai Khan defeated, but later he was endowed with the honorable title of Maharaja¹² (摩訶羅嗟). Tuan Hsing-chih adopted three reign names, one of which was Li-cheng (利正), which approximates well with the Li-chen (利貞) for one of Tuang Chih-hsing's reign names. Moreover, this Hsing-chih (興智) was rendered as Chih-hsing (智興) in the *Nan Chao t'ung-chi* (南詔通紀), as quoted in a footnote to the last Emperor of the Hou Li Kingdom in *Tien-nan-tsa-chih*¹³ (滇南雜誌). It may be possible, therefore, to impute Sung Lien's mistake to these pieces of mysteriously confusing information. It is tempting to presume that, no sooner had he recognized the Maharaja (摩訶羅嗟) cartouche in this painting in frame 55, than he conjured up Tuan Hsing-chih rather than Tuan Chih-hsing, whose reign name is Li-cheng which is similar to Li-chen. As for this curious phenomenon, Li Chia-shui in his study cited a number of such occurrences and he imputed this confusion to their oral tradition in which the approximation of sounds is primary, and thus differing Chinese characters are inter-changeably adopted.¹⁴ He also cited several instances of reverse word order, such as 明啓, with 啓明 and 開明 with 明開, and concluded that there are too many such cases to be discussed individually. Indeed, our Chih-hsing = Hsing-chih and Li-chen = Li-cheng is one that he must have noticed.

Thus, the date 1240 was resolved as the last possible keng-tzu

year in the history of the Kingdom before it was integrated into Yüan. However frivolous it may sound, the above is the only rationale that could account for Sung Lien's misinterpretation.

The provenience of this long painting casts another mystery on the problem. Although an investigation to locate earlier information with regard to the existence of this painting in various temple records, Buddhist writings, art historical materials and historical sources on both Yünnan and China has ended in vain, some vital information concerning the first colophon writer, priest Miao-kuang¹⁵ (釋妙光), the owner of this painting, Tung Shan Te-t'ai Ch'an-shih¹⁶ (東山德泰禪師) of T'ien-chieh-ssu (天界寺), who lived during the active days of Sung Lien, Tsung-lo and Lai-fu, the subsequent owner Ming-Shang-ren¹⁷ (明上人) who is mentioned as such in Tseng-ying's (曾英) colophon dated 1413 (fig. 5), and the flood of 1449 that inflicted severe damaged to the painting, information of which appeared in the anonymous colophon¹⁸ dated 1459 (fig. 6), have been discovered.

In *Sung Hsüeh-shih-chüan-chi*¹⁹ (宋學士全集) there is recorded Sung Lien's eulogy for the 18 Lohan that Tung Shan ch'an-shih painted. Obviously this 東山禪師 corresponds to the 東山禪師德泰, 德泰藏主, 天界藏主泰東山, 東山泰藏主 and 東山泰上人, referred to in our colophons by Sung Lien, Tsung-lo (fig. 3), Lai-fu (fig. 4), Tseng-ying, and the anonymous writer respectively. Tung Shan ch'an-shih was a disciple of Tsung-lo at the temple T'ien-chieh-ssu. After the death of Tung Shan ch'an-shih, the painting subsequently found its way into the hands of Yung Ming shang-ren (用明上人). The Tseng-ying colophon mentions him as the owner at the time of his writing the colophon in the year 1413. This Yung Ming shang-ren is also recorded in *Sung Hsüeh-shih-chüan-chi* under two entries; Sung Yung Ming shang-ren huan Ssu-ming hsü (送用明上人還四明序) and Yung Ming ch'an-shih wen-chi-hsü (用明禪師文集序). The same priest appears twice in *Shih-chien-chi-ku-lüeh-hsü-chi*²⁰ (釋鑑稽古略統集) under the section for the years 1341 and 1398. According to these sources, he

was a man of Ssu-ming (四明), whose teacher, priest Yüeh Chiang-yin (月江印) resided in Ch'ung-fu-ssu (崇福寺). He was one of the contributors for the writing called *Yün-lou-hu-fa-lu* (東樓護法錄).

After leaving the hands of Yung Ming shang-ren, this long painting resurfaced in Hui-teng-ssu (慧燈寺) at least as early as 1449 and it was still there when the anonymous colophon was written in the year 1459. According to this colophon dated 1459, a certain master of Ching-k'ung (鏡空) named Yüeh-feng (月峯) had gotten this painting for the temple, Hui-teng-ssu, which was damaged by a flood in the year 1449.²¹ This is a crucial point in the history of this painting and requires particular attention as to the authenticity of the incident, reported in the colophon. Fortunately, this can be ascertained through the examination of the same Buddhist record cited above, namely, the *Shih-chien-chi-ku-lüeh-hsü-chi*.²² In its chapter 3, under the section for the year 1449, there is recorded the devastating storm accompanied by lightning and thunder that destroyed the palace in Nanking and caused landslides. The river changed its course and thousands of houses were left under water. This was in the month of June. The record also reports another storm in the following month. The flooding that damaged our painting in 1449, therefore, was caused by this catastrophic storm that was so devastating that it is even recorded in the official Buddhist historical records.

There is, unfortunately, nothing that accounts for the whereabouts of this painting between 1459 and the time when it came into the Imperial collection of the Ch'ien-lung Emperor.

The succession of three colophons by Sung Lien, Tsung-lo, and Lai-fu at one year intervals, after the first one by Miao-kuang is indicative of growing interest in Yünnan affairs during the last quarter of the 14th century. In fact, these three priests were actively involved in collecting Buddhist liturgical materials from the western countries, including Yünnan, and accordingly their knowledge about

them increased remarkably. Tsung-lo of T'ien-chieh-ssu led an expedition of more than thirty priests to Central Asia in search of canonical scriptures. According to *Wu-teng-hui-yüan-hsü-lüeh* (五燈會元統略) and *Tsung-tung-pien-nien* (宗統編年), he left in 1378 and came back in 1382 from this expedition, which means that his colophon on this painting was written prior to this trip.²³ It is reported in *Yüan-tai-Yünnan-shih-ti-ts'ung-kao* (元代雲南史地叢考) that there are still fragmentary remains of the Hung-wu-seng-t'a (洪武僧塔) inscription in Yünnan, which consists of 9 lines with 15 characters for each line.²⁴ The inscription verifies that both Tsung-lo and Lai-fu stayed in Yünnan.

Tsung-lo's expedition was preceded by his colleague Hui-T'an²⁵ (慧曇) of the same temple, T'ien-chieh-ssu, who made his trip to Central Asia in 1370 and died shortly thereafter in the T'ien-chieh-ssu in the following year. The T'ien-chieh-ssu, thus, seems to have played an important role in establishing a rapport with the western countries, including Yünnan. Therefore, it is not surprising at all to find that Tung Shan Te-t'ai of the T'ien-chieh-ssu bought and treasured this painting as a legacy of his predecessor, the Ta Li Buddhism. Many Yünnanese monks went to China to study under Chinese masters, and some stayed more than a quarter of a century and died in China, for example, Hsiung-pien²⁶ (雄弁) was in China more than 25 years, and Hsüan-chien²⁷ (玄鑑) for 37 years and died in Wu. Hsüan-chien, Chao-peng (照木), P'u-fu (普福), Tao-yüan (道元), and Yüan-hu (円護), who flocked around T'ien-mu-shan (天目山) to receive the teaching of Chung-feng Ming-pen (中峯明本), are recorded in *Chung-feng kuang-lu*²⁸ (中峯廣錄).

Similarly, *Chin-lin-fan-cha-chin* (金陵梵刹志), *Shih-chien-chi-ku-lüeh-hsü-chi* (釋鑑稽古略統集) and *Tsung-tung-pien-nien* (宗統編年) report that many Yünnanese monks came to China and were received warmly by the Chinese monks.²⁹ This phenomenon was particularly pronounced during the last quarter of the 14th century after Hui-

T'an and Tsung-lo of T'ien-chieh-ssu led groups to Yünnan in the 1370's. It is tempting to assume that this Ta Li painting might have been brought by some Yünnanese priest who came to China sometime during the first half of the 14th century, which would, in turn, account for the lack of a colophon between those of priest Miao-kuang dated 1180 and of Sung Lien datable to 1377.

It is contended that this painting had been painted by two painters, Chang Sheng-wen (張勝溫), in Ta Li, being the chief painter, and was brought to the priest Miao-kuang by Chang Sheng-wen himself, in order to be inscribed by the priest, and that this priest Miao-kuang, was none other than the 17th generation from Ta-chien (大鑑) in the line of the Ts'ao-tung (曹洞) school. He died in the year 1253 according to *Wu-teng-hui-yüan-pu-i* (五燈會元補遺). This records him as a disciple of Hua-ts'ang Ming-chi-tsu ch'an-shih (華藏明極禪師), *Hsü-ch'uan-teng-lu* (續伝燈錄), *Wu-teng-hui-yüan-hsü-lüeh* (五燈會元續略), *Wu-teng-ch'uan-shu* (五燈全書), *Hsu-teng-cheng-t'ung* (續燈正統), and *Chi-teng-lu* (繼燈錄) are in agreement with regard to this priest Miao-kuang as being the 17th generation from Ta-chien in the line of Ts'ao-tung school, and that his master was Hua-ts'ang Ming-chi-tsu, and his disciple T'ien-ning Chih-weng³⁰ (天寧直翁). He is commonly referred to as Tung-ku Kuang (東谷光) or Ling-yin-Tung-ku Kuang (靈隱東谷光), because of his association with Ling-yin-ssu. None of the above sources however, specifies his date of birth, his life span, or for that matter, the dates for his activities. Nevertheless, one can be sure that he was the compiler of *Tzu-te Hui-hua ch'an-shih yu-lu* (自得慧暉禪師語錄) as his name is clearly written at the end of its preface; “住靈隱伝祖比丘東谷妙光謹而叙.”³¹ Although no date is given for the writing, it was probably compiled after the death of Tsu-te ch'an-shih, which suggests a date several years after 1183. This 1183 date for Tzu-te ch'an-shih's death is obtained from *P'u-t'o-lieh-tsu-lu*³² (普陁列祖錄), where a brief biographical account of him is found. Thus, these key dates, 1190's and 1253 provide

us with a very coarse outline for his life. It is significant to note, however, that Miao-kuang was already accomplished enough to compile the six volumes of *Tzu-te-hui-hua-ch'an-shih-yu-lu* as early as 1190's. If he was in his middle thirties then he would have been in his middle nineties when he died in 1253. There were several contemporary monks whose life span were reported to be as long as 90 years; just to mention a few, Po-t'ing Pu-yüeh (柏庭普月) (1149-1241), 92 years, Hsi Shan-liang (西山亮) (1153-1242), 89 years, and Lin-Kuang Wen-kuan (靈光文觀) (1083-1178), 95 years. It seems, therefore, possible that Miao-kuang wrote his colophon for this painting while in his middle twenties, about ten years prior to his major work.

Tung-ku Miao-kuang (東谷妙光) was one of the major Ts'ao-tung priests of the Southern Sung period beginning with the famous Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh (宏智正覺). Hung-chih, the 14th generation from Ta-chien, was followed by Tzu-te ch'an-shih, the 15th generation, Ming-chi Hui-tsu, the 16th generation, Tung-ku Miao-kuang, the 17th generation, Chih-weng Te-chü, the 18th generation, Sung-yüan Ch'ung-yüeh (松源崇岳), the 19th generation, and Shih-t'ien Fa-hsün (石田法薰), the 20th generation. According to the temple history of Ling-yin-ssu,³³ Hung-chih, Ch'ung-yüeh and Fa-hsün resided in the temple and Ch'ung-yüeh, the 19th generation from Ta-chien was the abbot of the temple from 1197 to 1203, and Fa-hsün resided there from 1235 to 1244. The most puzzling point is that Ling-ying Tung-ku Miao-kuang's name has not been recorded among those who resided in the temple at one time or another. It is highly possible that his name was forgotten or confused in the record, perhaps, because of the confusion of his name with Ling-yin Kuang (靈隱光), otherwise known as Te-kuang (德光), or Fo Chao-kuang (佛照光) who is reported as being a resident at the temple in the year 1176, which might have been in reference to Ling-yin Tung-ku Miao-kuang's residence.

In view of the fact that Tung-ku Miao-kuang, whose very name Miao-kuang corresponds to the pagoda name of Hung-chih Cheng-chüeh

(宏智正覺) as it is recorded in *T'ien-t'ung-cheng-chüeh-ch'an-shih-kuang-lu* (天童正覺禪師廣錄), *Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi* (佛祖統記), *Wu-teng-hui-yüan* (五燈會元), *Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai* (佛祖歷代通載) and in others,³⁴ and since Tung-ku Miao-kuang compiled the Yu-lu for Tzu-te ch'an-shih, who was the direct disciple of hung-chih, the priest Miao-kuang must have been a spiritual heir to the Southern Sung Ts'ao-tung master Hung-chih, who was once an abbot of Ling-yin-ssu before he moved to T'ien-t'ung-shan.

It is appropriate for a Ts'ao-tung priest, Miao-kuang to have written the colophon to this Ta Li painting that has a strong thrust of Ta-mo Ch'an³⁵ (達磨禪) in its representation of the Transmission of the Law from Shaka through the sixth patriarch and with the exuberant allusion to Potalaka, the Pure Land of Kannon in its iconographical programming of the 8 Kannon representations. As Ta-mo Ch'an was advocated by Hung-chih, who was opposed to the K'an-hua Ch'an (看話禪) of Tsung-kao³⁶ (宗杲), the leader of Yang-ch'i school, this was in keeping with the tenet presented by his predecessor Ch'i-sung (契嵩) in his monumental *Ch'uan-fa-cheng-tsung-chi*³⁷ (傳法正宗記) and an accompanying illustration, called *Ch'uan-fa-cheng-tsung-ting-tsu-t'u* (傳法正宗定祖圖), that he made in Ling-yin-ssu in 1062, which will be proven to be the prototype for our Transmission of the Law iconography.

In *P'u-t'o-lieh-tsu-lu*³⁸ (普陀列祖銀), in which Potalaka is rendered as the place of Kannon's unlimited transfigurations and as the site of the transmission of the True Law, three of the prominent Ts'ao-tung masters are recorded in conjunction with this Potalaka mountain in the sea; Hung-chih is reported to have been to Ming-chou (明州) during the Chien-yen (1127-1130) and worshipped the Potalaka Kannon there³⁹; Chen-hsieh Ch'ing-liao ch'an-shih (真歇清了禪師), who was a disciple of Tan-hsia Tzu-shun (丹霞子淳), just as Hung-chih was, came to P'u-t'o-lo (普陀洛) in 1131, built a hut and named it Hai-an-ku-chüeh⁴⁰ (海岸孤絕). (fig. 8) It records as well that Tzu-te

ch'an-shih, a disciple of Hung-chih, started to spread the True Law there in the year 1137.⁴¹ This aspect of the Chinese version of Potalaka as the abode of Pai-i Kuan-yin (白衣觀音), with its specific reference to Hai-an-ku-chüeh has great bearing on our Kannon iconography, in terms of its nomenclature and its exulting manifestations of Potalaka White-robed Kannon, which will be discussed in detail at some later date. Therefore, it is not without supporting evidence that our first colophon writer, priest Miao-kuang can be imputed to be the Ts'ao-tung priest, Ling-yin Tung-ku Miao-kuang, the 17th generation from Ta-chien.

It is herein contended that Chang Sheng-wen, after receiving Miao-kuang's colophon and his cartouches for this painting in China, returned to Ta Li, and this painting was kept in Yünnan until the general religious atmosphere in both countries, as has been demonstrated above, allowed this painting to be brought again to China during the 14th century. Considering the Yünnanese respect for the Chinese Buddhists, having the priest Miao-kuang's colophon to this painting must have been quite honorable, and perhaps, might even have enjoyed such highly prestigious recognition as in this context, corresponds to the case of the Yünnanese priest P'u-t'ung asking for Chung-feng Ming-pen's eulogy on his painting,⁴² the case of which is recorded in *Chung-feng kuang-lu*.

Notes

1. The present study is based on the introductory chapter in a Ph. D dissertation that this author presented to the Princeton University: "Chang Sheng-wen's Long Roll of Buddhist Images: A Reconstruction and Iconology." It begins with the examination of the physical characteristics that would contribute to the reconstruction of the original pictorial sequence of the painting. It then proceeds to the identification of some crucial iconographical as well as stylistic properties in order that a coherent view of the underlying programming principle throughout the painting will be presented at the end. The thrust of this dissertation is concen-

trated along the investigatory procedure and the resultant iconological interpretation of the problems pertaining to the programming principle deduced from the reconstructed pictorial as well as iconographical sequence of the painting.

2. As for the general description and the iconographical as well as historical background information for this long painting one is referred to the appropriate sections in Helen Chapin's article, revised by Alexander Soper, entitled, "A Long Roll of Buddhist Images", *Artibus Asiae*, XXXII, 1, pp. 5-41; XXXII, 2/3, pp. 157-199; XXXII, 4, pp. 259-306; and XXXIII, 1/2, pp. 75-139: There are two studies on the painting published besides Chapin's work; Li Lin-ts'an, "A study of the Nan-Chao and Ta-Li kingdoms in the light of art materials found in various museums", monography no. 9, Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1967; Sekiguchi Masayuki, "Dairikoku Chō Shō-on ga Bonzō ni tsuite", *Kokka*, nos. 895 and 898, Tokyo, 1966-67.

3. A description of the painting is recorded in *Ku-Kung shu-hua-lu*, second edition, Taipei, 1965, in IV, pp. 77-84.

4. The most complete discussion of these five reign names adopted by Tuan Chih-hsing is found in Li Chia-shui, "Yung wen-wu pu-cheng Nan-Chao chi Ta-Li kuo te chi-nien" *Li-shih yen-chiu*, no. 7, 1958, pp. 67, 68.

5. Sekiguchi, op. cit., no. 895, p. 10.

6. Li Lin-ts'an, op. cit., p. 20; Sekiguchi, op. cit., no. 895, pp. 15, 16.

7. Li Chia-shui, op. cit., p. 67.

8. Chapin, op. cit., XXXII, 2/3, p. 172; "He was followed in this error by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung. He gives no reasons for his choice of this year...; and reference to the *Nan Chao yeh-shih* makes it apparent that his guess was just sixty years off."

9. As for Tsung-lo, see the following writings; *Sung Hsüeh-shih-chüan-chi-pu-i*, *Ts'ung-shu-chi-ch'eng*, first edition, 1939, v. 24, p. 1326; *Pu-t'o-lo-chia-shan-ch'uan*, *Taishō Daizōkyō*, VI, p. 1140; *Tseng-chi-hsü-ch'uan-teng-lu*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-15-5, pp. 430-31; *Pa-shih-pa-tsu-ying-ch'uan-tsan*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-5, p. 469; *Pu-hsü-kao-seng-ch'uan*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-7-2, p. 126; *Tsung-tung-pien-nien*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-3, pp. 210-213; *Chi-teng-lu*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-4, pp. 383, 384.

10. As for Lai-fu, see the following writings; *Sung Hsüeh-shih-chüan-chi-pu-i*, pp. 1326, 1327; *Pu-t'o-lo-chia-shan-ch'uan*, p. 1140; *Tsung-tung-pien-nien*, pp. 210, 212; *Chi-teng-lu*, p. 401; *Pu-hsü-kao-seng-ch'uan*, p. 187; Ch'en Yüan, *Ming-chi-tien-tien-fo-chiao-k'ao*, Peking, 1959, p. 110.

11. For his confusing use of the name of Ta Li Emperor Tuan Chih-hsing and/or Tuan Hsing-chih see *Yüan-shih*, ch. 121, "Lieh-ch'uan", ch. 8, p. 6 and compare it with *ibid.*, "Lieh-ch'uan", ch. 53, p. 20; *Yüan-shih*, Chang Chi-yun ed., Taipei, 1966, v. 2, p. 1310 and v. 3, pp. 13 ff.

12. *Tien-nan-tsa-chih*, *Chung-hua-wen-chih ts'ung-shu*, XIII, Taipei, 1969,

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p. 616.

13. Ibid., p. 34; "南詔通紀作智興".
14. Li Chia-shui, op. cit., p. 69.
15. The priest Miao-kuang has not been identified in any of the studies presented thus far. He is identifiable as Ling-yin Tung-ku Kuang; see pp. 7-9 below: Chapin, op. cit., pp. 183, 184 for the translation of Miao-kuang's colophon.
16. This monk Tung-shan Te-t'ai ch'an-shih has not been identified by either Chapin, Sekiguchi, Li or Soper. He is a friend of Sung Lien. See Tetsujō, *Rakan Zusanshū*, ch. 3.
17. This monk, Ming shang-ren has not been identified by either Chapin, Li, Sekiguchi, or Soper. Chapin, op. cit., p. 186; as Soper rendered Tseng-ying's colophon, "Years went by, and he passed on, and the scroll fell into other hands. Now it has been repurchased and brought back by the Superior Chin-ming,..." Soper mistook Chin (今) as a part of his name. Soper followed Sekiguchi in this error.
18. Neither Chapin, Sekiguchi, Li nor Soper tried to verify this 1449 flood that inflicted the severe damage to the painting. See n. 22 below for a detail.
19. *Sung Hsüeh-shih-chüan-chi-pu-i*, ch. 3, pp. 1325, 26.
20. *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLIX, pp. 915, 939.
21. The colophon reads; "至於正統己巳,洪水驟漲,遽漫斯帙,鏡空旋極於水,得完其圖,奈被水漸漬,卷為脫落,弗遂披閱."
22. *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLIX, p. 945.
23. *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-3, pp. 212, 213; Ibid., 2b-11-5, pp. 462, 463.
24. Hsia Kuang-nan, *Yüan-tai Yünnan-shih-ti ts'ung-k'ao*, Shanghai, 1935, p. 138.
25. *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLIX, pp. 924, 925.
26. Yuan Ting, *Tien-shih-chi*, 1914, *Yünnan ts'ung-shu*, ch. 1, p. 18.
27. Ibid., ch. 1, pp. 20, 21; Ch'en Yüan, op. cit., ch. 1, pp. 6-10.
28. Ibid., ch. 1, pp. 10, 11.
29. *Chin-lin-fan-cha-chih*, ch. 2, pp. 9-11; *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLIX, p. 934; *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-3, p. 200.
30. *Wu-teng-hui-yüan-pu-i*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-15-5, p. 455; *Hsü-teng-cheng-t'ung*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-17-5, p. 449; *Wu-teng-hui-yüan-hsü-lüeh*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-11-5, p. 426; *Wu-teng-chüan-shu*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-13-2, p. 362; *Chi-teng-lu*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-4; *Hsü-ch'uan-teng-lu*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-15-3, p. 361.
31. *Zen-shū shū-sei*, ch. 21, p. 459.
32. *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-5, p. 506.
33. *Ling-yin-ssu-chih*, ch. 3, *Wu-lin-chang-ku-ts'ung-shu*, 11.
34. *T'ien-t'ung-cheng-chüeh-ch'an-shih-kuang-lu*, *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLVIII, ch. 9, p. 121; *Fo-tsu-t'ung-chi*, *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLIX, ch. 47, p. 427; *Wu-*

teng-hui-yüan, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-11-2, p. 271: *Fo-tsu-li-tai-t'ung-tsai*, *Taishō Daizōkyō*, XLIX, ch. 20, p. 689: *P'u-teng-lu*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-10-1, pp. 76, 77: *Hsü-ch'uan-teng-lu*, pp. 238, 239: *Ta-ming-kao-seng-ch'uan*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-7-3, p. 214: *Nan-sung-yüan-ming-ch'an-lin-seng-pao-ch'uan*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-10-4, pp. 322, 323.

35. For Mokushō Zen see Abe, Chōichi, *Chūgoku Zenshūshi no kenkyū*, Tokyo, 1963, p. 485 and for Soshi Zen see *ibid.*, pp. 197, 489, 495.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 485-489: For Tsung-kao see *ibid.*, pp. 467-481.

37. *Taishō Daizōkyō*, LI, pp. 715-782. For a discussion on the illustrated scroll, see Watanabe Hajime, "Denpō Shōjū Jōsozukan", *Bijutsu kenkyū*, no. 33, 1934, pp. 435-438.

38. *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-5, p. 505: See also *Pu-t'o-lo-chia-shan-ch'uan*, *Taishō Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1135.

39. *Ta-ming-kao-seng-ch'uan*, *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-7-3, p. 214, "又越二年乃渡浙之錢塘至明州禮補陀大士".

40. *Taishō Daizōkyō*, LI, p. 1137, "紹興元年辛亥真歇禪師清了自長蘆南遊, 浮海至此結菴山椒, 扁曰, 海岸孤絕, 禪林英秀多依之".

41. *Zokuzōkyō*, 2b-20-5, p. 506, "自得慧暉禪師宏智覺嗣...紹興丁巳, 開法補陀".

42. See Ch'en Yuan, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

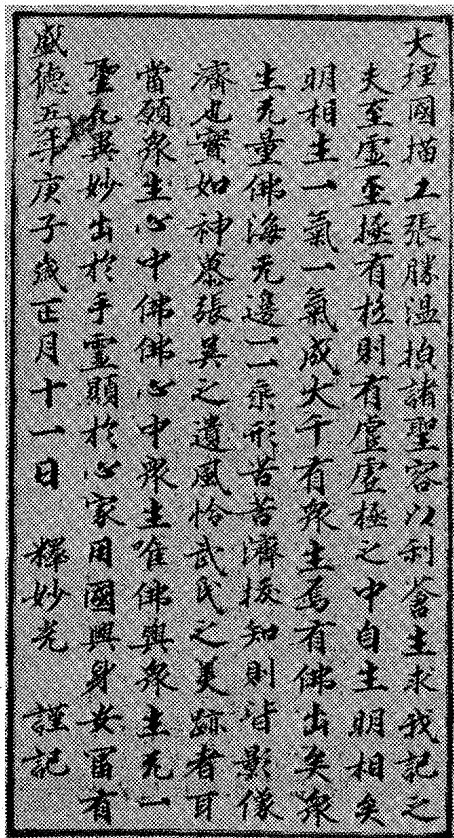


Fig. 1.

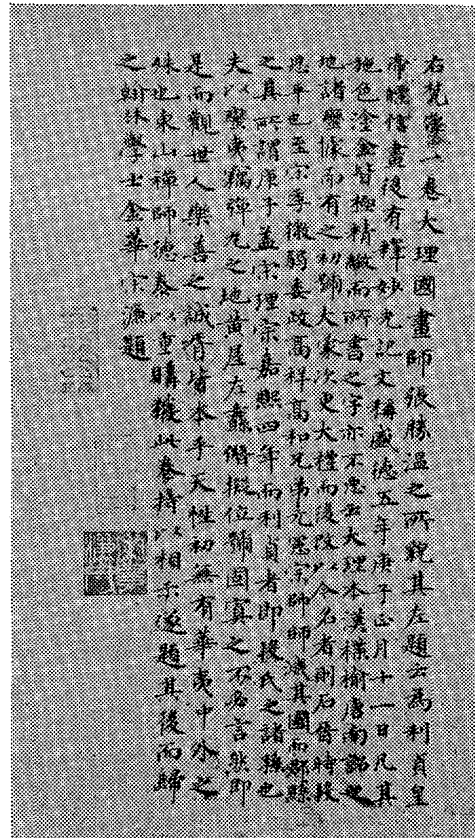


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

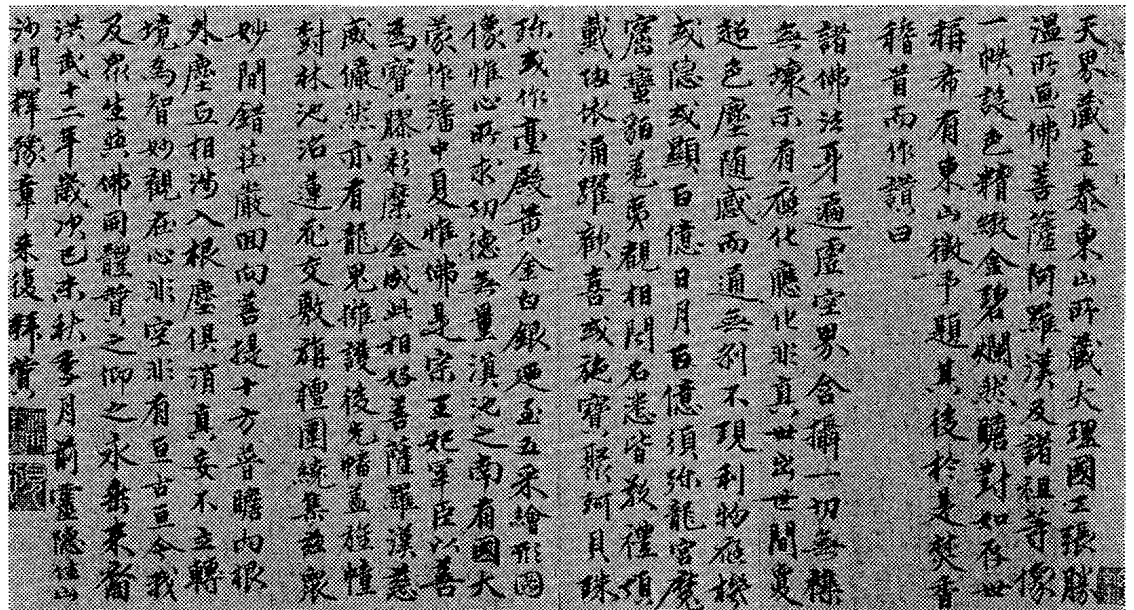


Fig. 4.

右大理國張勝溫所畫佛菩薩聖像一幀金碧煥爛耀人耳目
 雖須臾頽季伯時輩亦可與顧顧者矣或謂佛者覺也耶
 聲色可求殊不覺世人之病於色濁自昧靈臺故假之以像俾
 其觀相生善望徒然於東山春歲主乃金室禪師之弟志
 自游方時獲此卷珍歲竹篋亡有年矣自東山遷化世卷
 流落他所今明上人重贈而歸蓋不忘其先師手澤也夫物之
 離合必有其時與合浦之珠運車之鈎豈相遠乎一日命余跋
 其後故不媿題其卷尾而歸之且以示其後人云
 永樂七年歲在癸巳嘉平月西昌晚生曾英書

Fig. 5.

天順己卯歲九月望後一日慧燈寺住
 持鏡空出示所藏其師祖東山春上
 人兼居天界時得大理國工張勝溫
 所繪佛像河羅漢及諸菩薩一幀殆
 謂不幸師祖國弊之後斯圖流落他
 所幸其師月峯復贈歸于本寺至
 于正統己巳洪水驟漲遠漫斯帙鏡空
 旋檢於水得完其圖奈被水漸漬卷
 為脫落非逐披閱請思之寺多事惟
 裝潢成帙于予言以識三古珍嚴之志
 予備玩之前翰林學士金華宗德天
 界善世禪宗勸回門僧來復述之詳
 悉矣予予言辭弗再叙遂裝述諸
 條以復予惟大理國工善繪斯西筆
 力精微金碧輝煌為列如佛嚴現
 空界越出塵凡隨感應化德顯百
 億無端無量形像百千威在教佛以
 故知夫東山春上人得恭斯圖於天
 界天界歸而藏法慧燈其嗜之志

Fig. 6.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.