

# The Moon Reflected in the Water: The Miraculous Response of Avalokiteśvara in “Water-moon Avalokiteśvara Paintings” of the Goryeo Dynasty

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THIS ARTICLE EXPLORES the iconographical meaning of the “water-moon” in paintings of Avalokiteśvara (K. Gwaneum 觀音) from the period of the Korean Goryeo 高麗 dynasty (918–1392). Compared to the Chinese or Japanese traditions of Avalokiteśvara iconography, such paintings have a very special place in the art of East Asia, as well as in the art of Korea itself. It was in the Goryeo dynasty that the tradition of “Water-moon Avalokiteśvara” (K. Suwol Gwaneum 水月觀音) painting achieved its own independent style and beauty. For this reason, such paintings are often considered to belong to a category of their own, and this finds expression in the standard designation “Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara” (K. Goryeo Suwol Gwaneum; Jp. Kōrai Suigetsu Kannon). For a typical example of this type of painting, see the frontispiece.

Paintings of the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara are in fact a dominant type among Goryeo dynasty Buddhist paintings and also, as is well known, a major genre of Korean Buddhist painting in general. Goryeo dynasty Buddhist paintings include diverse genres, such as works related to the cult of Amitābha and to the Hwaeom 華嚴 (Ch. Huayan) school of Buddhism.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Among extant Goryeo Buddhist paintings, depictions of Amitābha (around 40 percent) and Water-moon Avalokiteśvara (around 30 percent) account for an overwhelming 70 percent of the total. Amitābha-related paintings are classified into various genres such as Amitābha as a single icon, Amitābha triads, and Amitābha descending. Therefore, as a single genre, paintings of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara account for the greatest number of surviving Goryeo Buddhist paintings.

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Among them, paintings of the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara are particularly renowned, both inside and outside Korea, for their finely detailed execution, quality of craftsmanship, and exquisite beauty (see fig. 3). They are also considerable in number, accounting for forty-five (around 30 percent) of the 162 existing Goryeo Buddhist paintings.<sup>2</sup> The genre is, therefore, estimated to be the most representative of all Goryeo Buddhist paintings. They have attracted much attention from scholars both in Korea and overseas, and various papers on the subject have been published since the 1970s.<sup>3</sup> A review of the literature shows that most papers have dealt with the style and form of the paintings or focused on a formal analysis of individual works. By contrast, there has been almost no investigation of the ideological or philosophical (Buddhist) background of, or the meaning connoted in, the paintings. As many scholars have noted, this is due to the lack of scriptural sources giving evidence of the name “Water-moon Avalokiteśvara.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Of the 162 Goryeo Buddhist paintings currently known to be extant (according to 1997 statistics), 124 are preserved in Japan. In addition, of the 118 extant early Joseon 朝鮮 (1392–1897) Buddhist paintings, 104 are held in Japan, and only five remain in Korea. Although the total number of Goryeo and early Joseon Buddhist paintings is 280, only a very small number, around ten, remain in Korea (if the eight works from the “Five Hundred Arhats series” preserved in the National Museum of Korea are counted as one set). This means that over 80 percent of the Goryeo and early Joseon Buddhist paintings are in Japan, while the remainder are scattered throughout the United States, Europe, and elsewhere. See Kang 2006, pp. 7–14.

<sup>3</sup> The first exhibition of Goryeo Buddhist paintings was held in 1978 at the Yamato Bunkan Museum under the title “Kōrai butsuga: Waga kuni ni shōrai saretā rinkoku no kinshoku no butsutachi” 高麗仏画：わが国に請来された隣国の金色の仏たち (Goryeo Buddhist Painting: Golden Buddhas Brought to Our Country from a Neighboring Land) and it was after this that the genre began to attract academic interest. Among the various kinds of paintings, a particularly wide range of papers have been published on the subject of the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara, starting with Hayashi (1977, 1979), and including Kang (1994) and Jeong (2001) in recent years. Studies on the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara of Chinese pieces dealing with the development of the iconography include Matsumoto 1926, Yamamoto 1989, Pan 1996, and Yü 1994. In addition, many papers have been published on aspects of the Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings such as their ornamentation, robes, and iconographical features. As the aim of this paper is to interpret the meaning of the iconography of the Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings as a whole genre rather than to analyze them individually, mention of other important issues such as the influence of Chinese works on the genre, analysis of individual paintings, and discussion of formative elements has been purposely kept to a minimum. Reference to more detailed stylistic analysis has been provided in the notes.

<sup>4</sup> Pan (1996, p. 106) writes, “Sutras that expound on the virtues of devotion to Water-moon Avalokiteśvara cannot be found in the extant canon.” Wang (1987, p. 31) argues: “From the

This state of affairs gives rise to several questions. How did an image whose name has no formal basis in scriptural sources become so widespread, spanning long periods of history and transcending national boundaries? What is the relationship between the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the “water-moon” (K. *suwol* 水月), also known as “the moon reflected in the water” (K. *sujungwol* 水中月)? What is the ideological background to the iconography of the paintings, and what symbolism contained in it gave it such great popularity through the Chinese Tang 唐 (618–907), Song 宋 (960–1279), and Yuan 元 (1271–1368) dynasties, as well as through the Korean Goryeo and Joseon 朝鮮 (1392–1897) dynasties? The fundamental question is, what was the traditional perception of the water-moon in relation to Avalokiteśvara?

Given these questions, the purpose of this essay is to analyze the distinctive features of the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings and to investigate the ideas underlying them in an attempt to achieve a new interpretation of the iconography. In particular, it examines the connection between the key Buddhist concepts of *dharmakāya*, or “true body” (K. *beopsin* 法身), and *nirmāṇakāya*, or “incarnation body” (K. *eungsin* 應身), through the concept of compassion (K. *jabi* 慈悲),<sup>5</sup> the latter of which the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara is a symbol, and their relation to the pictorial expression used to manifest these concepts in the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings.<sup>6</sup> Finally, we aim to explain the fundamental meaning of the term “Water-moon Avalokiteśvara,” by which these typical Goryeo dynasty paintings have been known.

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Tang dynasty, Water-moon Avalokiteśvara became widely popular among the people and was worshipped throughout China, Japan, and Korea, but no scriptural foundation for this devotion can be found.” On this issue, Yü (2000, p. 233) states, “Like the White-robed Kuan-yin, this form [Water-moon Avalokiteśvara] has no uncontested scriptural foundation.” As indicated by these references, most scholars have come up against the lack of a scriptural basis for Water-moon Avalokiteśvara.

<sup>5</sup> Possible reconstructed Sanskrit terms that could comprise the background vocabulary for key words or phrases concerning water-moon iconography are as follows: “the moon reflected in the water” (*udakacandra*); “purity” (*pariśuddhi*); and “compassion” (*karuṇā*).

<sup>6</sup> The discrepancy between the iconographical elements and textual descriptions can be difficult to rationalize or explain for the following reasons: (1) a work by an artist contains elements of creativity which might conflict with textual descriptions; (2) certain visual elements with the sole purpose of being pleasing to the eye might cause conflict with textual descriptions; (3) some visual elements may contain a “sense of time or period” which can conflict with the content of the text.

*The Typical Form of Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara Paintings*

Before proceeding to the main discussion, it is necessary to be precise about which “Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings” we are concerned with. In fact, a wide variety of forms exist under this designation. It is therefore desirable to identify what may be called the “typical” form so that the general analysis is not clouded by less frequent variations. Of the forty-five extant Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings, all but seven fall into a single typical category: an image seated in half-lotus posture presenting a three-quarter side view, looking down at the boy Sudhana at his feet (figs. 1a, 1b, 3b, 3c).<sup>7</sup> Compared to the solemn, full-frontal standing position of the preceding period, this relaxed pose is a very radical change that reflects a certain personalization of the deity.<sup>8</sup> Here, he sits comfortably on the diamond rock seat with his right leg resting on his left knee, his body shining like the full moon with a circular aureole behind (figs. 3, 3b, 4, 4a) and draped in a highly sophisticated diaphanous white veil (figs. 1d, 2, 3a). These traits can be captured as the main characteristic features of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings. Other regular elements include the boy Sudhana (figs. 1b, 3c, 4c), bamboo (fig. 4f), a *kundika* (bottle containing purified water) with a willow branch (fig. 1c), and a pond (figs. 1b, 3c, 4b). Although variations in details can be found, these are undoubtedly the main characteristic features of Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings.

This typical form tended to be repeated and to fall into formalism, resulting in many similar works.<sup>9</sup> As the dynasty advanced to the late Goryeo period,

<sup>7</sup> The Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings in the frontispiece and in figures 3 and 4 have been presented here as typical, model examples of Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings. Figure 2 shows detail from the Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara painting preserved at Kagami Jinja 鏡神社, Karatsu 唐津, Saga Prefecture, dated the third year of Zhida 至大 (1310).

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed analysis of “the half-lotus position (K. *bangajwa* 半跏坐) in three-quarter side view (K. *sabun ji sam cheukmyeon gwan* 四分之三側面觀)” and “the frontal view (K. *jeongmyeon gwan* 正面觀) in royal ease (K. *yuhui jwa* 遊戲坐; Skt. *rajalilasana*)” in Goryeo and Joseon dynasty Avalokiteśvara paintings, see Kang 2004, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Due to the great popularity of this genre in the Goryeo period, many paintings of this form were reproduced to meet the high demand. Buddhist paintings of the early Joseon dynasty exhibit rhythmic brushwork using thin and thick lines (K. *bisuseon* 肥瘦線) with an uninhibited, lively character as artists were free to be creative. In contrast, Goryeo Buddhist paintings tend to feature iron wire linear drawing (K. *cheolseonmyō* 鐵線描) with no variation in thickness of line, and follow a typical form with great technical skill. If Joseon Buddhist paintings are “painterly,” Goryeo works can be described as “craftsman-like.” Judging from this tendency to follow a fixed form, which is one of the characteristics of Goryeo Buddhist



Figure 1b. Detail of frontispiece, showing Sudhana. Reproduced by permission from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge.

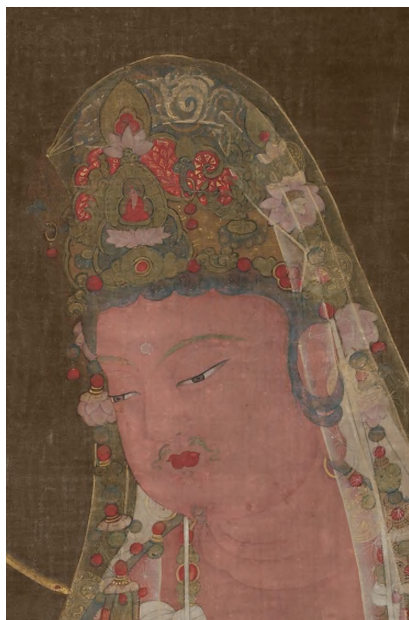


Figure 1a. Detail of frontispiece, showing Avalokiteśvara's face. Reproduced by permission from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 1c. Detail of frontispiece, showing a *kundika* with a willow branch. Reproduced by permission from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge.



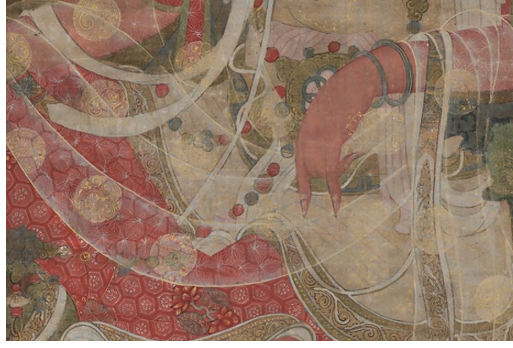


Figure 1d. Detail of frontispiece, showing the diaphanous white veil (*sara*). Reproduced by permission from the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museum, Cambridge.



Figure 2. Detail of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara painting showing the diaphanous white veil, Goryeo period, 1310. Ink and color on silk, 419.5 × 254.2 cm. Courtesy of Kagami Jinja, Karatsu, Saga Prefecture.

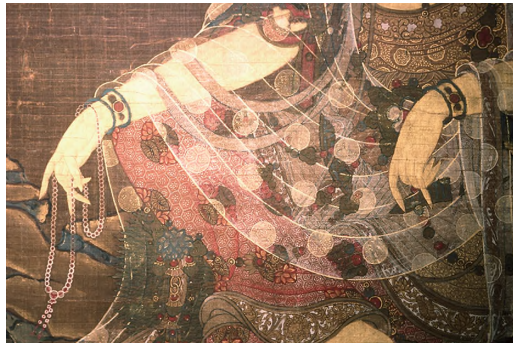


Figure 3a. Detail of fig. 3, showing the diaphanous white veil (*sara*). Reproduced by permission from Sen'oku Hakukokan, Kyoto.



Figure 3. Water-moon Avalokiteśvara, painted by Seo Gubang 徐九方 (n.d.), dated third year of Zhizhi 至治 (1323). Ink and color on silk, 165.5 × 101.5 cm. Reproduced by permission from Sen'oku Hakukokan, Kyoto.

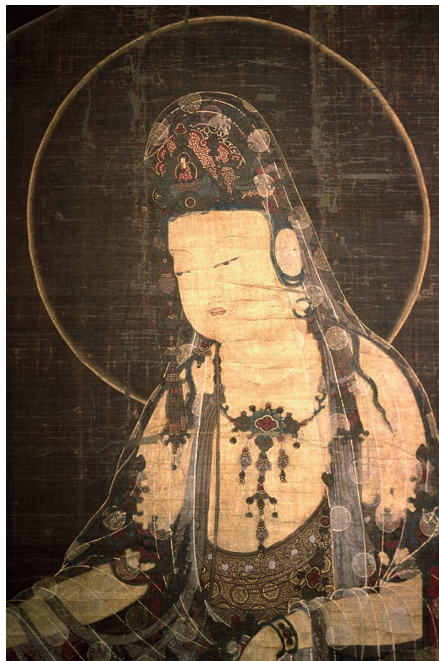
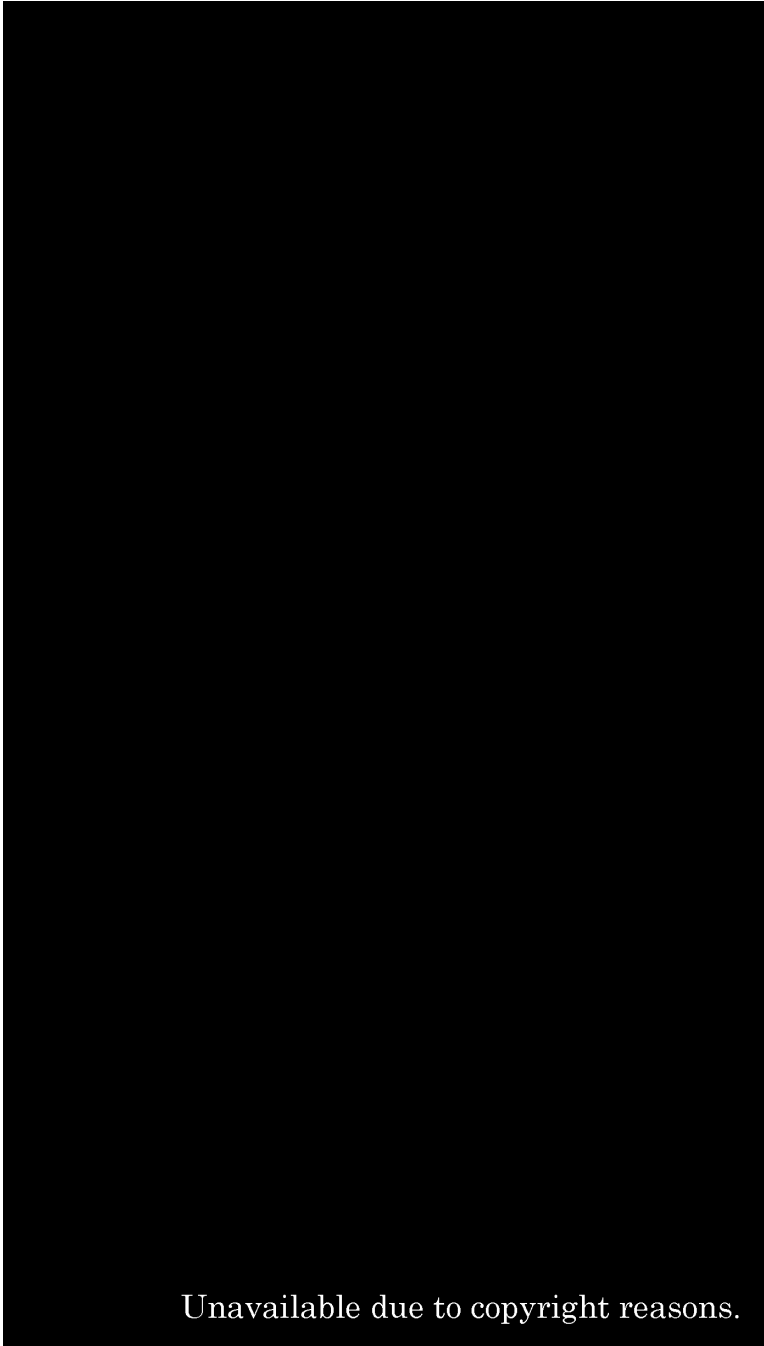


Figure 3b. Detail of fig. 3, showing Avalokiteśvara as “the body of the full moon.” Reproduced by permission from Sen’oku Hakukokan, Kyoto.



Figure 3c. Detail of fig. 3, showing Sudhana. Reproduced by permission from Sen’oku Hakukokan, Kyoto.





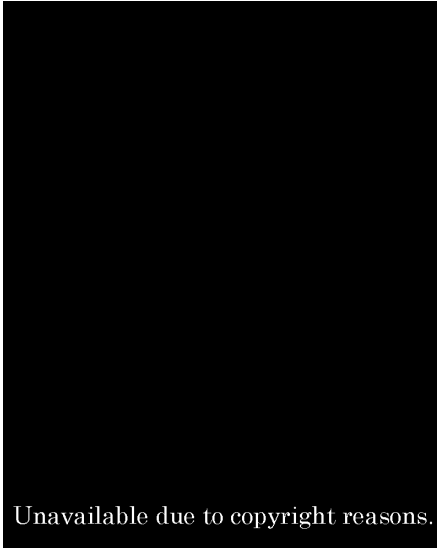
Unavailable due to copyright reasons.

Figure 4. Water-moon Avalokiteśvara, Goryeo period (918–1392). Ink and color on silk,  $227.9 \times 125.8$  cm. Reproduced by permission from Daitokuji, Kyoto.



Unavailable due to copyright reasons.

Figure 4a. Detail of fig. 4, showing Avalokiteśvara's face and aureole. Reproduced by permission from Daitokuji, Kyoto.



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Figure 4b. Detail of fig. 4, showing the Dragon King and Queen paying homage to Avalokiteśvara. Reproduced by permission from Daitokuji, Kyoto.



Unavailable due to copyright reasons.

Figure 4c. Detail of fig. 4, showing Sudhana. Reproduced by permission from Daitokuji, Kyoto.

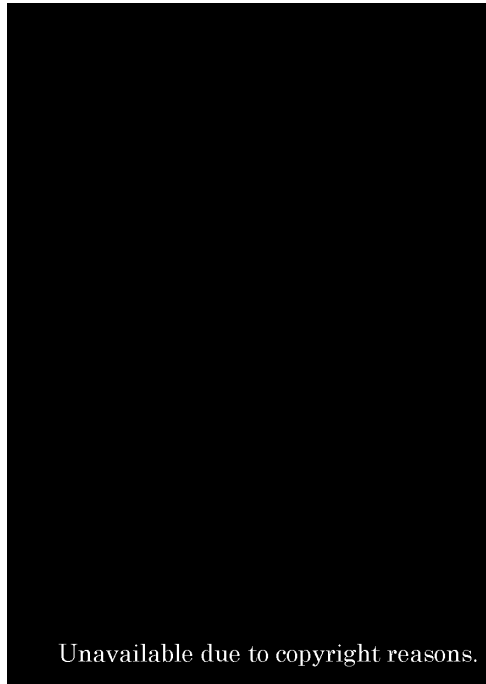


Figure 4d. Detail of fig. 4, showing Avalokiteśvara’s crystal rosary. Reproduced by permission from Daitokuji, Kyoto.



Figure 4e. Detail of fig. 4, showing a bluebird with a flower in its beak. Reproduced by permission from Daitokuji, Kyoto.

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Figure 4f. Detail of fig. 4, showing bamboo. Reproduced by permission from Daitokuji, Kyoto.



Figure 5. Detail of Thousand-hand Thousand-eye Avalokiteśvara painting showing Water-moon Avalokiteśvara in the lower-right corner (about  $46 \times 49$  cm), from Dunhuang (Tang period, 943). Ink and color on silk. Reproduced by permission from Musée Guimet, Paris.



variations appeared such as paintings with the image seated in full lotus posture rather than half, in full-frontal view rather than in a three-quarter side view, or standing rather than sitting.<sup>10</sup> For our purposes however, it is sufficient to identify the typical Water-moon Avalokiteśvara painting as one that shows the figure in the half-lotus position and presenting a three-quarter side view. This classic form, which was probably introduced from Tang-dynasty China to Korea during the Unified Silla 新羅 period (668–935), achieved stylistic perfection in the Goryeo dynasty, and came to be flavored with highly elaborate details in accordance with Goryeo aristocratic taste. Since the majority of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings extant from the Goryeo period are of this form, it will serve as the basis for the following analysis.

### *Source Sutras and Iconographical Characteristics*

We will now consider the texts that are most frequently mentioned as the scriptural foundation for the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings. As is well known, the classical source is the chapter “Entry into the Dharma Realm” (Ch. “Rufajie” 入法界) of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* (Ch. *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經).

There is a mountain named Potalaka south of here where Avalokiteśvara lives. . . . During his travels, [Sudhana] arrived at this mountain and searched here and there for this great Bodhi-sattva. Looking into a ridge on the western face, he saw a gleaming stream among the dense foliage of the forest’s trees, below which soft, fragrant grass had been laid in a sweeping circle. Avalokiteśvara sat there in the lotus position on a diamond boulder

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painting, it can be surmised that the traditional protocol for Buddhist painting was very strict and that the tastes of the Goryeo aristocracy were very conservative.

<sup>10</sup> The Water-moon Avalokiteśvara painting preserved at Chōrakuji 長樂寺 temple in Ikawa-chō 井川町, Tokushima Prefecture, shows the figure in the lotus position and a three-quarter side view; the one at Hasedera 長谷寺, Sakurai 桜井, Nara Prefecture, shows the figure in the posture of royal ease and a three-quarter side view; that at Sensōji 淺草寺 in Tokyo is a standing image with a three-quarter side view; that at Kōzanji 功山寺 in Shimonoseki 下関, Yamaguchi Prefecture, shows the figure sitting in the lotus position and facing the front; and that at Yamato Bunkakan 大和文華館 in Nara City shows the figure in a half-lotus position and facing front. These examples show that various forms of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings existed in the Goryeo dynasty that differed from that of the typical half-lotus position with a three-quarter side view. Such variation of form grew stronger toward the end of the Goryeo dynasty.

surrounded by innumerable bodhisattvas seated on various jeweled seats, for whom he was expounding the Dharma of great compassion, encouraging them to save all sentient beings.<sup>11</sup>

The above describes the dramatic moment when the boy Sudhana encounters Avalokiteśvara in person; however, no trace of the words “water-moon” or any image suggestive of “the moon reflected in the water” can be found. Hence, an interpretation of the painted works relying on this short passage from this sutra alone leaves many questions unresolved, the first being the reason for the name “Water-moon Avalokiteśvara.” The sutra gives the name of Avalokiteśvara as “Gwanjajea Bosal” 觀自在菩薩, whose figure is said to be manifested on Mt. Potalaka.<sup>12</sup> He is described as “sitting there in the lotus position” on the diamond seat “surrounded by innumerable bodhisattvas.” While it can be said that the Goryeo paintings of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara do reflect the mysterious atmosphere of Mt. Potalaka, as in the above passage, which describes the realm of Avalokiteśvara as having springs, ponds, and streams in a wood, they contain no evidence of the crowd of surrounding bodhisattvas. Indeed, Goryeo paintings of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara always depict him alone, teaching while seated not in the full lotus but in the half-lotus position, and looking down at Sudhana. This is quite different to the description in the sutra. By contrast, a relatively faithful rendition of the scene of Avalokiteśvara sitting “in the lotus position on a diamond boulder, surrounded by innumerable bodhisattvas seated on various jeweled seats, for whom he was expounding the dharma” can be found in the scene “Sudhana Meets Avalokiteśvara” in the Kamakura-period (1185–1333) Japanese work *Kegon gojūgoshō emaki* 華嚴五十五所繪卷 (Scroll Painting of the Fifty-five Pilgrimage Scenes in the *Avatamsaka Sutra*).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> 於此南方有山名補怛洛迦彼有菩薩名觀自在 . . . 漸次遊行。至於彼山。處處求覓此大菩薩。見其西面巖谷之中。泉流榮映。樹林蓊鬱。香草柔軟。右旋布地。觀自在菩薩。於金剛寶石上。結跏趺坐。無量菩薩。皆坐寶石。恭敬圍遶。而爲宣說大慈悲法。令其攝受一切衆生 (from the eighty-volume version of the *Avatamsaka Sutra*; T no. 279, 10: 366c3–22). See Cleary 1993, p. 1275, for an alternative translation.

<sup>12</sup> In the equivalent passage of the fifty-first volume of the sixty-volume *Avatamsaka Sutra*, Mt. Potalaka is translated as “Gwangmyeongsan” 光明山 (Mountain of Light), and Avalokiteśvara as “Gwanseum Bosal” 觀世音觀菩薩 (Bodhisattva Perceiver of the World’s Cries): 漸漸遊行至光明山。登彼山上周徧推求。見觀世音菩薩住山西阿。處處皆有流泉浴池。林木鬱茂地草柔軟。結跏趺坐金剛寶座。無量菩薩恭敬圍遶。而爲演說大慈悲經。普攝衆生 (T no. 278, 9: 718a14–19).

<sup>13</sup> Tokyo National Museum, twelfth century, ink and color on paper, 29.8 × 1287 cm.

Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings reveal other interesting iconographical features, such as the above-mentioned bamboo, and *kundika* with a willow branch, which always appear. Other elements that are often, but not always, found are a bird with a flower in its beak, and a crowd featuring the Dragon King and Queen with their attendants making offerings. A scriptural source likely to have influenced these background elements while adding a greater mythical dimension to the painting is the following recitational verse:

In the middle of the sea rises Mt. Potalaka  
 And there Avalokiteśvara resides.  
 Three purple bamboo stalks serve as his companions,  
 And a willow branch sweeps away the dust of the wind.  
 A parrot comes with a flower in its mouth to make an offering,  
 And the Dragon Queen presents a myriad of jewels.  
 Wherever Avalokiteśvara steps, countless lotus blossoms appear,  
 And with the willow in his hand he saves all sentient beings.<sup>14</sup>

The origin of the composition of the Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara painting thus appears to lie in both of these scriptural sources, the chapter “Entry into the Dharma Realm” of the *Avatamsaka Sutra* and the recitational verses concerning Avalokiteśvara. When the original scriptures were introduced to Korea, they inevitably went through a process of re-composition in accordance with their new location, which has resulted in changes in the iconographical details.

#### *Korean Domestication of the Iconography of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara*

The Korean history book *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms; ca. 1281–1285) by the Goryeo monk Iryeon 一然 (1206–1289) contains a record that shows in detail how the above-cited scriptural content was accommodated and recreated in relation to the myth surrounding the

<sup>14</sup> Cited in Hayashi (1977, p. 115): 海中湧出普陀山 觀音菩薩在其間 三根紫竹爲伴侶 一枝楊柳洒塵風 鸚鵡銜花來供養 龍女獻寶百千般 腳踏蓮花千朵現 手持楊柳度衆生. This recitational verse is said to be based on the *Foshuo Gao wang Guanshiyin jing* 佛說高王觀世音經 (King Gao’s *Guanshiyin Sutra* Spoken by the Buddha), written by Sun Jingde 孫敬德 (n.d.) in the Northern Wei 魏 period (386–534). However, the extant version of that sutra does not contain such a verse. Instead, an almost identical verse can be found in a prayer appended to a version of the *Foshuo huazhu baoming zhenjing* 佛說化珠保命真經 (The Talismanic Gem Sutra Spoken by the Buddha): 海中湧出普陀山 觀音菩薩在其間 三竿翠竹爲伴侶 一枝楊柳洒塵凡 鸚鵡銜花來供養 龍女獻寶百千般 腳踏紅蓮千朵現 手持淨水度群生 (X no. 25, 1: 417a6–9).

founding of Naksansa 洛山寺 temple, one of the representative places of the cult of Avalokiteśvara in Korea. This suggests that the domestication of the cult of Avalokiteśvara on Mt. Potalaka had already begun by the year 676 when Naksansa temple was built.

When Uisang Beopsa 義湘法師 [625–702] had first returned from China, he heard that the true body of the [Bodhisattva of] Great Compassion [i.e., Avalokiteśvara] lived in a cave on the sea coast. He therefore called the place Naksan 洛山, after Mt. Potalaka in the western regions, which is translated here as “small white flower” (*sobaekhwa* 小白華). He borrowed this term to name this place because the true body of the graceful white-clad Gwaneum [i.e., Avalokiteśvara] resides there. After seven days of adhering strictly to the precepts, a sitting cushion floated in on the morning tide accompanied by the eight types of supernatural beings, such as *nāgas* and *devas*, and he brought it into the cave. There he paid obeisance three times to the sky, and a crystal rosary appeared and was bestowed on him. Uisang took the rosary and moved back. The Dragon of the Eastern Sea offered a wish-fulfilling gem [Skt. *cintāmani*], which Uisang also carried away. Uisang kept the precepts for a further seven days, after which he beheld the true form of Gwaneum. Gwaneum said, “The mountain-top where I preside has a pair of bamboos growing there. You should build a palace for me in that place.” Hearing this, Uisang left the cave and there was indeed bamboo growing [as Gwaneum described], so he erected a Golden Hall there. He carved a statue and installed it within. The image was of perfect form and beautiful substance, with a graceful stature like one born in the heavens. When that bamboo disappeared, he knew it was truly the home of the true body of Gwaneum. Therefore, he called that temple Naksansa. Uisang enshrined the crystal rosary and the wish-fulfilling gem in the sacred hall there and moved on.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> From *Samguk yusa*, chapter 3: 昔義湘法師始自唐來還。聞大悲真身住此海邊窟內。故因名洛山。蓋西域寶陀洛伽山。此云小白華。乃白衣大士真身住處。故借此名之。齋戒七日。浮座具晨水上。龍天八部侍從引入峒內參禮。空中出水精念珠一貫給之。湘領受而退。東海龍亦獻如意寶珠一顆。師捧出。更齋七日。乃見真容。謂曰。於座上山頂雙竹湧生。當其地作殿宜矣。師聞之出峒。果有竹從地湧出。乃作金堂塑像而安之。圓容麗質。儼若天生。其竹還沒。方知正是真身住也。因名其寺曰洛山。師以所受二珠。鎮安于聖殿而去 (T no. 2039, 49: 996c3–14). For an alternative translation, see Ha and Mintz 1972, pp. 244–45.



Here we see an overlap between Mt. Potalaka in southern India, as the abode of Avalokiteśvara, and the Naksansa temple, located in Silla territory on the east coast of Korea in a place called Gwaneumgul 觀音窟 (Cave of Avalokiteśvara), giving rise to a tradition relating to this bodhisattva which is unique to Korea. Much research has been carried out on the impact of this legend on the differentiated iconography and style of Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings.<sup>16</sup> Here we briefly discuss some of the indigenous elements which we wish to emphasize, while also introducing for the first time some new material relating to the bluebird (K. *cheongjo* 青鳥) with a flower in its beak.

In Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara painting, the spring water flowing on the mountain became an image of the Eastern Sea of Korea, and with the appearance of the dragon, it resulted in a background of grander scale. The motif of two bamboos was used to symbolize the origin of the construction of Gwaneumjeon 觀音殿 (Hall of Avalokiteśvara) at Naksansa temple. Motifs that can be found only in the Korean iconography are the crystal rosary and the wish-fulfilling gem. The crystal prayer beads in particular, which can be found without fail on Avalokiteśvara's wrist, are depicted with an elegance hard to find in the works of other countries (figs. 3a, 4d). This elegance of depiction is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings.

The special nature of Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings finds its greatest expression in the iconography of the work preserved at Daitokuji 大徳寺 temple in Kyoto (fig. 4). Here, the Dragon King and Queen paying homage to Avalokiteśvara (fig. 4b), as well as the supernatural beings offering him treasures, appear amidst energetically swelling waves in a scene which is likely based on the myth of the founding of Naksansa temple recorded in the *Samguk yusa*. In this painting, a bluebird with a flower in its beak appears (fig. 4e). The records relating to the connection between Water-moon Avalokiteśvara and the bluebird are as follows:

Later, the monk Wonhyo 元曉 [617–686] followed in Ui-sang's footsteps and made a pilgrimage seeking to worship Avalokiteśvara. When he arrived at the southern foot of the mountain, [he met two women]. . . . Then a bluebird in a nearby pine tree called

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed analysis of the connection between the iconography in Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings and the myth of Naksansa temple see, for example, Pak 2008; Kikutake 1998, p. 284; Mun 1981, p. 248; Kang 1995, p. 115; and Hwang 2007, pp. 102–5.

to him, “Wait, Reverend Jeho Hwasang!” and suddenly disappeared. Under that tree there was one empty shoe. When Wonhyo reached the temple he found another empty shoe, just like the one he had seen before, by the pedestal of Avalokiteśvara. He then realized that the women he had met were in fact incarnations of Avalokiteśvara.<sup>17</sup>

On a cliff so high above the sea,  
There stand the peaks of Mt. Potalaka.  
The great sage abides there, yet not abides.  
The universal gate is closed, yet not closed.  
The shining gem is not what I long for.  
Human beings may meet the bluebird.  
I only hope to see above the big waves  
That majestic figure like the full moon.<sup>18</sup>

People have long relayed that this cave is the permanent abode of the true body of Gwaneum. When the people showed true faith in him, the bodhisattva would appear on the rocks and the bluebird would come flying. That is why this cave is considered sacred.<sup>19</sup>

There is a deep cave on a steep cliff high above the sea, which people say is the permanent abode of Gwaneum. A bird with blue wings, feathers like silk, flies about and the patterns on the rocks that appear and disappear are like golden light. All who see this

<sup>17</sup> From the fourth chapter of the *Samguk yusa*: 後有元曉法師。繼踵而來。欲求瞻禮初至於南郊水田中。時野中松上有一青鳥。呼曰休醞酬和尚。忽隱不現。其松下有一隻脫鞋。師既到寺。觀音座下又有前所見脫鞋一隻。方知前所遇聖女乃真身也 (T no. 2039, 49: 996c14–22). Emphasis added. For an alternative translation, see Ha and Mintz 1972, p. 245.

<sup>18</sup> This passage appears in the entry for Naksansa temple in the descriptions of the Buddhist temples in Yangyang 襄陽 in vol. 44 of *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* 新增東國輿地勝覽 (Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea), edited in 1530 by a group of royal court scholars, including Yi Haeng 李荇 (1478–1534) and Hong Enpil 洪彦弼 (1476–1549): 海崖高絕處 中有洛迦峰 大聖住無主 普門封不封 明珠非我欲 青鳥是人逢 但願洪波上 觀瞻滿月容. Emphasis added. [http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC\\_BT\\_1365A\\_0090\\_010\\_0620\\_2002\\_001\\_XML](http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_BT_1365A_0090_010_0620_2002_001_XML).

<sup>19</sup> 相傳云 是觀音真身常住處 人有至誠歸心 則真身現于巖石 而青鳥飛來 以此靈之. This passage appears in the “Geumnangulsi” 金欄窟詩 (Poem of the Geumnang Cave) section of the *Gunjae seonseang jip* 謹齋先生集 (Anthology of Works by Master Gunjae), vol. 1, ch. 2, p. 457c. It is a late Goryeo-period text. Emphasis added. [http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC\\_BT\\_0010A\\_0020\\_020\\_0360](http://db.itkc.or.kr/dir/item?itemId=BT#/dir/node?dataId=ITKC_BT_0010A_0020_020_0360).

say that a true sage has appeared, so nowadays, many foolish people vainly seek out this place. Yet if you wish to see the true grandeur of the water-moon [Water-moon Avalokiteśvara], reflect clearly on your own mind, shining bright inside.<sup>20</sup>

As these quotations from a variety of sources show, unlike Chinese paintings of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara, which feature a white parrot with a flower in its mouth, in Korea the bluebird appears as an allusion to the true body (K. *jinsin* 眞身) of Avalokiteśvara, or as a guide to the cave of Gwaneum.

### *Other Scriptural Sources*

The Chinese text known as the *Datang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions; dated 646) contains a firsthand account of a visit to Mt. Potalaka by its author, Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) and provides a glimpse of the scenery where Avalokiteśvara is said to reside. Together with the spread of the cult of Avalokiteśvara, this record would have provided inspiration and imagination for much material of what was believed to be the sacred dwelling place of the true body of Avalokiteśvara.

To the east of Malaya Mountain is Potalaka Mountain, which has perilous paths and precipitous cliffs and valleys. On top of the mountain is a lake of clear water, issuing in a big river that flows twenty times round the mountain before passing into the South Sea. Beside the lake is a stone heavenly palace which is frequented by Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva. Those who wish to see the Bodhisattva risk their lives to cross the river and climb up the mountain, regardless of hardship and danger, but only a few of them reach their destination. When the inhabitants living at the foot of the mountain pray to see the bodhisattva, he appears either in the form of Maheśvara or as an ash-smearing heretic to console them and answer their prayers.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.: 海上蒼崖窟穴深 人傳常住是觀音飛翔鳥翼青如錦 出沒巖紋色似金 見此皆言眞聖現至今虛使衆癡尋 欲參水月莊嚴相回照明明本分心. Emphasis added. [http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC\\_BT\\_0010A\\_0020\\_020\\_0360\\_2014\\_001\\_XML](http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_BT_0010A_0020_020_0360_2014_001_XML).

<sup>21</sup> The English translation is that of Li (1996, p. 284). The original passage reads: 秣刺耶山東有布坦洛迦山。山徑危險巖谷欹傾。山頂有池。其水澄鏡流出大河。周流繞山二十匝入南海。池側有石天宮。觀自在菩薩往來遊舍。其有願見菩薩者。不顧身命。厲水登山。忘其艱險。能達之者蓋亦寡矣。而山下居人祈心請見。或作自在天形。或爲塗灰外道。慰喻其人果遂其願 (*Datang xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 932a14–21).

At the peak of the deep, rugged mountains is a pond as clear as a mirror. The water from the pond flows around and down the mountain and into the southern sea. Beside the pond is a heavenly palace, a stone cave grotesque frequented by Avalokiteśvara. Somewhat different from the tranquil mood of idealistic Chinese landscape portrayals, this exotic landscape provides the basic background for Avalokiteśvara's abode. Grounded in a religious desire to see the bodhisattva in person, painters continuously attempted to represent his abode. At some point in time, Avalokiteśvara began to take on the appearance of the "water-moon," the origin of which can be traced to the Tang-dynasty painter Zhou Fang 周昉 (ca. 730–800).

Zhou Fang's other name was Jing Xuan 景玄, and he reached the position of administrator (*zhangshi* 長史) of Xuanzhou 宣州. First he studied painting under Zhang Xuan 張萱 [n.d.] but later his style came to differ slightly from his teacher's. He depicted people's appearances with great delicacy, painting only the nobility and not the common people. His [brushwork of] drapes was powerful and concise, and his coloring soft and beautiful. The bodhisattva was quietly grand, which he captured by exquisitely creating the style of the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara.<sup>22</sup>

In Shengguangsi 勝光寺 . . . on the wall of the cloister southeast of the pagoda is a painting of a Water-moon Avalokiteśvara by Zhou Fang. The bodhisattva's aureole and the bamboo were colored by Liu Zheng 劉整 [n.d.].<sup>23</sup>

The above records from the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (ca 847; Record of Famous Painters of Successive Dynasties) are usually cited as historical sources indicating the genesis of the elegant Water-moon Avalokiteśvara style. Based on this, it can be said that the bodhisattva was perceived as "Water-moon" Avalokiteśvara at least from the time when Zhou Fang was active. Zhou's creation of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara is said to have featured fluidly falling robes and elegant coloring, and a figure with a dignified, yet gentle face, the prominent formal characteristics being the round aureole

<sup>22</sup> From vol. 10 of the *Lidai minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Record of Famous Painters of Successive Dynasties) by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (fl. 821–874): 周昉 字景玄 官至宣州長史。初效張萱畫 後則小異 頗極風姿 全法衣冠 不近閭里。衣裳 勁簡 彩色柔麗 菩薩端嚴 妙創水月之體。 <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%AD%B7%E4%BB%A3%E5%90%8D%E7%95%AB%E8%A8%98%E5%8D%B7%E7%AC%AC%E5%8D%81>.

<sup>23</sup> From vol. 3 of the *Lidai minghua ji*: 勝光寺 . . . 塔東南院 周昉畫水月觀自在菩薩掩障 菩薩圓光及竹 並是劉整成色。 <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/%E6%AD%B7%E4%BB%A3%E5%90%8D%E7%95%AB%E8%A8%98%E5%8D%B7%E7%AC%AC%E4%B8%89>.



and bamboo. The actual details cannot be verified as there are no works of that period remaining from the area of the capital in central China. A few simple Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings discovered in the remote area of Dunhuang do, however, give us some indication of the form these works took in this period. In any case, it can be argued that the soft yet luxurious, elegant yet solemn, aristocratic features realized by Zhou Fang were first transmitted to Silla, and then perfected in the Goryeo depictions of the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara.

*Avalokiteśvara in the Appearance of the Full Moon*

The extant Tang dynasty paintings from the Dunhuang area are similar in form to the typical Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings in which the deity is seated on a rock in the half-lotus position and shown in a three-quarter side view (fig. 5). This is the oldest form among existing Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings, and as such, was defined above as the “classical style” for the purposes of this paper. It is very likely that the diverse styles and forms of paintings from the Song dynasty depicting Avalokiteśvara in the posture of royal ease, or in ink in the Chan 禪 style, would have been known in the Goryeo dynasty. Yet, it appears that Goryeo painters basically adhered to the classical form of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings from the Tang dynasty.

In the development of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings, it is possible that the works of the Song and Yuan dynasties influenced certain iconographical or formalistic details.<sup>24</sup> However, it is an undeniable fact that the style that truly makes these paintings “Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings,” recognized as such in Korea and in other countries, was created and reached stylistic perfection in Goryeo-period Korea. While it has been surmised that the classical form was transmitted from the Tang to the Song and then introduced to Korea, it is more likely, as previously mentioned, that it was transmitted from the Tang to Silla, and then passed on to Goryeo.

The implication of this is that Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings inherited and preserved the oldest known form of all Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings, but in stylistic terms achieved a delicate “Goryeo style.”<sup>25</sup> The old Water-moon Avalokiteśvara style, originally created in

<sup>24</sup> For further details, see Lee 1987, p. 165; Hwang 2007, p. 103.

<sup>25</sup> In this regard, Hayashi has compared the Dunhuang and Goryeo paintings of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara and concluded: “I have the strong impression that the Joseon [Korean] Peninsula is a place where China’s Buddhist culture of the past is preserved” (Hayashi 1977, p. 115).

China but already forgotten there, was adopted by the Goryeo painters and redeveloped in an independent style. We will consider the representative stylistic characteristics of the Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara in the following section.

*Body of the Full Moon, Light of the Full Moon*

The Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings of the Goryeo dynasty impart a deep mystical atmosphere befitting the lyricism of the name “water-moon.” Representative characteristics are the gentle, round face and plump body, the transparent silk veil (K. *sara* 紗羅) covering the whole figure, the highly elaborate ornamental pendants, the robes decorated with beautifully delicate patterns, and the rock seat painted in gold and green. The major characteristic, however, is the divine luminescence, round like the full moon, enveloping the entire form. This aureole, giving form to the light emanating from the bodhisattva, conveys a sense of the full moon illuminating the dark night sky. For this reason, it is commonly referred to as a “moon disc” (K. *wollyun* 月輪).

In the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings of the Goryeo period, the appearance of Avalokiteśvara was traditionally perceived to be “like the full moon” (K. *manwol ji yong* 滿月之容), and stylistic characteristics supporting this aspect are emphasized. The depiction of the body of Avalokiteśvara in gold, as if emanating moonlight, can be seen in the many Water-moon Avalokiteśvara masterpieces of the Goryeo dynasty that are preserved in Japan (see figs. 3, 3b). In the bodhisattva’s full, rounded body, the universal symbolism of “abundance” represented by the full moon is clear. This symbolism was directly related to prayers for fertility, especially for having many sons, and this is one reason for the vast popularity of these paintings.

The figure of Avalokiteśvara is revealed in the gently shining light of his “compassion,” as pure and gentle as the light of the moon. Detailed characteristics of the form include the high, elaborate crown, the transparent veil of white silk falling elegantly and covering the body from head to toe, the fine designs embroidered on the veil, the diverse and delicate patterns on the layers of garments, the ample body sitting in the half-lotus position, the gesture of the long, thin fingers holding the transparent rosary, the *kundika* containing the willow branch, and the mysterious rocks harmoniously painted in green and gold. Among these diverse iconographical features, those that most clearly give rise to the name “Water-moon Avalokiteśvara” are the

radiance of Avalokiteśvara's body itself as well as the light emanating from it, which is depicted as a round nimbus like that of the full moon.

*Manifestation of the Bright White Moonlight: The Veil (Sara)*

A major characteristic distinguishing Water-moon Avalokiteśvara from other images in Goryeo Buddhist paintings is the transparent silk veil (see figs. 1d, 2). Avalokiteśvara was traditionally depicted clothed in white, and hence was also widely known as the white-clad Avalokiteśvara (K. Baeg-ui Gwaneum 白衣觀音). The white veil can be called the Goryeo-style adaptation of Avalokiteśvara's traditional white robes. The fine, confident rendering of the veil can find no match in related works from China or Japan and is thus acclaimed as a unique Goryeo development. The veil seems to be woven with very fine threads in a pattern of snowflakes, or hexagonal diamond shapes that look like water particles. Against such a richly patterned background is a design of *seogi* 瑞氣 (holy energy) motifs, spreading out like a vine of orbs rendered in gold pigment.

As a visual manifestation of the bright light of the moon, the veil is the most distinctive characteristic of Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings. From the folds seen beneath the veil, it is clear that the robes underneath are quite complex, consisting of several thin layers decorated with diverse, detailed patterns rendered in fine lines. The dazzlingly refined veil gives the effect of moonlight, which is typically described as being "bright white" (K. *gyogyo* 皎皎; see figs. 1d, 2, 3a). One can conclude that both the aureole and the flowing veil are manifestations of light emanating from Avalokiteśvara's body. The distinguishing characteristics of the painting suggest that the nature of Avalokiteśvara is expressed by the moon and its light. These can be interpreted as representing the "light of compassion" coming from Avalokiteśvara, who is, indeed, considered to be the embodiment of compassion. This raises the questions: What is "the wonderful act of the great light of compassion"<sup>26</sup> that Avalokiteśvara enacts? And, what is its function?

Utterances on how to save suffering sentient beings can be found in the chapter "Entry into the Dharma Realm" from the *Avatamsaka Sutra*, in the section where Sudhana encounters Avalokiteśvara. Here the bodhisattva teaches the ways of enlightening and embracing all kinds of beings with a net

<sup>26</sup> This phrase appears in Avalokiteśvara's teaching to Sudhana in the sixty-volume version of the *Avatamsaka Sutra*: 大悲法門光明之行 (T no. 278, 9: 718b9–10, 718b27).

of light: “With a great net of light, I remove the suffering of sentient beings caused by the fever of the myriad passions.”<sup>27</sup> This is also seen in a recitational verse in praise of Avalokiteśvara:

I, the brave Avalokiteśvara,  
Arouse great compassion so deep and pure,  
And radiate an all-encompassing, wondrous light like a net of  
clouds,  
As vast as the air and of the utmost purity.<sup>28</sup>

The shining body of Avalokiteśvara and the dazzling veil can thus be interpreted as visual manifestations of this net of light. The function of the “pure light of great compassion” (K. *cheongjeong daejabi guāngmyeong* 清淨大慈悲光明), like the light of the full moon, is to clear away the darkness of the suffering of all sentient beings.

*The Moon Reflected in the Water and the Theory of Nirmāṇakāya*

Hearing all the cries of anxiety and fear made by sentient beings, Avalokiteśvara grants them a “mind with no fear” (K. *muoesim* 無畏心) and is thus called “the one who bestows fearlessness” (K. *si muoe ja* 施無畏者). As the one who saves all beings, he is also called the “savior of the world” (K. Guse Daesa 救世大士). The principle behind Avalokiteśvara’s compassionate action is *nirmāṇakāya*, or the “incarnation body,” which is the manifestation of buddhahood in the human or phenomenal world. The concept of adopting different forms to save sentient beings according to their various dispositions is reflected in the thirty-two emanation bodies described in the “Universal Gate of Avalokiteśvara” (“Guanshiyin pusa pumen” 觀世音菩薩普門) chapter of the *Lotus Sutra* and in the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (Skt. \**Śūraṅgama Sutra*). In the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, the concept of the incarnation body is compared to “the moon reflected on the river.” In the “Entry into the Dharma Realm” chapter, Avalokiteśvara says to Sudhana, “Established in this method of enlightening practice and undertaking great compassion without delay, I appear in the midst of the activities of all sentient beings without leaving the presence of buddhahood. . . . I also save sentient beings by appearing in various forms. I save and gladden them by purity of

<sup>27</sup> From the fifty-first volume of the sixty-volume *Avataṃsaka Sutra*: 放大光網。除滅衆生諸煩惱熱 (T no. 278, 9: 718b13–14).

<sup>28</sup> From the sixteenth volume of the forty-volume *Avataṃsaka Sutra*: 我是勇猛觀自在 起深清淨大慈悲 普放雲網妙光明 廣博如空極清淨 (T no. 293, 10: 733c21–22). Emphasis added.



vision of inconceivable forms radiating auras of light.”<sup>29</sup> As we have seen, the pure light of great compassion is expressed in paintings as the body of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara and the aureole surrounding it. And, it takes the natural phenomenon of the bright white light of the moon shining in the night as a metaphor for the Bodhisattva of Great Compassion.

The various iconographical elements appearing in Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings are all rooted in the keyword *pariśuddhi*, or “purity.” The *kundika* with a willow spray,<sup>30</sup> the clear stream water, and the young boy Sudhana can all be seen as symbols of purity, and it is the purity of the light of compassion emanating from Avalokiteśvara that clears away all the sufferings of sentient beings. The concept of *pariśuddhi* is fundamentally related to the “pure dharma body” (K. *cheongjeong beopsin* 清淨法身; Skt. *pariśuddhi dharmakāya*), a term also used to designate the Buddha Vairocana as evidenced in this passage from the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*:

The Buddha’s body emanates great light  
With physical forms boundless and totally pure,  
Filling all lands like clouds,  
Everywhere extolling the Buddha’s virtues.  
All illumined by the light rejoice,  
Beings in distress are all relieved.<sup>31</sup>

The true nature of the dharma body (K. *beopsin* 法身; Skt. *dharmakāya*) called Vairocana is a life-giving cosmic light filling the universe. This is the underlying point of the lengthy *Avataṃsaka Sutra* as a whole, which

<sup>29</sup> Translation based on Cleary 1993, p. 1276. The original, from volume 68 of the eighty-volume *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, reads: 我住此大悲行門。常在一切諸如來所。普現一切衆生之前... 或現色身攝取衆生。或現種種不思議色淨光明網。攝取衆生。(T no. 279, 10: 367a16–20).

<sup>30</sup> The purifying water verse (K. *swaesu ge* 灑水偈) from Sangjuwongong 常住勸供, a Buddhist rite for the dead, describes Avalokiteśvara as the great healer of sentient beings: “Avalokiteśvara is the great healer for he cures all illnesses. / The scent of pure dharma water in the *kundika* is so sweet, / Chasing away clouds of evil spirits and raising the holy spirit, / Extinguishing burning anguish and regaining *pariśuddhi* (purity).” (觀音菩薩大醫王甘露瓶中法水香 灑濯魔雲生瑞氣 消除熱惱獲清涼。) From *Jakbeopgwigam* 作法龜鑑, a Buddhist ritual book edited by the monk Geungseon 亘璇 (1767–1852) in 1826; included in An Seokyeon 安錫淵, 1956. This verse indicates that the function of Avalokiteśvara’s *kundika* is to hold the dharma water which is purified by the willow spray, revealing the pure, true nature (K. *cheongjeong beopseong* 清淨法性) of sentient beings.

<sup>31</sup> Translation is that of Cleary 1993, p. 264. The original is from the sixth chapter on Vairocana in the eighty-volume *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, vol. 11: 佛身普放大光明 色相無邊極清淨 如雲充滿一切土 處處稱揚佛功德 光明所照咸歡喜 眾生有苦悉除滅 (T no. 279, vol. 10: 56c4–6).

discusses the endless world of the dharma body. This cosmic light is compared to the natural phenomena of the sun and the moon, the Buddha standing for the sun and, as we will see, the bodhisattvas for the moon. Avalokiteśvara is representative of the bodhisattvas, and as already mentioned, manifests as the full moon. The “Detachment from the World” (“Li shijian” 離世間) chapter of the same sutra uses the image of the moon to describe the working of bodhisattvas in the world as follows:

The bodhisattva is like the bright sun and moon.  
 A bright white mirror appears suspended in the sky.  
 The shadow of the moon reflects in countless rivers,  
 But the entity in the heavens does not mix with the water.  
 Thus are the pure teachings of the bodhisattva.  
 He appears in the water of the minds of all beings,  
 But does not mix with the world.<sup>32</sup>

This chapter goes into great detail about reaching the level of the bodhisattvas, and again likens the principle of the incarnation body to the pure light of the moon. Just as one moon is reflected in countless rivers to reveal its image, the bodhisattva appears in the minds of countless beings. The light of wisdom and compassion is said to clear away suffering and pain and dry up the sea of lust.<sup>33</sup> While the scriptural source for the iconography of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara is the scene of Sudhana’s meeting with Avalokiteśvara in “Entry into the Dharma Realm,” the paintings are not reflections just of that limited scene but of “the bodhisattva as incarnation body,” which is a main concept running through the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. The relationship between the dharma body and the incarnation body described in the sutra is frequently compared to the “water-moon” or “the moon reflected in the water,” the scriptural source for which is examined below.

*The Relationship between the Dharma Body of Śūnyatā and the Incarnation Body of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara*

Discussions of the interrelationship between the concept of the incarnation body and the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who represents this concept, and the concept of the “water-moon” (the moon reflected in the water) are found

<sup>32</sup> From the fifty-ninth volume of the eighty-volume *Avataṃsaka Sutra*: 譬如淨日月 皎鏡在虛空 影現於衆水 不爲水所雜 菩薩淨法輪 當知亦如是 現世間心水 不爲世所雜 (T no. 279, 10: 316b24–27). For an alternative translation, see Cleary 1993, pp. 1122–23.

<sup>33</sup> From the fifty-ninth volume of the eighty-volume *Avataṃsaka Sutra*: 照以智慧光 長諸根力藥 滅除煩惱闇 消竭愛欲海 (T no. 279, 10: 314c15–16).

not only in the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* itself, but also in major commentaries on the sutra, such as those by the Chinese monk Chengguan 澄觀 (738–839).<sup>34</sup> The preface to his *Huayan jing shu*, for example, discusses the fundamental meaning and central idea of the sutra, and condenses the principle of *dharmadhātu*, the *Avataṃsaka* world, into its substance (K. *che* 體), appearance (K. *sang* 相), and function (K. *yong* 用).

In the pure waves of the deep sea of wisdom, all beings are embraced. The full moon of bright white *śūnyatā* instantaneously appears in countless streams of water.<sup>35</sup>

Chengguan uses the image of the full moon reflected within rivers to explain how *śūnyatā* (K. *seonggong* 性空) embraces beings in this world. *Śūnyatā*, or the dharma body (K. *beopsin* 法身), reveals itself to the world just as “the bright moon in the autumn sky shows its image in the countless rivers without any discrimination.”<sup>36</sup> In addition, he writes: “*Śūnyatā* is the dharma substance that is the foundation. As the full moon is the realization of the

<sup>34</sup> *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 (Record of Exploring the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*; T no. 1733, vol. 35), written by Fazang 法藏 (643–712), and Chengguan’s *Dafangguang fo huayan jing shu* 大方廣佛華嚴經疏 (Commentary on the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*; hereafter, *Huayan jing shu*, T no. 1735, vol. 35) are the two major commentaries written on the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*. The *Dafangguang fo huayan jing suishu yan yichao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (Commentary to Elicit the True Meaning of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*; hereafter, *Huayan jing yan yichao*; T no. 1736, vol. 36) is Chengguan’s expanded version of his own commentary. Records mentioning the introduction of Chengguan’s commentaries to Korea indicate that they were already widely read throughout Unified Silla by the late eighth century. It is recorded in the fourth volume of the *Samguk yusa* that the Silla monk Beomsu 梵修 (n.d.) went to study in Tang China and brought back a later set of Hwaom scriptures known as the *Xinyi houfen huayan jing chengguan shi yishu* 新譯後分華嚴經澄觀師義疏 (Chengguan’s Commentary of the Newly Translated Latter Portion of *Avataṃsaka Sutra*; see “Beomsu 梵修” in *Hanguk minjock munwha daebaekkwajaeon* [Encyclopedia of Korean Culture], <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/>). The *Tongdosaji* 通度寺誌 (Record of Tongdosa Temple), recorded by Seokho 釋瑚 (n.d.) in 1328, reports that in 1086, National Preceptor Hyeso 慧炤 (972–1054) brought three copies of Chengguan’s *Huayan jing shu* back from Song China, one of which was enshrined at Haeinsa 海印寺 and one at the house of Heochamjeong 許參政宅. The *Tongdosaji* is edited by Hangukhak Munheon Yeonguso 韓國學文獻研究所 (Institute of Literature in Korean Studies), 1979, and published by Aseamunwha. [http://www.dlibrary.go.kr/JavaClient/jsp/wonmun/full2.jsp?v\\_db=4&v\\_doc\\_no=147574](http://www.dlibrary.go.kr/JavaClient/jsp/wonmun/full2.jsp?v_db=4&v_doc_no=147574). It is also known that in 1681, the monk Seogchong 性聰 (1631–1700) imported the entire text of the *Huayan jing yan yichao* and had it carved onto wooden printing blocks. See “Seogchong” 性聰 in *Hanguk minjock munwha daebaekkwajaeon*, [http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents\\_id=E0029658](http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0029658).

<sup>35</sup> From the first volume of the *Huayan jing shu*: 湛智海之澄波。虛含萬象。皎性空之滿月。頓落百川 (T no. 1735, 35: 503a11–12). Emphasis added.

<sup>36</sup> From the first volume of the *Huayan jing yan yichao*: 若秋空朗月皎淨無瑕。萬器百川不分而遍 (T no. 1736, 36: 4c5–6).

perfect wisdom, the countless rivers represent the diversity of all things in creation. It makes its appearance as the moon reflects its image in the rivers. Therefore the wisdom-moon of the Buddha is *śūnyatā*.<sup>37</sup>

In these passages from Chengguan, the relationship between the three bodies of the Buddha (Skt. *trikāya*)—the *dharmakāya* (the dharma body), the *sambhogakāya* (the reward body), and the *nirmāṇakāya* (the incarnated body)—is explained by comparing it to the natural phenomenon of the moon reflected in the water. The dharma body (substance) reveals itself as the full moon (appearance), and the moon responds by providing its reflections (function) according to the various dispositions of the beings. This response is seen in the moon's image reflected in thousands of rivers. The state of absolute freedom is like the bright full moon itself, casting its image on the water, and its reflections correspond to the theory of *nirmāṇakāya* and to Avalokiteśvara's manifestation in accordance with the nature and needs of sentient beings.<sup>38</sup> The "Manifestation of the Buddha" ("Rulai chuxian" 如來出現) chapter of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra* contains the following description:

Just as the moon in the sky  
Outshines the stars and appears to wax and wane,  
Shows its reflection in all waters,

<sup>37</sup> From vol. 1 of the *Huayan jing yan yichao*: 性空即所依法體。滿月即實報智圓。百川即喻物機。影落便為變化。故佛之智月全依性空 (T no. 1736, 36: 4c6–8).

<sup>38</sup> Records mentioning the "water-moon" or "the moon reflected in the water" in relation to the embodiment of the dharma body can be found in the seventy-sixth volume of the *Huayan jing yan yichao*:

This comparison to the water-moon means that the sun and moon are metaphors for the compassion and wisdom of the bodhisattva, while the water represents the minds of human beings. The phenomenon of the moon reflecting in the water indicates the state of meditative concentration; that is, seeing the buddha body in a meditative state. It also indicates how a meditative state pervades all places, as various colors and forms are equal (為水月喻者。則日月喻菩薩悲智。水喻機心。水中之月喻定地境界。謂定中見佛等。亦喻遍處定境青黃赤白等故; T no. 1736, 36: 596c24–27).

Also, in the fourteenth volume of the sixty-volume *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, we find: "It is like the moon projecting its image endlessly in countless rivers. Originally there was never more than one moon. Like the perfect wisdom with no obstacle, fulfilled enlightenment reveals itself throughout the universe. From the start, there was never more than one buddha body" (譬如淨滿月 普現一切水 影像雖無量 本月未曾二 如是無礙智 成就等正覺 應現一切刹 佛身初無二; T no. 278, 9: 486c13–16). Finally, in the fifth volume of the *Jingguangming jing wenju* 金光明經文句 (Commentary on the *Sutra of Golden Light*) by Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), one can read: "The *dharmakāya* is the substance of the Buddha, the pure moon is the realization of the Buddha, and the reflection of the moon in the water is the function of Buddha. . . . *Śūnyatā* is compared to the *dharmakāya*, and the moon to the *sambhogakāya*" (佛真法身即是體。佛月清淨即是宗。應現水月即是用 . . . 空譬法身。月譬報身; T no. 1785, 39: 76a3–6).

And appears face to face with those who behold it,  
 So also the clear moon of Buddha  
 Outshines other vehicles, showing length and brevity,  
 Appearing in the clear mind-water of humans and gods  
 And seeming to be present to everyone.<sup>39</sup>

This illustrates the idea of the Buddha as the dharma body appearing before sentient beings like the moon reflected in the water. The metaphor found in the chapter “Detachment from the World” mentioned earlier is in the same vein. The moon, compared to a brightly shining mirror, is reflected in the minds of all sentient beings and has the effect of purifying and edifying. It is in this way that the *nirmāṇakāya* theory of manifestation in accordance with the nature and needs of sentient beings (K. *eungsin myobeop* 應身妙法) was applied to the Water-moon Avalokiteśvara<sup>40</sup> paintings of the Goryeo dynasty.

The same metaphor for the *trikāya*, the three bodies of the Buddha, can also be found in other sources besides the *Avataṃsaka* and related sutras. Zhiyi 智顗, for example, writes that “emptiness is the dharma body, the moon is the reward body, and the moon reflected in the water is the incarnation body”;<sup>41</sup> and also that “the pure dharma body of the Buddha(s) is the substance and the realization, and the water-moon as its responsive incarnation is the function.”<sup>42</sup> Daoyuan 道源 (n.d.) relates that “the nature of one

<sup>39</sup> The translation is a slightly modified version of Cleary 1993, p. 988. The original reads: 譬如淨月在虛空 能蔽眾星示盈缺 一切水中皆現影 諸有觀瞻悉對前 如來身月亦復然 能蔽餘乘示修短 普現人天淨心水 一切皆謂對其前 (T no. 279, 10: 267c26–29). For Chengguan’s commentary on this passage, see *Huayan jing yan yichao*, T no. 1736, 36: 596c27–597b26.

<sup>40</sup> In regard to the origin of the name “water-moon,” some Japanese scholars say it refers to “Avalokiteśvara looking down at the moon reflected on the water’s surface,” and define it as one of the thirty-three manifestations of Avalokiteśvara in tantric Buddhism (Moriya 2003, p. 116). This definition of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara has recently often been cited in academic publications in Korea and has become the general understanding. However, the Goryeo Water-moon Avalokiteśvara is a development rooted in Haedong Hwaom 海東華嚴 (Korean Huayan), a unique Korean tradition, and is hence far removed from the Avalokiteśvara images of tantric Buddhism. If it is argued that Water-moon Avalokiteśvara is not the image of the bodhisattva “looking at the moon reflected on the water’s surface” but rather is a “responsive manifestation of the dharma to Sudhana,” the definition of Japanese scholars must be reconsidered.

<sup>41</sup> From the fifth volume of the *Jingguangming jing wenju*: 空是法身。月是報身。水月是應身 (T no. 1785, 39: 75c14–15).

<sup>42</sup> From the fifth volume of the *Jingguangming jing wenju*: 佛真法身即是體。佛月清淨即是宗。應現水月即是用 (T no. 1785, 39: 76a3–5).

thing [Skt. *svabhāva*] penetrates the nature of all things, and the dharma of one thing holds the dharma of all things. One moon appears in all waters, and the moon reflected in all waters converges in one moon.”<sup>43</sup> Thus, the moon and water, and the moon reflected in the water, are repeatedly mentioned across a variety of traditions that were introduced to the Korean Peninsula as the basic metaphor tying the principles of the dharma body, reward (or bliss) body, and incarnation body together.<sup>44</sup>

### *Traditional Perceptions of the Water-moon in Korea*

The theory of the incarnation body as the moon reflected in the water has long been a well-known metaphor in Korea and can be traced back to at least the early seventh century. A temple record from this period reads as follows:

The Dharma King [the Buddha] came into the world according to the desires and needs of sentient beings. The way he manifests himself in the world is like the moon reflecting in the water. For this reason, when Śākyamuni, who was born in a palace, entered nirvana under the two *sala* trees, he left behind *śarīra*, which were divided into eight groups to benefit the universe. Therefore, if you honor the pagoda that enshrines *śarīra* shining in five colors by circumambulating it seven times, mysterious wonders of grace will abound.<sup>45</sup>

The passage quoted above is the record from the golden tablet of the *śarīra* reliquary found in the western pagoda at the site of Mireuksa 彌勒寺 temple

<sup>43</sup> From the thirtieth volume of the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (Record of the Transmission of the Lamp of the Jingde Era): 一性圓通一切性。一法遍含一切法。一月普現一切水。一切水月一月攝 (T no. 2076, 51: 460c13–14).

<sup>44</sup> Hanshan Laoren 慇山老人 (or Hanshan Deqing 慇山德清; 1546–1623), one of the major Chan masters of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), also employs this metaphor. In his “Guanyin zan” 觀音贊 (Song in Praise of Avalokiteśvara), he invokes it three times, describing the image of Avalokiteśvara thus: “The manifestation of that delicate image [of Avalokiteśvara] is like the full moon in the winter sky, and its great light is infinite”; it is “like an image in the mirror, like the moon reflected in the water”; and “As the dharma body is everywhere like the clouds, appearing where there is emptiness, it is like the light of the moon and the moon in all the waters.” From the thirty-third volume of the *Hanshan laoren mengyou ji* 慇山老人夢遊集 (Collection of Elder Hanshan’s Dream Journey): 現微妙相。滿月寒空。光明無量 (X no. 1456, 73: 705a11; 705a16; and 705a19).

<sup>45</sup> From 金製舍利奉安記 (Record of the Golden Tablet of the *Śarīra* Reliquary) of Mireuksa, dated to 639: 竊以法王出世隨機赴感應物現身如水中月 是以託生王宮示滅 雙樹遺形八斛利益三千 遂使光曜五色行遶七 遍神通變化不可思議. [https://blog.naver.com/g\\_dsong/110046469193](https://blog.naver.com/g_dsong/110046469193)). Emphasis added.



that dates to 639. It asserts quite clearly that the Dharma King manifesting himself to the world is like the moon reflecting in the water. Korea had been a Buddhist country since the Three Kingdoms period, and many generations of kings ruled in accordance with Buddhist philosophy. As a king's governance of the people was often compared to the Buddha's grace that reached all beings, the metaphor of the water-moon was used to praise the virtue of the king. The same principle of one moon reflected in many rivers can be found in the Joseon-period work entitled "Weolin cheonggang ji gok" 月印千江之曲 (Song of the Moon's Reflection on a Thousand Rivers) by Sejong 世宗 "the Great" (1418–1450), who is famous for inventing Hangul, the Korean alphabet.

The metaphor of the relationship between water and the moon can also be found in collections of literary works other than Buddhist texts. The Goryeo-period description of the figure of Avalokiteśvara at Naksansa temple, found in the *Dongmunseon* 東文選 (Selected Writings of the Eastern Kingdom), praises the sculpture and makes reference to "the moon":

Avalokiteśvara resided at Mt. Potalaka [here this refers to Naksansa] but his sublime figure burned down in a fire and the temple buildings were also lost. Plans for reconstruction were made, and once a wall was completed on the cliff, a skilled craftsman was found to make the noble features [of the bodhisattva]. The wonderful construction is completed, and the fragrant ceremony for its inauguration has taken place. My mind returns to the precious monument, not covered by a single cloud, its reflection filling the clear pond. How can the moon be any different now than in the past?<sup>46</sup>

Below is the dedicatory poem for an Avalokiteśvara image found in the *Dongguk isangguk hujip* 東國李相國後集 (Later Collected Works of Minister Lee of the Eastern Kingdom):

Avalokiteśvara,  
The great savior,  
His pure image clad in white  
Like the moon reflected in the water.

<sup>46</sup> From the *Naksan Gwaneum gyeongchanso* 洛山觀音慶讚疏 (Memorandum in Praise of the Naksan Avalokiteśvara) by Gimgu 金丘 (1211–1278), as included in vol. 110 of the *Dongmunseon*: 惟補陞洛山 有觀世音聖晬儀 嘗從於野火 殿宇并燒 新構復湧於崖崖 垣墻既備 輒求巧匠 謀就尊容 屬當告畢於勝功 規說落成之熏範 心歸寶嶺 孤雲不導於去來 影滿清潭一月何殊於今古. [http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC\\_BT\\_1365A\\_1100\\_030\\_0150\\_2002\\_008\\_XML](http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_BT_1365A_1100_030_0150_2002_008_XML).

Knowing the source of the fragrance  
 Of the dried leaves of two bamboo trees,  
 Sitting in contemplation in the bamboo grove,  
 His empty mind relies on this.  
 What is the boy looking for?  
 He kneels and makes a bow.<sup>47</sup>

Here the pure image of Avalokiteśvara dressed in white overlaps with that of the moon reflected in the water. The title of the poem reveals that the image to which it is dedicated was done in ink. This demonstrates that not only color versions, but ink versions of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara also existed at this time.

The notion of the incarnation body of Avalokiteśvara responding to the nature and needs of sentient beings is also found in the inscription on a stele commemorating the restoration of Yongcheonsa 龍泉寺 temple. This states that Avalokiteśvara, as an expression of the *nirmāṇakāya*, appears in 3,006 different bodies.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, other texts as well contain expressions such as “the miraculous response like the water-moon,”<sup>49</sup> which describes the

<sup>47</sup> Poem no. 13, *Whoanjangro yimukhwa Gyauneumsang guyechan* 幻長老以墨畫觀音像求豫贊 (“Elder Whoan Completed an Ink Painting of Avalokiteśvara and Asked Me for the Poem of Praise”), included in vol. 11 of the *Dongguk isangguk hujip*, edited by the famous scholar and writer of the late Goryeo period Lee Gyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241): 觀世音子 觀音大士 白衣淨相 如月映水 卷葉雙根 聞熏所自 宴坐竹林 虛心是寄 童子何求 曲膝拜跏. Emphasis added. [http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC\\_BT\\_1365A\\_0500\\_030\\_0140\\_2002\\_005\\_XML](http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_BT_1365A_0500_030_0140_2002_005_XML).

<sup>48</sup> The stele, called the *Yongcheonsa jungheung bimun* 龍泉寺重興碑文 (Inscription for the Memorial Stone of Yongcheon Temple), reads as follow:

The current six Buddha (temple) Halls were built in 1183, but when the temple caught fire in the war at the beginning of the Goryeo dynasty, only one building remained. This housed a statue of the three bodies, the *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya*, and statues of Mañjuśrī, Samantabhadra, Four-wisdom Bodhisattva, and Avalokiteśvara who has 3,006 incarnated bodies, [all] made by a man named Yu. When people prayed there, their prayers were always answered. Divinity resides there. Perhaps this is why the temple building did not burn down. (From *Daedo daehunghyeon jungheung Yongcheonsa bi* 大都大興縣重興龍泉寺碑 [Stele Commemorating the Restoration of Yongcheonsa Temple] in *Gajeong Seonsaeng munjib* 稼亭先生文集 [Collected Works of Gajeong Seonsaeng], vol. 6: 今之佛殿六楹 實金大定二十三年之所立也 國初 燼於兵而佛殿獨存 蓋有劉氏塑法報化三身 文殊, 普賢, 四智菩薩, 觀音大士三千六化之像 有禱輒應 殿之不災 豈其靈異也. [http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC\\_MO\\_0014A\\_0070\\_020\\_0010\\_2003\\_A003\\_XML](http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_MO_0014A_0070_020_0010_2003_A003_XML).)

<sup>49</sup> For example: “Through honest prayer and good deeds, great will be the effect of the miraculous response like the water-moon. The spirit of our former king will have reached the mount of enlightenment to spend leisurely days at the peak of paradise [nirvana].” From

miraculous nature of the Buddha's response, and "a pure spirit like the moon reflected in the water,"<sup>50</sup> which emphasizes a pure and undefiled mind; such references indicate that the concepts of *dharmakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* were being compared to the "moon in the water" image.

### Conclusion

This article has attempted an interpretation of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara paintings by investigating the origin of the term "water-moon" and by analyzing the stylistic characteristics and iconographical elements of the paintings. First, it provided an account of the typical characteristics of the style and form of these paintings, especially those concerned with Avalokiteśvara's appearance and the light emanating from him, which represents that of the full moon. This enabled us to examine the paintings as pictorial realizations of Avalokiteśvara as the simultaneous embodiment of both the purity of the *dharmakāya* and the compassion of the *nirmāṇakāya*. This was followed by an examination of how this theory is represented in the metaphor of the natural phenomenon of the moon reflected in water. The essay provides documentary evidence for the organic relationship between the notions of *dharmakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* as portrayed by "water-moon" symbolism.

Passages from major commentaries to the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*, such as those by Chengguan, were presented as scriptural sources that detail how the relationship between the three bodies of the Buddha is explained via the metaphor of "the moon reflected in the water." Through such investigation it was shown that the concepts of emptiness as dharma body, and Avalokiteśvara's manifestation as akin to the moon reflected in the water, are ideas that underlie the fundamental message of the *Avataṃsaka Sutra*.

To approach the meaning of the term "water-moon" as found in the designation "Water-moon Avalokiteśvara" from a broader perspective, the essay also examined traditional understandings and perceptions of the concept

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*Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Joseon Dynasty), tenth day of the fourth month of the first year of the reign of King Munjong 文宗 (1450): 臣固知願海之深、善根之植、水月妙應之效、必捷於影嚮、而禮陟之靈、誕登覺岸、頓悟真空、優遊乎極樂之境無疑矣. [http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC\\_JT\\_E0\\_A00\\_04A\\_10A\\_00020\\_2005\\_001\\_XML](http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_JT_E0_A00_04A_10A_00020_2005_001_XML).

<sup>50</sup> "With fidelity like the pine tree and the bamboo, and a pure spirit like the moon reflected in the water (K. *songyun jeoljo suwol jeongsin* 松筠節操水月精神), his nature was gentle yet loyal and brave. He was a person who truly shone like pure white jade" (松筠節操、水月精神、忠勇之度、輔溫雅而成性、清慎之德、掩白玉而振彩). *Joseon wangjo sillok*, eighteenth day of the eighth month of the seventeenth year of the reign of King Seonjo 宣祖 [1583]. [http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wna\\_11608018\\_002](http://sillok.history.go.kr/id/wna_11608018_002).

of “water-moon,” or “moon reflected in the water,” as found more widely in Korean culture and history. Such analyses revealed that the notion of Avalokiteśvara manifesting himself in response to the nature and needs of sentient beings, and the notion of this bodhisattva as an embodiment of purity and compassion, are the central concepts informing the epithet “Water-moon Avalokiteśvara.” It is this doctrinal background that gave rise to the Goryeo-period paintings of Water-moon Avalokiteśvara and which provides a deeper understanding of their fundamental meaning.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- T      *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. 85 vols. Ed. Takakasu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡辺海旭. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai. 1924–32.  
 X      *Shinsan dainihon zoku zōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經. 90 vols. Ed. Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai. 1975–89.

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- 京都・知恩院蔵 『観世音菩薩三十二応幀』の明朝形式の受容を中心に (Stylistic Transfiguration of Early Joseon Period Avalokiteśvara and Iconography of Its Manifestations: Adaptation of Ming Style Represented in “Thirty-two-body Transformation of Avalokiteśvara” in Chion-in, Kyoto). *Bukkyō geijutsu* 276, pp. 77–103.
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